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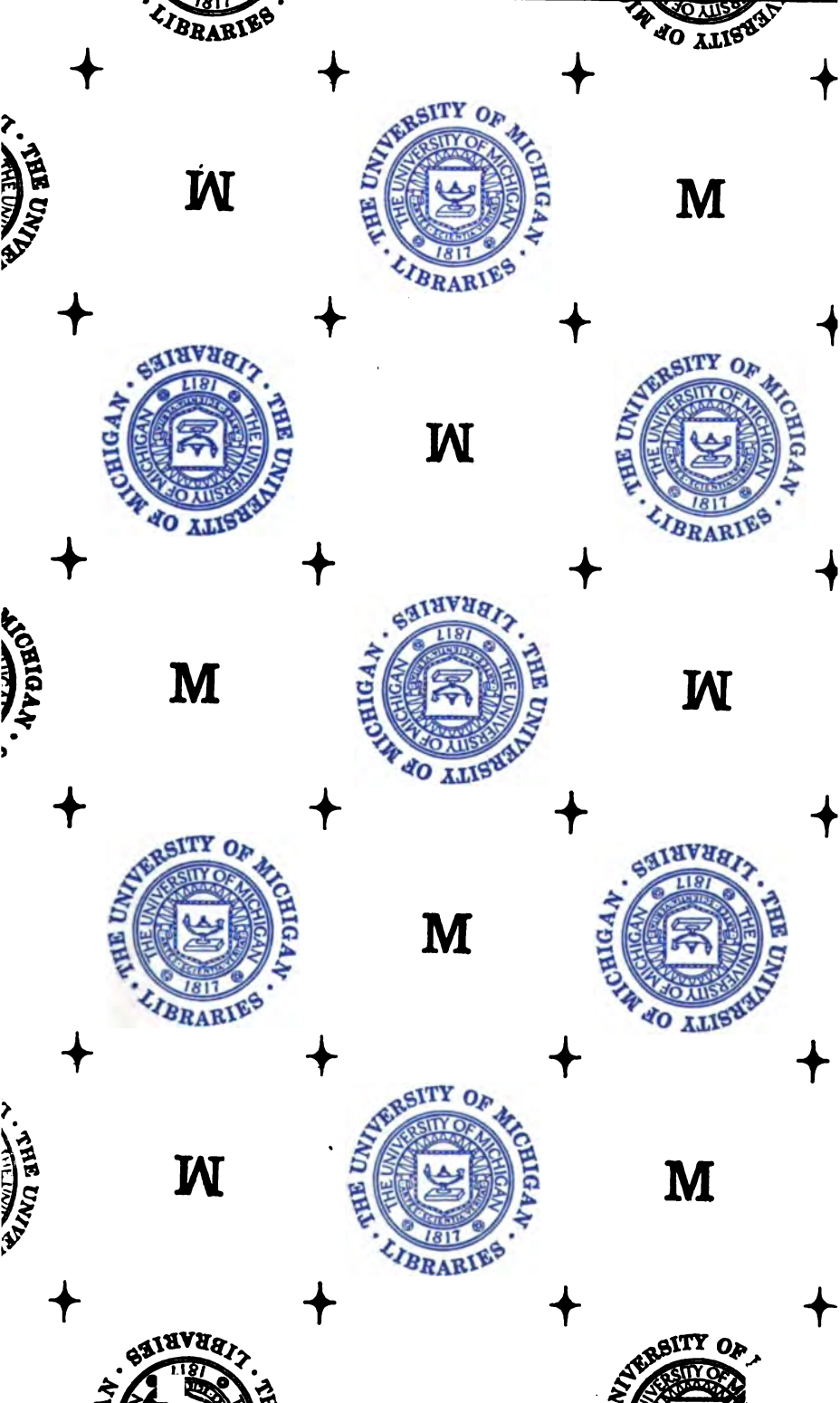
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THE
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SOUTHERN REVIEW.

NO. V.

FEBRUARY, 1829.

ART. I.—*Observations on the Actual State of the English Laws of Real Property, with the outlines of a Code.* By JAMES HUMPHREYS, Esq. of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister. London. John Murray, Albemarle-street. 1826.

IN our review of "Kent's Commentaries,"* we remarked almost in the very words of Mr. Humphreys, that "far from being cultivated on general principles, jurisprudence (that is to say, English jurisprudence) has, with a few exceptions, been viewed as consisting of a series of positive institutions, of a local, or, at most, of a national character." We had not then read the admirable treatise mentioned at the head of this article, or we should have taken pains to except it out of a censure which we passed, and we believe justly, upon most of our elementary treatises. We hail, in Mr. Humphreys, the founder of a new school—that, namely, of philosophical lawyers—of those who look upon jurisprudence as a science and a system, and would have it approach, as nearly as possible, to the standard of right reason and of natural law. It is not disparaging such writers as Fearn and Sugden to say, that with all their learning and ability, their works belong to a decidedly inferior class. Of the treatises on Contingent Remainders and Executory Devises, Mr. Humphreys himself remarks, that "it is to be regretted that the times were not then ripe for directing the talent that produced them, towards simplifying, instead of systematizing the refinements of landed property." We add to this observa-

* No. 3. Art. iii.

tion, that masterly as the developement they contain of a most refined and intricate branch of law undoubtedly is, and completely as they set at rest almost every controversy that can possibly grow out of it, their excellencies are still rather those of a searching analysis, than of a perfect, synthetical exposition of ascertained principles—not to mention that they have withal, a crabbed and technical air, which is not at all perceivable in the treatise before us.

Mr. Humphreys is a reformer. He aims at doing in England, in relation to real estate, what has been universally accomplished in the United States, and very little more. He appends to the discussion of his theoretical principles, a specimen of the manner in which he would have them reduced to practice in a code. We shall not enter at large into the merits of his projected reformation, although we have no hesitation in saying that we entirely concur with him as to the necessity of some change in most of the particulars which he has pointed out. The law of real estate, as at present practised in England, is a reproach to an enlightened nation and to a philosophic age. But being ourselves disinclined to venture upon any innovation, unless we be very sure that we shall better ourselves by it, we are not prepared to say how far it would be expedient for a British Legislature to carry his views into execution. On the general subject of codification, we shall avail ourselves of some future opportunity to express our own opinions.

The work before us is divided into two parts. The first, of which the object is to point out existing evils, is an admirable elementary exposition of the law of real estate as it now stands in England. The second, sets forth the remedies proposed. We purpose, in the present article, to develope the subject referred to in the following remarks of Mr. Humphreys:—

“ Of the defects thus alluded to in institutions respecting real property, and of the supineness of the Legislature, and the indifference of the public in correcting them, the laws of England afford a signal example. Passing by the simple rules of ownership under the Anglo-Saxon dynasty, as they may be collected from the relics of their laws and their extant charters, the Norman conquest overwhelmed our landed property with feudal tenures and their burdensome privileges. These were introduced, not in the spirit of military conquest and partition, on the terms of rallying round the chiefs, to protect the common acquisitions, but as a system of jurisprudence already established, and even refined upon in their own country, by this proverbially litigious race. They gave us not the spirit, but the dregs of that singular system, which has so largely influenced the laws and manners of modern Europe. The extent and variety of the burdens and restrictions of tenure, (*fruits* as they are called) may be found in all our writers on this branch of juris-

prudence; forming, as they did, in their primitive vigour, rather an assemblage of unconnected institutions, than parts of a general system."

"The intricacies and burdens of tenure, indeed, were greatly diminished at the restoration. Much of the original system, however, still remains; together with many theories built upon it, and fictions invented, occasionally, to elude it. The whole tinctures deeply our laws of landed property; though discordant, from the sentiments and habits of modern society, and even from that leading maxim of modern law which wisely regards land as a commercial property, and discountenances all undue restriction on its alienation."—*Introduct.* pp. 4, 6.

Again.—"The three great causes to which I have attributed the redundancy of these laws, are *tenures*, *uses*, and passive or merely *formal* trusts. The first of these rests upon a system which has long ceased to influence society; while its theory still pervades and augments every part of our laws of real property."—p. 171.

It is our purpose to trace the origin and consequences of the Law of Tenures, better known under the popular title of the Feudal System. We shall, in the first place, treat of it in a general way as one of the great social institutions of mankind, and then proceed to follow out its most important effects upon the law of real estate in England. Thanks to the good sense and the favorable situation of our ancestors, very few traces of it are now discernible in the jurisprudence of these States. Still, there are a few, and the history, especially, of our jurisprudence is unintelligible without the lights derived from this source. So deeply rooted in the character and condition of modern society, were those principles of which the remote origin is lost in the shadows of the Hercynian wood!

In longum tamen ævum

Manserunt hodieque manent vestigia ruris.

This inquiry has another recommendation; it affords the most striking illustration that is any where to be found of the reciprocal influence of laws, government and manners, and the manner in which they act and re-act upon one another.

I. It is generally asserted by writers, without any qualification "that the constitution of feuds had its original from the military policy of the Northern or Celtic [?] nations," the Goths, the Huns, the Franks, the Burgundians, the Vandals, the Lombards, who, from the beginning of the fifth century of the Christian æra, poured themselves over the Roman world and "spread beneath Gibraltar to the Lybian sands." Blackstone affirms, "that that policy was brought by them from their own country, and continued in their respective colonies as the most likely

means to secure their new acquisitions, and that to that end, large districts or parcels of land were allotted by the conquering general to the superior officers of the army, and by them dealt out again in smaller parcels or allotments, to the inferior officers and most deserving soldiers, and that these allotments were called *feoda*, *feuds*, *fiefs* or *fees*," which last appellation, it seems, signifies, in the northern languages, a conditional stipend or reward.* From the unqualified manner in which this proposition is stated, it might be inferred that the feudal system was brought into the countries where it was afterwards established, ready made, so to express it, and complete in all its parts, at the very first successful irruption of the Barbarians. Indeed, to shew the universality and early use of the plan, the writer just mentioned cites a passage from Florus,† wherein the Teutones and Cimbri, who invaded Gaul and Italy in the time of Caius Marius, demand, "*ut Martius populus aliquid sibi terræ daret, quasi stipendium : Cæterum, ut vellet, manibus atque armis suis uteretur.*" If we receive Blackstone's version of this passage, those warlike emigrants expressed themselves with all the precision of thorough-paced feudists, and what they asked for was neither more nor less than to be enfeoffed of lands to be held by military or knight-service. We apprehend, however, that in translating this very simple passage, the learned commentator has fallen into an error but too common among learned commentators, and ascribed to his author notions that did not enter into any body's head for centuries after he wrote. The same thing may be said of the turn he gives to what was done by Alexander Severus, according to the account of Lampridius in his life of that prince. In order to keep up the discipline and vigilance of the armies on the frontiers, against which the storms of barbarian violence and invasion were already beginning to thunder, he distributed the lands, conquered from the enemy, among his officers and soldiery and their heirs, on condition that those heirs should serve in the army, affirming, says the historian, that their service would be so much the more prompt, as it would be in defence of their own property.

These instances do not establish what Blackstone appears to have cited them to prove; but they *do* shew that the idea of *something like* feudal service is a natural one in certain states of society, and enable us to explain, very satisfactorily, how that idea was, by degrees, extended and amplified into a regular system some centuries after the period to which he refers. Thus

* 2 Black. Comm. 45, cf. Wright's Tenures, p. 6, and auth. libell: Brit. note Co. Litt. 191, a.

† Lib. iii. c. 3.

we find a scheme perfectly analogous to that of Severus, adopted in India, among the Timarriots in the Turkish Empire, and by other nations. The seeds of the feudal system were sown, as we shall presently show, in the character and policy of the ancient Germans, but the full developement of it was owing to causes that began to operate subsequently to the first settlement of the Northern hordes in the countries which they over-ran. Those causes are to be sought for in the violence and anarchy of a dark age, when not only every kingdom, but every dutchy, every county, every district, was subject to the incursions of its enemies—when, in short, there was a war of all against all.

This opinion is supported with exact learning and unanswerable force of argument by the Abbé de Mably, whose “Observations upon the History of France” have been pronounced by a competent judge,* the most precious monument, beyond all controversy, that has been raised out of the wreck of the nation’s early annals. This writer maintains that what are called *seigneries*, that is, the legal superiority of one estate or possession to others, coupled with a jurisdiction over its inhabitants, were altogether unknown to the Franks—that such an institution was inconsistent with their ideas of independence and equality—and that no trace whatever of tenures, properly so called, occurs in the Salique and Ripuarian codes.† He thinks that they were produced by revolutions in the government which occurred after the Franks had been established in Gaul for upwards of a century. In reply to the assertion of Montesquieu, that they were not usurpations of a more recent date, but grew necessarily out of the peculiar constitution or polity of the Germanic tribes, he urges that this is quite inconceivable; for what fiefs or benefices had the German chieftains to bestow? How could the right of distributing justice, be incident to the gift of a war-horse or a battle-axe?

Montesquieu founds his opinion upon a well known passage in the *Treatise de Moribus Germanorum*,‡ in which Tacitus draws a very lively picture of the free and warlike manners of those barbarians. Our readers will excuse us for translating this passage once more, since it is necessary to *bring out*, completely, some of our subsequent speculations. The historian represents these tribes as forming a sort of military democracy, and consulting in full council upon every important matter of public interest:—

* Grimm. *Corresp. Littéraire*, tome 16e. p. 657.

† *Observations sur l’Hist. de France*, lib. 1. c. 3. Note.

‡ ec. 11, 12, 13, 14.

"There, the king, or the chieftain, according to his age, his nobility, his renown in war, his eloquence, sways his audience more by authority to persuade than by power to command them. If what he proposes displease them, they reject it with loud murmurs—if it please them, they shake their javelins."

"They transact no business, whether public or private, unarmed. But none is allowed to bear arms, until his ability to use them be approved by the tribe. Then, in the presence of the whole people, some one of the chieftains, or his father, or a relative, equips the young warrior with shield and javelin—this is *their toga virilis*—this, the first honour of youth—before this, he was a member of a family, henceforth he belongs to the commonwealth—an illustrious extraction, or signal merits in their ancestors, entitle some young men to the rank of hereditary chieftain. The rest, enlist themselves under the banners of leaders already tried and distinguished in war, nor is it any disgrace to be seen among their retainers. Nay, in this companionship, there are different degrees of honour, assigned according to the judgment of the chiefs, and thus a mighty emulation is excited among the followers of each chief, to be first in his esteem and favour, and among the chiefs themselves, to have the most numerous and warlike followers. This is their dignity, this their strength, to be surrounded always by a host of noble youths—their ornament in peace, their defence in war.

"When they go into battle, it is a reproach to the chieftain that any one should surpass him in prowess; it is a reproach to his followers if they do not emulate the prowess of their chieftain. Especially is it a foul disgrace to a warrior, an indelible blot upon him through life, to have quitted alive the battle-ground on which his chief had fallen. To defend him, to protect him, to ascribe to him the glory even of his own achievements, is the soldier's first and most sacred obligation. The chieftains fight for victory—the retainers, for the chieftain. If the tribe in which they are born be languishing in the inactivity of a protracted peace, most of the young nobles enter as volunteers into the service of such nations as happen to be at war. This they do not only because they are naturally impatient of repose and more easily acquire distinction amidst dangers and difficulties, but also because there is no means of supporting a numerous band of retainers but by violence and war, for it is from the liberality of the chieftain that they exact the warrior-horse, the bloody and victorious javelin, which they long to possess. Feasts and bountiful, though homely entertainments, are their pay. Their only means of munificence are war and rapine. You will not so easily persuade them to till the earth and wait the revolutions of the seasons, as to challenge their enemies and peril their own lives—nay, they think it base and cowardly to earn by sweat and toil what may be purchased with blood."

We perceive in this account of the customs and character of the Germanic tribes, while they were still wandering in their forests, the germ of those institutions which they subsequently spread over the greater part of Europe. But it is plain that any thing like a refined and complex system of feods was incompati-

ble with a state of society so rude and simple. Taking it for granted, therefore, that it is inaccurate to refer the establishment of this system to the downfall of the western empire, we may venture to affirm that many centuries must have elapsed before allodial tenures were supplanted by feudal, and before the intricate jurisprudence of the latter assumed a settled and systematic form.

This happened at different periods, in different nations. In France, according to Montesquieu,* fiefs became hereditary, and, consequently, the foundation of the independence and grandeur of the feudatories was laid as early as the reign of Charles the Bald, who established that principle in his capitularies. In Germany, this great change in the system did not take place until nearly two centuries afterwards. It is stated in the Book of Fiefs, that the retainers of the Emperor Conrad, who began his reign in 1024, prevailed on him to ordain that grand-children should succeed to such feuds as were before that time transmissible to children, and that brothers should inherit to brothers in a *feudum antiquum*, where there were no heirs of the body. It was a still later period before distant collaterals were allowed to profit by the merits or good fortune of a common ancestor. In England, although some writers fancy they perceive the origin of tenures in the Thane-land and Reve-land of the Saxons, it is not probable that any general and systematic establishment of feuds took place before the Norman conquest.

Such, however, were the advantages in these times of darkness and anarchy, attendant upon the feudal contract of protection and service, that during the tenth and eleventh centuries, the allodial tenures almost universally disappeared, and *nulle terre sans seigneur* became a general rule both in France and in England.

II. The definition given of a fief, in the Book of Feuds, (of which we shall presently say more) is as follows: "A fief or benefice is that which is given out of pure good will to any one, on this condition, that the property of the thing shall still remain in the giver, but the possession and enjoyment of its fruits and profits (*usus fructus*) belong to the donee and his heirs, to the intent that he and his heirs shall faithfully serve the lord or donor."†

These services were at first purely military—so much so, that according to the highest authorities, those only deserve the name of *proper* feuds, "which in all respects preserve the nature

* *Esprit des Loix*, lib. xxxi. c. 28.

† *Feudor. lib. ii. Tit. 23.*

of an original feud, that is to say, such as are *militia gratia*, generously given without price or stipulation to persons duly qualified for military service, the requisite *renders* or rather obligations as social duties, resulting from the nature and design of a feudal confederacy, being properly uncertain and emergent as the occasions of war and defence."^{*}

From the military nature of feuds, it followed in strictness, that no person was capable of holding them who could not bear arms, and accordingly, we find that monks were expressly excluded from them at all times; because, says the book, *he* has ceased to be a soldier of this world, who is become a soldier of Christ;† women were originally in the same predicament, though they were afterwards admitted to the inheritance where female heirs were specially mentioned in the original gift or feoffment, but not otherwise—it was a debatable matter whether a son who was deaf or dumb, or blind or lame, or labouring under any other serious physical defects, could take the estate of his father.‡

And, inasmuch as this military relation arising between the givers and receivers of feuds, implied a special confidence reposed by the former in the personal qualifications of the latter, it followed, 1st, that fiefs were originally precarious, and held strictly at the will of the lord, and that it was not until many centuries were elapsed, as has been already observed, that they passed through all the gradations of estates at will, for years, for life, hereditary *sub modo*, absolutely hereditary, &c. by a process carefully traced in the Book of Fiefs.|| 2dly. That the feudal donation was never extended beyond the words by any presumed intent, insomuch, that if the donation were to a man and his sons, all the sons succeeded *per capita*, and if one of them died, his part did not descend to his children or survive to his brothers, but reverted to the donor.§ 3dly. That the feudatory could not alien his fief without the consent of the lord, nor exchange, pledge, mortgage, or otherwise subject it to his debts, or by any other means put it into the hands of a stranger.¶ 4thly. That even when feuds were become hereditary, and the confidence of the lord was, in legal contemplation, extended to all who were of the blood of the vassal or feudatory, the latter could not devise or dispose of the fee by will, or by any means prevent or vary the feudal course of succession, which, in all *proper* feuds, was to the sons as tenants in common, until honorary fiefs becoming indivisible, they, and in imitation of them,

* Wright's Tenures, p. 27. † Feud. lib. ii. Tit. 21, (109) cf. lib. Tit. 26, 30.

‡ Ibid. Tit. 38.

|| Lib. i. Tit. 1.

§ Wright's Ten. p. 17.

¶ Ibid. p. 29, Feud. lib. i. Tit. 13, 21, &c.

military feuds in most countries, began to descend to the eldest son alone.*

We might go on and account in the same way for all the fruits and incidents of feudal tenure, such as marriage, wardship, reliefs, fines for alienation, (in later times) &c. In doing so, however, we should far transcend our limits, and we shall content ourselves with barely referring our readers to Sir John Dalrymple's admirable treatise on Feudal Property, in which the whole subject, especially this part of it, is developed in a masterly manner.† We will here add only two observations which strike us as particularly important. The first is, that as Mr. Butler remarks,‡ at the first establishment of fiefs, land or immoveable property, in the narrowest sense of that word, was the only subject of a fief. To this is owing that wide difference between real and personal estate in all their legal incidents and qualities, which pervades the whole system of English jurisprudence, and is almost wholly unknown to the civil law—a difference, which it is the great object of Mr. Humphreys to abolish altogether, by effacing every vestige of feudal principles. Our second observation is, that the feudists considered the gift of a fief as a contract executed, and equally binding upon both the parties, so that it was one of their established rules, that as the vassal could not alien his fee without the consent of the lord, so neither could the lord alien his seignory without the consent of his vassal.

In the progress of society, one, among many other difficulties and inconveniences arising out of these restraints upon property, very soon presented itself. Feuds, as we have seen, being held by a military tenure, were of course in the hands of military men, who were neither able nor willing to cultivate their own lands, and yet were not allowed to alien or transfer them to those who were. To remedy this inconvenience, without violating the principles of the system, recourse was had to what was called subinfeudation. That is to say, the feudatory who, we shall suppose, received his fief of the king, enfeoffed other persons of some portion of it, who were to hold of him as his vassals, and who again enfeoffed others, and so on *in infinitum*. This, however, brought about an important change in the system. Instead of military service, these arrere-vassals or subtenants were bound to pay rents, or returns in corn, cattle or money to their superior lords. It is manifest also, that the feudal policy must have been by this means, prodigiously extended; nor can we wonder at the important political consequences it produced, when we consider the nature of that relation which subsisted between even the most humble vassal and his immediate sub-

* Feud. lib. i. Tit. 8.—Ib. lib. ii. Tit. 55. † p. 44, et seq. ‡ Co. Litt. 191, a. note 77.

feudatory or valvassor, the right of administering justice being incident to it, and originally commensurate with it in its territorial extent—together with most of the other consequences of political allegiance.

The preceding observations, as our readers will have perceived, apply to the feud only in its primitive simplicity, but in process of time, that simplicity, in the language of Sir Martin Wright, branched out into such variety, and gave way to so many devices, that it became a necessary rule or direction of the law of fiefs, that in the consideration of a feud *tenor investituræ est inspiciendus*. The feudists, therefore, in order to preserve the genuine notion of a pure original feud, and to digest, as far as possible, the various new invented feuds or forms of donation, have drawn up several systems of them, which they arrange under two principal heads of *feuda propria vel recta*, and *impropria vel degenerantia*. With the latter, they class all feuds that do not strictly conform to the principles of a mere military donation—all such as are sold and bartered for any immediate or contracted equivalent, or that are granted in consideration of one or more *certain* services, (whether military or not military) or upon a *cens* or rent in lieu of services—all such as are, by express words, in their creation or constitution, alienable or allowed to descend indifferently to males or females, &c.*

The collection of feudal law known by the name of the Book of Fiefs, to which we have frequently had occasion to refer in the course of the preceding remarks, is to be found in most editions of the Corpus Juris Civilis. It is supposed to have been compiled in the reign of Frederic II. by Ugolino of Bologna, from the writings of two Lombard lawyers, Gerardus Niger, and Obertus of Otto, who flourished, according to Cujacius, towards the end of the twelfth century.† It not only contains the law of fiefs, as it existed in the empire, but frequently refers to the particular customs of the Italian cities, and especially those of Milan. It may serve at once to gratify the curiosity of our readers, and to throw light upon the true nature and spirit of the feudal connexion and the institutions which sprang up out of it, to translate, very literally, a part of the second book, beginning with the twenty-third title:—*In quibus causis feudum amittitur*.

Obertus de Orto, addressing himself in the manner of old Littleton to his son, and adverting to his desire to have an abstract or summary of the doctrine touching the forfeiture of feuds, tells him he must not expect it to be done with perfect

* p. 20.

† Cujac. Op. 651.

precision. "For," he continues, "what we find written in the Pandects concerning evidence, we may fairly predicate of the causes of such forfeitures. There is no defining exactly the circumstances which the lord must establish in order to convict his vassal of *ingratitude*: that degree of it, I mean, which will induce a forfeiture, since it is not every instance of it that will have that effect; while on the contrary, there are examples of it so flagrant and unpardonable, that all the courts are agreed in attaching to them the highest penalty. How the vassal is to comport himself towards his *benefactor*; with how much humility, devotedness and affectionate loyalty, may be better learned from the dictates of nature and morality, and the usages of our tribunals, than from any positive statute or written monument." After defining the feudal beneficium or gift which he elucidates by a reference to Seneca, he enumerates many causes of forfeiture, out of which we select the following, as best adapted to illustrate the genius and principles of the system:—

The first is, if a vassal on the death of his lord, did not offer his fealty to the heir, and apply for a formal investiture of his fief within a year and a day, or if on the death of the vassal himself, his heir were guilty of a similar omission.

So he who in the perils of battle deserts his lord, proves himself unworthy of his fief.

Moreover, if the vassal know that any one is plotting against his lord's estate, or his life, or intends to commit an assault on him, or to make him prisoner, it is his duty to inform his lord of it as soon as possible; which if he fail to do, either through fraud, or ill-will, or negligence, he shall lose his fee.

So if he debauch his lord's daughter, or his daughter-in-law, or his sister while she lives under his roof, and is still in her maiden tresses, as it is expressed,* he ought to forfeit his feud, of which he were in that case unworthy.

So if he commit an assault on his lord, or attack the village where he resides, or in any place whatever, lay impious hands upon his person, or do him any other serious injury or outrage, or make an attempt on his life by poison or the sword, or in any other manner.

So if when summoned to the lord's court in any feudal matter or cause, he refuse or neglect to attend, or if he bring not to justice any of his domestics by whom the lord may have been injured, he shall lose his fief, (and *e converso*, if the lord denied or refused to do justice to his vassal, it was a forfeiture of his signory.)

* *Quæ in capillo dicitur.* Upon which there is a note as follows:—*Januptæ comis eam tantum, non ullo velamine, virgines obtegebant caput.*

Also if he turn informer against his lord, and by this means occasion him to incur great expense, or if knowing his lord to be in prison, he deliver him not out of captivity when he may, it is a forfeiture.

Finally, it hath been often a question, to whom, in cases of forfeiture, the fee shall go; as to which, this is the reasonable and established distinction, that if the offence be committed against the lord, the fee shall be forfeited to him; but if the vassal be guilty of parricide or the like, the fee, if it be *feudum antiquum*, shall go to the heirs at law (*proximos*) of the vassal. A doctrine, we will remark by the way, that shews that the conduct of Philip Augustus, with respect to John's fiefs, on the murder of Prince Arthur, was a violation of all feudal principle.*

We add only the following to the extracts already made from the "Book of Feuds."

"A vassal could not alien a *feudum paternum* even with the consent of the lord, unless he also obtained the consent of the Agnati, or heirs of the blood of the first purchaser."—*Lib. ii. Tit. 39.*

"A vassal could not be convicted of ingratitude to his lord, except on the evidence of five witnesses of the best character, and his peers, if possible."—*Tit. 37.*

"And, finally, it may be laid down as a general rule, that wherever the lord commits such a felony as would, in a vassal, induce a forfeiture of the fee, the lord shall lose his seignory."—*Tit. 26.*

So much for the principles and character of the law of Feuds.

It is easy to imagine, even from this brief and imperfect view of their constitution, that consequences most unfavourable to the strength of governments and the unity of the social system, must have ensued upon the general adoption of such a plan. From the very nature of the feudal connexion, we have seen that *fealty* was due from the vassal to his lord, merely on the ground of tenure—that a gift of lands implied in him who received them, submission not only to the military superiority, but to the civil jurisdiction of his benefactor—and that between the sovereign who was the universal lord, or more properly speaking, the great lord paramount, and the meanest dependents of a valvassor or remote subfeudatory, there were many gradations of rank, dominion and authority. Nothing was more natural, therefore, than, that in process of time, the idea of the *magistrate* should be merged in that of the *lord*, that fealty to an immediate benefactor should supersede allegiance to the monarch, and thus that the war-cry of the chieftain should

* Cf. *lib. ii. Tit. 37.*

gather his retainers about his banner, even where the battle was to be fought against their country—or at least, what we should call their country, for the word had scarcely any meaning for some centuries in Europe. These effects, it is true, might not have taken place at all, or would, probably, have been far less visible, had all the princes of the second race in France, resembled those who founded its fortunes—Charles Martel, Pepin, Charlemagne. But what could be expected of such a state of things, when the crown was upon the head of Charles the Bald, or Charles the Simple? Undoubtedly the very consequences that did ensue, that is to say, an almost total extinction of all consolidated political government, and the substitution in its stead, of a disjointed and rickety confederacy of barons, if we do not abuse the name of a confederacy, by applying it to that never failing source of disorder, hostility and blood. The very worst effects of the system were seen in France. There the overgrown power of a few haughty vassals, subjected to them as *arrere-fiefs*, almost all the feudal possessions in the realm, and entirely overshadowed the throne itself. The kings had scarcely any authority left them—a power, as Montesquieu justly remarks, which had to pass through so many other powers and so many great powers, was arrested or expired of itself before it got through them all. The monarchs were stript of their domains, and reduced to the two cities of Rheims and of Laon, which constituted their whole regal jurisdiction, and their whole worldly estate. How little is it to be wondered at, that when the terror of the Norman invasion came to the aid of an ambitious family, the crown should have passed so quietly to the most powerful of its vassals, who alone was able to defend it! Such is the origin of the present race of French kings, the descendants of Hugh Capet.

Yet, the accession of a new race did not immediately restore the prerogatives and influence of the crown. France, as we have seen, was a mere confederacy of fiefs, and the counts of Paris, who had usurped the throne of Charlemagne, could exercise but a feeble control over those “aspiring dominations,” so recently their competitors and compeers, and whose very acquiescence under their usurpation, was owing, in a good degree, to their contempt for the shadow of royalty, or, “the barren sceptre,” which it conferred. In fact, not only the great feudatories who arrogated to themselves the exclusive and proud title of “Peers of France”—the Dukes of Normandy, of Burgundy, and of Aquitaine—the Counts of Thoulouse, of Flanders, and of Champagne—but the lords of the second order, the barons who held immediately of a *suzerein*, whose seignory extended over a whole

province, affected, in the same way, an entire independence. They had usurped, these peers and barons, all the principal *jura regalia*, or prerogatives of sovereignty—the right of coining money, waging war, &c. They were exempt from all public tributes, except feudal aids, and, from the time of Carloman, A. D. 882, when the last of the capitularies was promulged to that of St. Louis, there is no trace of any general legislative power in the crown. An exclusive original judicature, within their fiefs, was claimed and exercised, with some qualifications, in those of the inferior lords, almost universally. In short, such was the perplexing intricacy and confusion of feudal duties, that it was very often a nice question between different feudatories, or between them and the king, who had the best right to the services of certain dependents—it was the undoubted privilege of the vassal to make war against his superior if he denied him the justice of his court—and a most striking instance of the peculiarities of this scheme of territorial dependence is to be found in the fact, that Hugh Capet and his sons performed the duties of vassalage to several seigneurs of their own realm, in respect of fiefs which those monarchs held of them by a feudal tenure.

While all was thus, anarchy and insubordination, as between the king and his feudatories, and all was perpetual hostility and discord between the feudatories themselves, the condition of the *people* was the most miserable and degraded that can possibly be imagined. Every fief, as it is strongly expressed by the Abbé de Mably, was one vast prison to its inhabitants. No property, no privilege, no right was protected. Such were the oppressions with which the commonalty were harassed, that many of them sold themselves into bondage, with a view of securing, at least, subsistence and repose. “The very *privileges* granted them in their charters, pre-suppose the most intolerable vexations. It is by special favor that these wretches are allowed to settle a law-suit once commenced by a composition [*finés*.] They were reduced to the necessity of begging it as a favor, that their children should be permitted to learn to read and write, and that they should be compelled to sell to their lords, only the provisions or effects which they should be willing to dispose of. To authorize theft, non-payment of debts, bankruptcy, &c. by treaty, supposes a strange state of manners. This epidemic tyranny passed even to their domestics. The scullions of the Archbishop of Vienne established an impost on marriage, and his domestics had a regular banditti, who held of them by a sort of feudal tenure.”

3. The downfall of this extraordinary system comes next in order. *Four* causes are mentioned by the excellent writer last

referred to, as contributing to maintain it in France amidst all the revolutions it was perpetually undergoing. These were the bondage in which the people were held, and which gave to their lords an absolute control over their property and labour—the supreme judicial and legislative authority of the feudatories within their fiefs—the right of war, so inconsistent with order and subordination—and lastly, a certain equality and balance of power among those feudatories who alone could have entertained the project of universal conquest. As these main pillars or props of the system successively gave way, the edifice itself became more and more feeble and insecure, until, at a still later period, it crumbled into a heap of ruins under the energetic despotism of Richelieu.

One of the principal causes of its destruction is to be sought where so many other revolutions have had their origin—in the courts of justice. No feudal principle was better established than that a vassal could only be tried by his peers, and therefore a vassal of the king was amenable to no tribunal but the Court of Assizes, which was as ancient as the monarchy itself, and ought, in strictness, to have been composed, exclusively, of the immediate feudatories of the crown. This eminent judicatory, thus composed of the tenants *in capite* of the king, ought to have been carefully distinguished from another feudal court which Hugh Capet and his descendants held as Dukes of France and Counts of Paris and Orleans, but from some unaccountable inadvertence, or supineness, or ignorance in the great vassals, this distinction was not observed, and strange as it may appear, the loss of that grandeur and independence which had been acquired by their ancestors at the price of so much toil and blood, and which had been transmitted to them through so many centuries of revolution and disorder, was, in a good degree, owing to the ambiguity of an expression. From the moment that they submitted to this mixed and irregular tribunal, their security was at an end. The influence of the crown over its humbler retainers—the envy entertained by these against the chief feudatories—the increase of the royal demesnes from the confiscation of John's fiefs—all conspired to make the ancient pretensions of the vassals, be looked upon, in process of time, as more unfounded and extravagant, just in proportion as it became more difficult to enforce them. In addition to this, a most important auxiliary of the crown was found in the *Corpus Juris Civilis*. This system of jurisprudence, so excellent in questions of contract and property, so detestable in matters of public law and political rights, now began to be generally studied by the clergy, who soon became the only judges and practitioners in the courts.

These clerks had no pride of ancestry to indulge, no haughty privileges to maintain, no interests distinct from those of the monarch, of whom they were the creatures, nor did it ever enter into their hearts to conceive that it was equally their right and their duty, as successors of the high tribunal just mentioned, to restrain every attempt he might make, either by force or by fraud, to "to set himself in glory above his peers." They were accustomed, by the discipline of the church, to reverence the person, and to submit, implicitly, to the behests of a superior*—the maxims of the imperial law with which they were imbued, breathed nothing but servitude, and inculcated nothing but submission—they regarded the feudal customs as relics of ages of darkness and violence—and whatever, by those customs, was wanting to the king as suzerain or lord paramount, they more than made up to him, as a political sovereign, with adscititious prerogatives derived from the palace of the Cæsars. Public opinion was thus, by degrees, entirely changed. It formed itself upon these new principles. The rebellious and haughty spirit of feudal times was considered as barbarous, as blameable, as criminal; and when the great vassals, at length, became conscious of their degradation, and attempted to restore their hereditary power and dignity, they were surprised to find themselves denounced and punished as traitors and felons, for claiming what had once been their indisputable privileges. And lastly, the kings cut up their independence by the very roots, by granting a right of appeal from their courts to those of the crown, in all cases of denial of justice, which was soon construed to mean all cases whatsoever. Thus it happened in this as in other instances, that the right of interpreting the law, conferred the power of altering it—that a court of justice became the mightiest engine of usurpation—that the theory of a constitution was utterly superseded by an abusive practice, and a system of government and jurisprudence reared up with so much pains, and maintained so long by arms and by violence, was, ultimately, undermined and subverted by the silent progress of opinion.

We shall conclude our observations upon this head, with a few remarks concerning the system as it existed in England, and its connexion with the history of *Magna Charta* and the English Constitution. We have seen in the extract made in a preceding page, from the work of Mr. Humphreys, that it existed in that island only in a degenerate shape. The conqueror who

* What is here said of the Civilians is certainly true of the Continental Clergy. The noble example, however, of Cardinal Langton, and the English ecclesiastics, shows that the spirit of Anglo Saxon liberty was not to be repressed or corrupted by their example.

established it there, was probably too well aware of its tendency from experience of its effects on the continent to consent, that the adventurers who followed his banner, should turn his favours into arms against their benefactor. He, accordingly, began with a fundamental innovation upon its principles, at the famous council of Salisbury, A. D. 1085, by exacting and receiving the homage of all landholders in England, as well those who held immediately of the crown, as of their subtenants or valvassors. In addition to this important peculiarity, the fiefs of the nobles in comparison of those in France, were small and scattered—the King's court was paramount, and the County court and courts of the hundreds, both Saxon institutions, kept within very narrow limits, the territorial jurisdiction of the barons. And lastly, it is not unworthy of consideration that the bulk of the population, as a conquered and oppressed people, bore an implacable hatred to the Norman lords.

It resulted, of course, from the restraints thus laid upon the power of the nobles, that the royal authority was more sensibly felt in England than in any other feudal kingdom. Important effects were produced by this peculiarity in its institutions. The administration of the Conqueror himself and of William Rufus, was not only vigorous, but despotic and oppressive; and, although the barons, taking advantage of the dependent situation of Henry I., who had succeeded to the throne to the exclusion of his elder brother Robert, extorted from him a charter, granting or guaranteeing to them the most extensive privileges, yet, subsequent monarchs did not conceive themselves bound by a bad bargain of their predecessor. The discontents of the barons, continually increasing, waited only for a fit opportunity to break forth in open revolt. Their individual weakness made combination necessary—the “public good” is always the pretext, and sometimes the unlooked for consequence of factious or selfish opposition—and the vassals of the English throne, who, although tyrants themselves, were not powerful enough to resist a greater tyrant, extorted from him at Runnymede, a treaty, which became, in later times, and under the influence of more enlightened ideas and a still more generous and lofty spirit, the fundamental law of the only free people in Europe.

We “deem, with mysterious reverence,” of *Magna Charta*. Its name is identified with all the liberty—the rational and pure liberty—which now exists in either hemisphere. It produced all the good effects which can be expected from any written constitution. It supplied, and more than supplied the place of the laws of Edward the Confessor, of which nobody had any defi-

nite idea, and of those abstract political maxims which a rude people are incapable of comprehending. It was not only a charter but a *chart* to our English ancestors in their subsequent struggles with the crown : and when they stood up against the encroachments of prerogative and asserted the inalienable rights of human nature, this great charter which had been so often recognized and confirmed, which spoke a language so emphatic and precise, and which had come down to them, associated with so many lofty and ennobling recollections, served, at once, as the best authority and precedent and guide for them, in their efforts to meliorate the condition of society. We admit that it would be difficult to overrate its *effects*—but if it is meant to infer from it, that the political opinions of the English were, at that time, more enlightened than those of other nations, we must be permitted to question the correctness of such a conclusion. We do not perceive that Magna Charta differs, materially, from any other feudal charter, except in the relative importance of its subject ;*—in what Lord Coke calls “the great weightiness and weighty greatness of the matters contained therein.” It presupposes, in the king, an unlimited legislative power—*spontaneâ et bonâ voluntate nostrâ, dedimus et concessimus*. Nor did the barons, whose combined efforts extorted it from a feeble and reluctant monarch, advance any pretensions themselves to a share in that power, or assert any maxims of government inconsistent with the established principles of the feudal system.

There is not a more common error than to ascribe our own notions to those who have gone before us, and to suppose that in politics, the same words always mean precisely the same things.† In that age of barbarism and violence, it seems to us next to impossible that any idea of well-regulated liberty should have been entertained by a whole class of men, and more especially by a body of petty tyrants, like the barons of England.‡ We have met with the remark somewhere, and it is quite just, that in all the violent contentions of those times, now between the secular and ecclesiastical powers, then between the royal prerogative and the privileges of the noblesse, no mention is ever made of the rights of man, the fitness of things, the reasonableness or

* We refer the curious reader to the Book of Feuds, for some striking examples of this truth.

† The construction put upon the words of Florus and Lampridius, by Blackstone, which we adverted to in a previous page, furnishes a striking exemplification of this remark. Does *liber homo*, in Magna Charta, mean freeman, freeholder, or gentleman ? See Spelman's Glossary, and the 2d Institute.

‡ Langton's character is, to us, a wonder or a mystery. He *seems* to have been an enlightened advocate of free institutions ; but it is demonstrable from the whole tenor of English history and legislation, that the lay-lords were not so.

justice in the abstract of this or that institution, or principle, &c. Men had not yet learned the meaning of the words nation, constitution, society, the people. Magna Charta, in our opinion, some vague terms to the contrary notwithstanding—is an example of this truth. It is admitted not to have been so favourable to popular rights, as the charters extorted from Henry I., in the iron age of Norman despotism. In short, it seems to have grown out of no *idées libérales*, as the constitutionalists in France express it—no platonic love of liberty in the abstract. It was a mere treaty,* extorted “by the brute and boisterous force of violent men,” from a cowardly and feeble tyrant, whose pretensions came in conflict with their own, and whose arbitrary exactions, under colour of feudal dues, was likely to ruin their estates.

To sum up, in a few words, the difference between the effects of the feudal system in France and in England. In the former, owing to the great power of the chief feudatories, the rash confidence with which it inspired them, and the odium which it excited against them among the lower orders of the nobility and the people, it resulted, ultimately, in establishing the despotism of the throne, which triumphed over them one by one. In the latter, the weakness which made concert and union necessary in a common cause, had the salutary effect of awakening, by degrees, a sense of common interest, public spirit, an enlarged patriotism—the feudal confederacy was sooner merged in a consolidated nation—and what had been at first little more than the concession of a lord paramount, binding himself to adhere to the law of feods in its original spirit of a rude and violent, but a manly and robust independence and equality, became, as we have already remarked, the fundamental constitution of a free people. Magna Charta was the means of bringing back the feudal aristocracy to its first principles—one of the worst governments upon the whole, as a practical system, that ever existed—yet, Selden and Coke and Hambden, regenerated the government of England by bringing it back to the principles of Magna Charta, as explained in an enlightened age. So pliable are all political forms—so absolutely do they depend upon the spirit which animates them, and the sense in which they are interpreted. So fortunate was it for the people of England, that by a series of events, the bold and proud character which was at first peculiar to her barons, became common to her whole people; and, that the barriers which they had built up around their own privileges,

* See a piece published by Blackstone at the end of the Great Charter. *Hæc est conventio inter Joannem Regem Angliæ ex unâ parte, &c.*

were found to be ample enough, after the lapse of some centuries, to furnish a complete protection to public liberty.

4. The effects of the system of Feods, upon the law of real estate, being our principal object in the following remarks, we shall say but a very few words about its influence upon the opinions and manners of modern society.

This is principally to be remarked in the ideas of civil liberty, and in the point of honour.

As to the former, the whole system of feuds rested upon the principle of a generous and honourable confidence, and implied the strictest reciprocity of rights and obligations. The gift was made without price or stipulation to him who seemed the most worthy of it—the loyalty of the vassal was the legitimate recompense, as it was the natural fruit of the benevolence of his lord—his own interests were indissolubly bound up in those of his benefactor—and his chief duties, the defence of the fief in war and attendance upon its courts in peace, were, at once, the proudest badge of his privileges, and the surest means of defending them. If he failed to perform these duties, he was branded with the disgrace which attends a breach of faith, and the refusal to pay a debt of honour; and the very sentence passed upon him, implied the entire freedom of his actions. In theory, at least, he had no oppression to fear, for he might resist, with open force, without violating the law—he had no arbitrary punishment to dread, for he was tried by his peers—nor was he degraded by the inequality of his condition, for his lord lay under reciprocal obligations quite equivalent to his own. The services he was called upon to perform were of the most honorable kind—it was to be a brave knight in the field, a righteous judge in the court, a faithful and true friend in all the offices of life. It is manifest that such a relation in its purity, and as far as the *aristocracy* was concerned, was, in the highest degree, favorable to the spirit of liberty, and to the elevation of character which it begets. It naturally familiarized men's minds with that principle which is the basis of all well-regulated freedom, and which, in later times, has mitigated and softened even despotism into something like a constitutional polity, that obligation and right are reciprocal, and that the greatest ought not to be above the law which they impose upon the humble and the weak. It is true, centuries of tyranny, of war, of persecution, of cruelty, have been the bitter fruits of feudalism in Europe. Still, these terrible evils have not been unmingled with good—the original spirit of the system, the wild liberty of the Sicambri and the Scandinavians seems to have survived the abuses that oppressed it so long—and at the bottom of all this suffering and degrada-

tion, there seems to be yet a hope for the political regeneration of mankind.

Its influence upon manners may be traced to precisely the same source. It was a maxim of that law that *fealty* was incident to every tenure. Hence the prevailing spirit of the system as we have already observed, was honorable confidence and *loyal* and devoted attachment. In process of time, and assisted by other causes, this spirit has wrought an important change in the manners and character of modern nations. It has given birth to what Burke so beautifully calls "that sensibility of principle, that chastity of honour—which feels a stain like a wound, which mitigates ferocity—whilst it inspires courage." Chivalry naturally grew out of it, and the Bayards and Du Guesclins, the "fair gentlemen of France," and the mirrors of courtesy and valour, so much more refined in this respect even than the Scipios and the Cæsars, were lineally derived from the 'barons bold' of the dark age.

We fear we shall here have to bid adieu to the general reader—if, haply, he has honoured us with his company so far—for we are about to plunge into that gloomy and intricate forest, the English law of real estate, in order to trace the effects of the system of tenures upon some of its prominent doctrines.

What distinguishes feudal from allodial property, is this essential ingredient of the former, that all land is supposed to be holden of some one from whom the actual possessor either directly or derivatively received it. The consequence of this is, that the donor and the tenant have co-existent interests in the estate, the latter as entitled to what the civilians call the *usu-fruct* or *dominium utile*, the former as having the right of property, or *dominium eminens*. Hence, according to the rigour of the system, the lord was *ultimus heres*, and took back the estate by reverter whenever his vassal died without an heir of his own blood, or committed any offence by which his heir was debarred of the succession. It resulted from this principle, that in all the changes which the interest of the tenant might undergo, that of his lord was never lost sight of. The natural consequence was, that great restraints were laid upon the alienation of that sort of property, whether by act *inter vivos*, or by devise, and that the rules of inheritance were very different from those which ought to govern succession *ab intestato*.

I. With respect to the *inheritance* of the feud. To illustrate the principle and order of feudal succession, Mr. Butler has placed them in comparison with those of the civil law,* which

* Co-Litt. 191, a. Note 77.

in this particular, at least after the reforms of Justinian, approached more nearly to the law of nature. The difference between the two systems is as follows: "By the Roman law," to use the words of Mr. Butler, "the heir was a person instituted by the party himself, or in default of such institution, appointed by the law, to succeed both to his real and personal estate, and to all his rights and obligations. In the feudal law, he is a person related in blood to the ancestor; and in consequence of that relationship, entitled either merely by act of law, or by the concurrent effect of law and the charter of investiture, to succeed, at the ancestor's decease, to his real or immoveable property, not given away from him by will." Instead of succeeding to the *jus universum* of the deceased—instead of being identified with his person, as he was supposed to be by a fiction of the civil law, he succeeded to the *real* property only of the ancestor; and this, not by any supposed representation of him, but as related to him, or it were more accurate to say, to their common ancestor in blood, and "in consequence of that relationship, as a person designated in the original feudal contract to succeed to the feud." It followed from this principle, that he claimed nothing from his immediate ancestor, but only through him from the original donor. It was a further consequence of the same principle, that he was liable to none of the obligations of such immediate ancestor. Indeed, as in strictness, the feud was descendible when it was *feudum antiquum*, to the lineal descendants of the first tenant, and the power of alienating it did not exist, it is clear that every gift of lands was a strict entail, and that not barrable by fine or recovery.

Out of this important difference in the doctrine of inheritance, between the civil and the common law, grew up the well-known distinction between the liabilities of the executor and the heir in our jurisprudence.* The reason is plain. Our whole body of testamentary law was originally derived through the ecclesiastical courts, from the civilians and the canonists; whilst every thing relating to real estate, is of feudal origin. The executor with us is, in point of mere *legal* rights and liables, in the same situation as the *heres factus* of the civil law.†

II. With respect to *alienation*. This is of two kinds, voluntary or involuntary—that is to say, by the act of the owner or by attachment of law. Voluntary alienation, again, may be either by act *inter vivos*, or by last will and testament, to take effect only after the death of the donor.

* Co-Litt. 208, 6.

† Cowp. 215. This is preposterously denied by Browne, (Civ. Law, v. i. p. 310) where he mistakes a trustee of charitable uses for an ordinary heir.

And first as to voluntary alienation *inter vivos*. It is justly remarked by an ingenious writer,* that it would be an error to suppose that all the restraints upon alienation which we see in the feudal law, resulted from the peculiar constitution of the system. For, besides those which the principle of the feud imposed upon the dominion of the tenant with a view to the interest of the lord, there are others arising out of the very nature of land property, that have obtained under every form of society. Some of these have reference to the interest of the natural heir. Thus, the *jus retractus*, or right of redemption of relations, took place among the Jews, among the Greeks, and till within the century ago, among the Udal rights of the Orkney men. Thus, we have seen in one of our extracts from the Book of Feuds, (lib. ii. tit. 39) that a vassal could not alien a *feudum antiquum* even with the consent of the lord, unless he also obtained that of the agnati, or heirs of the blood of the first purchaser. So also it appears from Glanvil,† that no distinction is made between the military and socage tenure, and by the same old law, the restraints upon alienation are almost absolute where the tenant is in by descent, but very loose where he is in by purchase.‡ This undoubtedly proceeds from the peculiar character of land property. A proprietor seems almost to identify himself with the spot which he cultivates, and upon which he bestows his daily thoughts and labours. "This connexion long continued," says Dalrymple, "produces an affection, and this affection long continued, together with the others, produces the notion of property in land, because it makes a man naturally conclude, that there is an injustice in taking from another what he has long been connected with, and justified in conceiving an affection for." But the same principle which confers the right, seems to qualify and limit it. It appears in like manner agreeable to nature and to justice—at least, until notions of a more comprehensive policy spring up—"that his heirs who have long been connected with the land during their father's life—to whom it has, probably, been a home from infancy, and who have, in like manner, fixed their thoughts and affections upon it, should not wantonly be deprived of what they had such good reason to expect they should one day enjoy."

But all restraints upon alienation, of what kind, or from what source soever, are deemed inconsistent with the policy of commercial countries, and accordingly, in the progress of society, they are uniformly relaxed, and in some cases abolished altogether. A striking example is afforded by the changes in this

‡ Dalrymple.

† Lib. vii. c. 1. sp. Dalrymple.

‡ Id.

particular, that have been made in the law of real estate, from the strictness of the old feudal gift, to the present state of the law in this country.

The first step in this progress, was the power given to a man of alienating what he had himself acquired, which is implicitly given in the Book of Feuds,* and expressly it seems in the laws of Henry I. This power was not unqualified, for it appears from Glanvil, (lib. vii c. 1) that where the purchaser had a son, he was not allowed to dispose of more than a part of the land under the reign of Henry II.

The alienation of what a man got by *descent* followed, but slowly and by degrees. At first, a part only was allowed to be disposed of, and that only in certain enumerated cases, as where a vassal had rendered his lord some extraordinary service, or in frank-marriage with a daughter or the daughter of a feudatory, or in frank-almoigne or free-alsms, to which the opinions of the age were exceedingly favourable.

But while such restraints were laid on alienation of the fee in military and even socage tenures, it is probable from the analogy of the Scottish law, as well as from the reason of the thing,† that among the trading people in the boroughs where the extreme rigour of the feudal system was never known, and the exigencies of commerce required that property of all sorts should be free, the power of disposing of it absolutely was much sooner introduced. The example of the boroughs had its effect, and aided the natural course of things in bringing about a similar change in all the other tenures, wherein the right of alienation was very fully established under the reign of Henry III. Indeed, so frequently was this right exercised to the disadvantage of the lord, that it became necessary to restrain it by law, which was accordingly done in Magna Charta, cap. 32.

The only mode of alienation which was consistent with feudal principles, as has been already observed, was that by *sub-infeudation*, and accordingly, we find that the Book of Fiefs, (lib. iv. tit. 38) allowed the tenant to dispose of the whole feud in this manner. It does not seem consistent with the passage in Glanvil just mentioned, to suppose that sub-infeudation prevailed to the same extent in England under the reign of Henry II.; but in process of time, it made such progress there, that in the eighteenth year of Edward I. (1290) it was altogether prohibited by the statute, *quia Emptores Terrarum*. "Many excellent things," says Lord Coke, "were enacted by this statute, and all the doubts upon this chapter (32d) of Magna Charta,

* Lib. iv. Tit. 45. Edit. Cujac.

† Id.

were cleared ; both statutes having *one* end, (that is to say) for the upholding and preservation of the tenures, whereby the lands were holden ; this act of 18 Edward I. being enacted ad *INSTANTIAM MAGNATUM REGNI.*" (22 Inst. 66.) By *Magna Charta* the tenant was forbidden to alien more of his land than he might conveniently do, without disabling himself from performing his feudal duties. By the statute, *Quia Emptores*, which recognizes *Magna Charta* in this particular, he is allowed to alienate the whole, without any limitation or restraint whatever ; but then it is ordained in favour of the superior lords, that the *alienee* shall be considered as holding of them, and not of the *alienor*. This was, in every point of view, a most important change in the law. Every man, henceforth, had the free disposal of his land property, but in an alienation in fee, there was no longer any reversion to him who conveyed the estate.

From what has been said, it is apparent that the current of opinion set at this time strongly in favour of the full dominion and free disposal of estates ; but the same great barons who had extorted *Magna Charta* from John and his son, and afterwards obtained the statute *Quia Emptores Terrarum*, "for the upholding and preservation of their tenures," determined to resist this propensity of the times as much as possible. Accordingly, through their influence and management, the famous statute *De Donis*, of the 13 Edward I. was procured to be passed ; by which it was enacted that the will of the donor making a gift to a man and the heirs of his body, should be literally complied with, and the estate be thus perpetuated in the family of the donee, so long as he should have issue living, and upon failure of such issue, should return to the lord.

The history of this statute illustrates in a very striking manner, the subject of which we are treating. By the feudal law we have seen,* that in strictness, the donation was never extended beyond the words by any presumed intent, but was taken so rigorously, that if a gift were made to a man and his sons, the estate was not transmissible to the issue of the sons, nor yet survived to the brothers, but upon the death of any of them, returned, or in proper legal phrase, reverted to the lord. A gift, therefore, to A, and the heirs male of his body, would seem, according to the same rule, to convey to A an estate descendible to his heirs male *ad infinitum* ; that is to say, what is called under the statute *De Donis*, a *fee-tail*. Accordingly, in *Taylor vs. Horde*,† Lord Mansfield, affirms that the statute *De*

* Wright 17.

† 1, Burr 115.

Donis, only repeated what the law of tenures had said before, that the tenor of the grant should be observed. But it appears that the courts, in compliance with the general spirit of the times, or what is more probable, unconsciously partaking of it themselves, had put upon the words constituting a fee-tail, what must be admitted to be a very subtle and strained construction. They said that such a gift as we have mentioned, to A, and the heirs *male* of his body, was a fee-simple, on condition subsequent, that he should have heirs male of his body—therefore, as soon as the donee of an estate of this kind had such issue, his estate, according to the maxim of the law, that when a condition is once performed, it is thenceforth entirely gone, became *absolute*—at least to the three following purposes:—1st. To enable him to alien the land, and so to bar not only his own issue, but the donor of his possibility of reverter. 2dly. To be liable to forfeit the estate for treason or felony. 3dly. To enable him to charge the land with rents and other incumbrances.

But it is to be remarked, that the donee of the estate did not acquire a fee-simple absolute upon the birth of issue, *ipso jure*. For if he did not alter the course of the descent by alienating the estate and taking it back, as was the practice, it went down according to the form of the gift to the class or description of heirs designated by the donor—and if they, in like manner, neglected to alien it, the donor was not barred of his right of *reverter*.* And it has recently been decided in this State, that a tenant in fee conditional, cannot disappoint his issue, by devise; their right, like the *jus accrescendi* in joint tenancy, being in the eye of the law antecedent and paramount to any that could arise by will.

It was with a view to obviate the effect of the construction thus put upon the words creating a fee-conditional, that the nobility procured the statute *De Donis* to be passed. By this statute, a gift to a man and the heirs male of his body, was made to convey to him an estate of inheritance, descendible to the particular class of heirs designated by the donor, to be enjoyed by each successive generation of heirs as they came *in esse*, without being liable to be defeated or barred by any one of them who might be in possession. So much for its effect upon the rights of the heir. With respect to those of the donor, the statute vested in him an indefeasible *reversion* in the lands, expectant on the determination of the estate-tail, instead of a mere possibility of reverter, which was all he had in fee-conditional—and as for the means of asserting his right, he was no longer

* 7. Rep. 34, 1. Inst. 19, a.

under the necessity of making formal entry to defeat the gift, as it was necessary to do in all estates upon condition ; but the estate, upon failure of issue of the donee, returned to him by mere act of law, according to the form of original limitation. Upon this view of the disposition made by the statute, the judges held that it had created in the donee a *particular estate*; that is, an estate less than the fee, which, as it left a vested reversion in the donor, enabled him to make a further gift of that reversion by way of remainder over.

The entails thus introduced, so enormously increased the wealth and power of the nobles, that they were enabled to trample at once upon the rights of the people and the prerogatives of the crown.

But although these effects were long felt, yet the progress of commerce, the luxury introduced by it, into which the nobility, always disposed to be prodigal, heedlessly rushed—and no doubt the secret jealousy of the kings, to whom the pretensions of the great lords could not but be offensive, if not dangerous—all conspired to bring about an alteration of the law in this point. This was not done at first by act of Parliament, but as we have seen, that a construction favourable to the free alienation of property had been put upon the fee-conditional by the courts, so the attack upon these entails by statute, was begun in the same way. For on the one hand, the judges discouraged all new devices for new species of entails, as we learn from Lord Coke;* and on the other, such contrivances as had been resorted to to elude the old entails, were sustained.† Until at length it was solemnly decided in the reign of Edward IV. (Taltarum's case) that the tenant might bar not only his issue, but the reversion of the donor by the collusive suit called a common recovery.‡

That politic and tyrannical prince, Henry VII., pushed this matter still further. He procured a statute to be passed in the fourth year of his reign (4 Henry VII. c. 24) which explained

* 1. Inst. 377.

† Bac. Abr. Fine and Recovery, p. 541.

‡ 6. Rep. 40. (Sir Anthony Mildmay's case.) Lord Coke says, that the mischief arising out of entails were attempted to be remedied at divers Parliaments, and divers bills were exhibited accordingly, (which I have seen) but they were always on one pretence or other rejected. But the truth was, that the Lords and Commons knowing that their estates-tail were not to be forfeited, &c. as their estates of inheritance were before the said act, (and chiefly in the time of Henry III. in the Barons' War) they always rejected such bills—and the same continued in the residue of the reign of Edward I. and of the reigns of Edward II. Edward III. Richard II. Henry IV. Henry V. and Henry VI. and till about the twelfth year of Edward IV. (1464–1482.) Where the judges, on consultation had, amongst themselves, resolved that an estate-tail might be docked and barred by a common recovery, and that by reason of the intended recompense, the common recovery was not within the restraint of the said perpetuity made by the said act, 13 Edward I.

and confirmed by (32 Henry VIII. c. 36) in fact repealed the statute *De Donis*, by making a fine with proclamation, to conclude all persons claiming under the conusor. According to the statute *De Donis*, a fine was to be *ipso jure*, null; whereas, by the statute Henry VII. a fine was made valid to bar the issue in tail. The form of a recovery had been that of a collusive suit and judgment—that of a fine, was a collusive suit and compromise.

2dly. Although in the order of nature, involuntary alienation, by attachment of law, precedes voluntary alienation by will, yet we shall first treat of the latter.

It is plain that the idea of a posthumous disposition of property is a more refined one than that of a right to make any use of it during the life of the proprietor. Accordingly, we find that until Solon permitted them, the Athenians could not make testaments, and the only mode by which the Romans were allowed to do so before the time of the XII. Tab. was by a solemn act of legislation, whereby the whole people in the *Comitia Calata*, during the life of the testator, approved of the substituting of a testamentary in the place of the natural heir, by a species of adoption. But, as Dalrymple observes, there is a long interval in the progress of society, between such alienation *mortis causa*, as is made good by delivery during life, and that alienation which is made good by barely notifying one's wish as to what disposition shall be made of his estate after his death. And, accordingly, as in the ancient Roman law, so in the English, alienation, of this sort, was an intermediate step between the absence of all testamentary power over property, and that unlimited extent of it which is, at present, allowed by our jurisprudence.

There seems to be no doubt but that devises of land were common among the Saxons, who probably followed in this matter, the usage which had been established in Britain during the Roman domination in that island. But, according to Mr. Hargrave, who has given a concise but very satisfactory history of this part of the law;* after the Norman conquest, the power of devising land ceased, except as to socage lands in some cities and boroughs,† and also, except as to *terms for years*, which, on account of their original insignificance and insecurity, were reckoned as personalty, and as such, were ever disposeable by will. This limitation of testamentary power over property, resulted, of course, from the principles of the feudal system, established by the conqueror—but, no doubt, the *natural* obstacles to that power, which have been adverted to, contributed to produce that effect. For, by the statute *Quia Emptores Terrarum*, the feudal

* Co. Lit. b. iii. n. 138.

† Lit. 5, 167.

bar to this species of alienation was removed—yet, it was not until upwards of two centuries were elapsed, that full scope was given to it by the Statute of Wills. Meanwhile, however, partly by the interposition of the courts, partly by the devices of lawyers, the dominion over property, which is so necessary in a commercial and advanced state of society, was gradually enlarged in this, as it had been in other respects. For, soon after the statute *Quia Emptores*, feoffments to *uses* having come into fashion, last wills were enforced in chancery as good declarations of the *use*; and thus, the power of devising was, in effect and reality, though indirectly, exercised. At length, however, this practice was checked, not accidentally, but designedly, by the Statute of Uses (27 Henry VIII.) which, by transferring the possession or legal estate to the use and consolidating them into one, had the effect of totally destroying all distinction between them. But public opinion was too strong for the Legislature, which a few years after they had thus interposed to restrain an *indirect* mode of passing lands by will, expressly made it devisable by 32 & 34 Henry VIII. And it being the better opinion that these statutes did not extend to estates *pur autre vie* in *freehold lands*, this defect was supplied by 29 Car. II. c. 3, which makes them devisable in the same manner as estates in *fee simple*.

By the law, therefore, as it exists at present, there is no restraint or limit, whatsoever, upon the power of devising lands.

3dly. It remains for us to dispose of the history of *involuntary alienation*.

Upon this, as upon every other mode of alienation, the feudal system imposed, at first, a complete restraint. At common law, therefore, all that a creditor could look to for the satisfaction of his debt or damages, was, except in some special instances, the goods and chattels of the debtor, and the profits of his lands. Hence, the law allowed him the *feri facias* against the goods and chattels of the debtor, and the *levari facias* against his goods and the rents and profits of his lands as they accrued, until the debt was satisfied. At the common law, therefore, neither the person nor the lands of the debtor were liable to be attached for debt. The first statute by which a debtor was subjected to imprisonment by *capias ad satisfaciendum*, was the 25 Edward III. c. 17, whereby that process was given in actions of debt, detainue, &c. His lands, however, had been rendered liable at a much earlier period, for the statute Westminster 2., 13 Edw. I. c. 18. granted the writ of *elegit*, by which the defendant's goods and chattels are delivered to the creditor at an appraised value, and if they are not sufficient, then the moiety of the freehold lands of the debtor are delivered to the creditor, to be retained

until the debt is levied, or the debtor's interest in the land is expired. Afterwards, by statute 13 Edward I., a merchant might cause his debtor to appear before the mayor of London, &c., and there acknowledge his debt. This was called a recognizance. If this recognizance was forfeited, by non-payment, at the time appointed, the body, lands and goods of the debtor were to be delivered to the merchant creditor, in execution. This process was called an *extent*, because the sheriff was bound before he delivered them to the creditor, to have them appraised at their full or *extended* value. By the 27 Edward III. a similar remedy was granted to those whose debts were acknowledged before the mayor of any of the towns where the staple was held. These securities are generally called *statutes merchant* and *statutes staple*. They were, at first, confined to the commercial part of the community, and it was not until the 23 Henry VIII. that a similar remedy was extended to all other classes of the community by a *recognizance* in the nature of a *statute staple*. This makes good the assertion of Dalrymple, (p. 116) "that as the *voluntary* alienation of land was first freely introduced among trading people in boroughs, so the involuntary alienation of it was first freely introduced among the same people in the same places." The *bankrupt laws*, in England, have proceeded upon the same principle, making the land property of merchants and other traders generally liable, while, with respect to debts due by other persons, the old distinction introduced by the feudal law, still prevails, with some qualification, even at this day.—That is, that whilst the assets, in the hands of the executor, are liable for all the obligations of what kind soever, the assets in the hands of the heir are liable only to debts of record and debts by specialty, in which the heir is named—to the former, because the process of the court creates a lien on the lands themselves; to the latter, because the heir is comprehended, by fiction of law, in the original contract. For the ancestor's debts, by simple contract, the heir still remains not liable.

We shall conclude with the following passage of an ingenious writer, to whom we acknowledge ourselves very much indebted in the course of the preceding remarks:—

"The feudal law," says Dalrymple, "carries with it not only a system of private rights, which swallow up all others, wherever it comes; it involves too, in giving effect to those rights, a system of forms which remain even when the original rights are no more. Nor is this all, for some of these rights, by the force which each gave once to the other remain, even when most of the forms have perished too; but the day will probably come, when all land becoming allodial, and the more complete and easy attachment of it becoming necessary, the rule of the Roman empe-

ror laid down in the Pandects, and made when the feudal relations and the bar to the alienation of land property consequent upon them were unknown, will be the law of the world." *Lib. 15, ff. de re judicatá, 2, 3.*

"By that law it was ordered, that a portion of the moveables equivalent to the debt, should first be sold; but if these did not suffice, that an equivalent portion of the land should be sold, and if no purchaser appeared, that the subject offered for sale should become the property forever of the creditor."

We need not add, that in most of these States, there are not even these moderate and reasonable restraints upon the involuntary alienation of land.

ART. II.—*Kleine Romane von Friedrich, Baron DE LA MOTTE FOUQUÉ*. 1er. 2er. & 3er. Theile. Berlin, 1812-1814.

WHAT is Taste? is a question, which, even in the present period of universal illumination, seems to be as far from a satisfactory solution as the more important one—What is Truth? The learned mob appear, in their decisions concerning works of judgment or of fancy, to be much in the same condition as the peasant, who constructs his habitation without the aid of compass, line or plummet, and yet presumes to admire its site, and to laud its proportions; adopting them as standards by which similar edifices are to be gauged, not measured, to be affected or avoided, not valued and approved. The only orthodox tenet in the empire of taste, the *Canon Mirificus*, to whose authority all defer, is, that it is a thing, concerning which nothing can be known, and, therefore, nothing be disputed or determined. Now we are very willing to allow that this offuscated vision of the sublime and beautiful, is quite sufficient for those whose business it is to see the show, but quite wide of the mark for such as desire to be workmen themselves, or expect to teach others to become so. The guests of Louis the XIV. who partook of the delicious ragout prepared from his majesty's anointed slippers, doubtless chuckled in the supremacy of their own discernment,

and were much in the right to confine the cook to his own occult science. His posterity of the kitchen, however, can never sufficiently deplore their loss of the items which composed that Apician banquet.

We make no apology for these familiar allusions to the mysterious science of good eating, since it is quite plain that taste, with all its heavy and light-armed retainers, continues, to the present hour, to avouch their fealty to this lord paramount. Sir Walter Scott is fine, and so are his poems and novels fine. Who can say more, even of crimped cod and champagne?

We may be sure that words used in such opposite senses will, in the mouths of most people, be nothing more than words. It were desirable to chain this Proteus within the limits of an ascertainable identity, so that "the form of beauty, smiling at the heart," might, on all occasions, afford something more than momentary glimpses to the entranced inquirer. Unfortunately, this is not the place for so redoubtable an encounter, and the merits of a discussion which has occupied the world for so many ages, would require a volume, and not an essay, for its development. A few cursory observations, however, designed as the basis of the opinion which we shall pass on a foreign writer of great merit, may, perhaps, demand and receive indulgence.

Works of fiction, so far as the cast of their invention is concerned, admit of being distinctly arranged into southern, northern, oriental and mixed. The first, consisting of the ancient classics, and of the works formed upon a purely classical model. The next, deriving its substance from a period of antiquity equally remote, but receiving its form independently of, and at an era considerably posterior to the former. The third, presenting, through every age, nearly the same wild and exaggerated features, and standing in bold relief, singular and apart. The last compounded of the first two, and admitting the oriental only in minuté and inappreciable elements. How comes it that in the midst of this marked diversity and opposition, they should all please in their turn, and all equally secure immortality to those illustrious geniuses who have successfully adopted any one of them? The sacred poetry of the Hebrews; the Lays of Homer and Milton; of Virgil and Racine; the dreams of Sophocles and Shakspeare and Schiller; the tales of the Arabians; the novels of Richardson and Fielding and Smollett, and the romances of Scott and Fouqué, all wing their shafts homeward to the heart. Yet how different are they in their structure, their language and embellishments!

Will it solve the difficulty to say, that all this is the effect of Taste? We apprehend not, for the question still returns—what

is Taste? We suppose that little will be got by saying with the ancients, that it is the sense of the beautiful, or with the moderns that it is the capacity of receiving enjoyment from the beauties of nature and art, or that it is the effect of the feelings of man, associated with, and diffused over external objects. These are, indeed, elements of taste, but not taste itself. Like the term constellation, taste does not represent a single idea nor a composition of ideas, but only an abbreviation of terms designating ideas, which occur simultaneously. It is in relation to the heart and to those senses of discipline, the eye and the ear, what judgment is in reasoning, and honour in morals—the rapid perception of those ultimate results, which repeated developement has so completely ascertained, as to render it no longer necessary to expand and exhibit their elements in detail. On a subject which is familiar to him, an acute and practised reasoner decides instantaneously, and to the uninitiated, the conclusion appears oracular and even marvellous. Still he himself is at no loss to trace out the ladders and the scaffolding, which enabled him, gradually, to reach the vantage ground of truth. A man of honour, and we may add, a woman of honour too, rejects a dishonest proposal with an electric repugnance, which, to a Bæotian bystander, might appear the effect of some new and particular faculty, expressly designed to afford infallible security to the probity of gentlefolks. Such worthies, however, know full well that their treasure abides in earthen vessels, and that it has only been by superinducing the wicker work and iron bands of discretion and discipline, that they have succeeded in rendering it proof against every assault. In like manner, the phrensied eye of the poet embraces, at a glance, a multitude of nice appliances, linked together on a chain of gossamer, which no orb, untouched with euphrasy, can detect, distinguish or detail. It is much less by what he expresses, than by what he suggests, that the writer of genius expects to unlock the gushing fountains of the heart, and to conduct their crystal waters over the sunny spots and verdant places of life.

Experience furnishes the man of genius with a knowledge of his own sensations and passions, and of the objects by which they are gratified or disappointed, together with a knowledge of the causes which obstruct their uniformity. Observation soon convinces him that the sources of good and evil; of pleasure and pain, are the same in others as in himself. How to excite or allay; to enhance or depress them: how to combine, and when to present them singly, is the great art, we had almost said the sole art, of the inventor of fiction. Just as the artist in ordinary

stone and mortar, knows that these materials are necessary to the elevation of the fabric, but, that without care in arranging them, they must forever remain a shapeless and confused mass. In short, to awaken interest, and to inspire passion in the degree which nature has allotted to them in the subject, which a writer proposes to illustrate and adorn, is the highest praise to which genius can aspire. There may be power exhibited in the generation of associations, and yet the artist, whether poet, painter or sculptor, be entitled to small commendation. Ideas, like remedies in medicine, must be administered to us, always with a special attention to the when, the where and the how.—Hence, we cannot help regarding a strong addiction to the romantic as a capital defect in many modern works. The reader is continually remanded to his liorn book, to acquire the requisite knowledge, or must have his deficiencies perpetually bolstered up with notes, commentaries and dissertations. In what respect is such a work as the *Curse of Kehama*, honourably distinguished from the works of Donne, or the pedantic effusions of Darwin. As a kind of technical aid to the memory of the reader, they may properly be ranked with the labours of Dr. Gray, or those of the renowned authors of *As in præsentis*. What musician would be tolerated, who should demand of his hearers an exact knowledge of thorough bass, or who should continually interrupt the delicious flow of sweet sounds, by demonstrating the accuracy of his calculation of time. We repeat it, that the materials of invention in the arts are common, obvious and accessible to the whole human race. The pleasure derived from a picture or a poem is not so much in the images themselves, as to be referred to their power over the heart. Abating our want of familiarity with the original language, what commentary does the lowest capacity require, even at the present day, in order to relish the beauties of Homer? The task of his auditors simply consisted in listening and being delighted! Widely different is the toil and the torture of the modern votary of the Muses. There is the stout battery of Greek and Roman literature to be mounted, flanked by a variety of irregulars, French, Italian, Spanish, German, and (*Dii vostram fidem*) perhaps Icelandick and Russian. But this is not all: the enthusiast, whether writer or reader, must be master of all possible sciences, when, perhaps, he may reach the altitude of comprehending an ode, a sonnet, or a tale. Indeed, it is almost too indulgent to say of modern fiction,

“Sera tamen respexit inertem ;
Candidior postquam tondenti barba cadebat :
Respexit tamen, et longo pòst tempore venit.”

There is then a language of the emotions and passions distinct from and paramount to every conventional vehicle, and it is the province of that attainment in any of the fine arts, which enables the individual to master and apply it, to which the term Taste is properly applied. It follows, that genius is unlimited by the nature of the language, the costume, the manners, the habits of this or that age or country. Not but that the popularity of a writer must, in a considerable degree, be limited by these circumstances. Still, to those who have the hardihood to collate and master these arbitrary expressions, there remains a perfect harmony in all the efforts of real genius. It may be justly said then of our clothes, of our furniture, as of our language, that they are Grecian or Roman; English or French; Italian or German: but of a work of fancy, which forcibly recommends itself to an enlightened taste, we ought only to say, that it is excellent in its kind.

“Art, Glory, Freedom fail, but Nature still is fair.”

We have been seduced into this train of observation, by the indignation which has frequently seized upon us whilst considering the extremely iniquitous judgments which are passed by the inhabitants of all countries, upon what are called *foreign* works of genius. Many of these criticisms appear to have no other merit, than the alliterative language in which they are couched. Accordingly, a performance, if it be Dutch, is, by prescription, dull; if French, flimsy; if German, grave. This is certainly the effect of national prejudice and antipathy, since no one ever thinks of inflicting the same cabalistic censure on the ancient works of genius. We hold it to be more equitable as well as more philosophical to assert, that works of genius can be written to any purpose, only in one tongue—the vernacular language of mankind, the idiom of the heart. It is by this title only that they descend to posterity and rank their authors among the number of the immortals. To most Englishmen, and descendants of Englishmen, the language of Shakespeare is a study of some difficulty; much of it is obsolete or quaint; his plots, so far as they are native, belong to another age, to other habits and manners; so far as they are foreign, they may be said to be true to any thing but reality. No one, however, we presume, would think of estimating his merits by such standards. His faults or his misfortunes in these particulars, might have been vastly more numerous than they are, without weighing a feather against his transcendent excellencies. He is still the mighty magician, at the waving of whose potent

wand, all the heaving passions of the soul start from their lurking places, in their living lineaments of deformity or beauty, of meanness or magnificence.

There is no nation, whose literature has been more injuriously treated than the German; none which has experienced more obstacles in forcing its works of merit upon the notice of the reading public of other countries. It is not difficult to account for this fact, at least to a certain extent. Whilst the more southern nations of Europe, including England, may be said to have started for the goal almost simultaneously, Germany, harrassed by civil wars and theological disputes, had no opportunity of signalizing herself in the arts which adorn and elevate existence. Rich as was the fund which she possessed in the lays of her Minnesingers, the diversity of dialects, and the want of a common currency in language, prevented her from deriving any profit from it. The Reformation, whilst it remedied this evil, by raising up a common standard in Luther's translation of the Scriptures, and in the pulpit addresses of the Clergy, was pregnant with other events by no means favourable to the cause of the Muses. The various sects of Religionists which subsequently arose, to whom experience had not yet imparted the salutary lesson of agreeing to differ, found in the discussion of their mutual differences an interest, to use no harsher epithets, too exclusive and absorbing. Even that degree of improvement in taste, which the eloquence of the Church insensibly acquires in times and situations where the current of human feeling is left to pursue its unruffled course, was almost hopelessly banished. Amidst rival aspirants to spiritual popularity, the simplicity of pathos was lost in the clang of dialectics, and the ordinary subjects of human interest exchanged for topics condemned by the wisdom of this world, and having no very obvious bearing on the next. A return to a better and more earthly state of things could not be expected, and, indeed, did not occur until these assailants had mutually exhausted all the weapons of controversy, without having effected the slightest breach in their respective theological battlements.

When the period of repose arrived, the writers of Germany found all the high places of literature occupied, and it was only by passing the isthmus, which united the associations of their countrymen with those of other nations, professing similar devotional impressions, that they obtained a solid footing in the world of letters. Hence we find that Gesner, and Gellert, and Klopstock continued to be the representatives of German literature long after they had been superseded at home by Lessing and Wieland.

In Schiller and Goethe, champions have arisen, whose success has fairly removed every barrier, whether native or foreign, which opposed itself to the literary renown of their country. A knowledge of its language begins to rank in the catalogue of liberal accomplishments, and its works of fancy are now very generally sought after and admired.

Of the recent popular writers of Germany, there is, perhaps, none more admired and read than the Baron de la Motte Fouqué, whose *Tales and Romances* we now propose to introduce to the notice of our readers. In brilliancy of fancy, novelty of invention, and a rich and flowing diction, copious but not diffuse, we believe that there are few writers of the present day by whom he is surpassed. When we consider the power which he displays, in connexion with the shortness of the pieces before us, we feel convinced that the charge of prolixity, so often urged against German works of fancy, is by no means well founded. M. Fouqué is, however, in the last degree amenable to the charge, to which all modern writers of Romance must plead guilty—a want of well-sustained interest. There is no regular plot; no consistent whole. The story proceeds by leaps and bounds, precipitating the reader *in medias res*, without the possibility of discovering what preceded, or of divining what is to follow. He is in the situation of a voyager traversing the ocean in a gallant ship, amidst joyous gales that waft him on his course, with the liquid azure of the heavens above, and the lurid waters of the deep beneath, now lifting him to the skies, and anon sinking under him or curling around him, till at last they appear to vanish in thin spray, and gorgeous, impalpable light. All is excitement for the moment, but the course finished, nothing is distinct, nothing vivid. The labouring recollection strives in vain to weave anew the web of joy which before encircled it. The confused elements still haunt the imagination, shrouded in thick darkness, which alone can be felt.

A modern Romance must, in its very inception, be a sin against good taste. It must necessarily, and to a certain extent, send every reader to school. Nor is this practice sufficiently defended, by saying that the notions, which we now style romantic, once constituted a part of the every day notions and the ordinary staple of life. The very defence is an implied admission of the truth of the charge. Every master-work of fancy, when duly analysed, will be found to consist of the most common and obvious materials; of notions, which a contemporary, so far from having to acquire, could scarcely be conceived ignorant of. Homer is occasionally abstrusely mythological; Pindar is copious in genealogy; and Milton is at times eminently metaphysi-

cal and theological. These, however, were ordinary accomplishments in their respective times, and for aught we know, Praise God Barebones, in a spiritual tilt, might have been no contemptible antagonist of Cromwell's Latin Secretary.

To be able to construct a story, which shall present a regular beginning, middle and end, each naturally conducting to the other, is a task, which, however simple in the enunciation, always has, and we fear, will forever present an insuperable difficulty to minds otherwise possessed of exuberant fertility and energy in details. It is like demanding of a chain-carrier or country surveyor, the acquirements of Euclid or Archimides. Accordingly, we find that this is exactly the labour which a genius, not absolutely of the first order, is almost certain to avoid, or to fail in if he attempt it. We scruple not to assert, and we do so with sentiments of unfeigned admiration for the exuberance of his genius, and the masculine vigour of many of his conceptions of individual scenes and characters, that the author of "*Waverly*" has produced nothing comparable for high-wrought and uniformly sustained interest, to the "*Clarissa*" of Richardson. Yet there is nothing in this last, that an ordinary inhabitant of the good land of Cockaigne, might not understand perfectly without the aid of chronicle or glossary. But we would further ask, and we do so that we may avoid all suspicion of partiality, who can derive any other feelings than those of disgust, from the Priapeian details, upon which the author of the "*Last of the Mohicans*," has dwelt with such elaborate deformity? What just criticism could lead an author, indubitably possessed of athletic mental powers, to suppose that any durable impression of delight could be produced upon a cultivated understanding, English or American, by the most exact portraiture of the vilest passions, in their unrestrained influence over the most ferocious of our species? Why has he thrown aside the pencil of Titian or Reynolds, for the monstrous brush of Fuseli?

The author before us seems to be perfectly aware of the intimate alliance which exists between the obscure and the sublime. The first of these tales, "*The League of Death*," is one of great power in various parts, yet as a whole is indistinct and misty. We have taken some pains to gather up the thread of it, and yet we do not flatter ourselves with being thoroughly initiated into the writer's conception of it. We shall, however, endeavour to the best of our ability, to give an outline of it.

It seems that Reidmar, the hero of the piece, an elegant youth, an attendant at court, had, in early life, indulged in a voracious appetite for Romances and other wonderful narrations, until, like Don Quixotte, his imagination became distempered, and

engendered a disgust for the tame realities of life. "When or where, that is the question," he is introduced to a familiarity with Diona, a young princess of incomparable beauty. They conceive an invincible attachment for each other, and are continually on the point of ratifying it by the most solemn vows, but are as often prevented by the apparition of the lady's deceased father, who, in the most extraordinary manner, enters her chamber, and mars all their blissful projects, by preternaturally forbidding the bans. At last, however, this ominous guardian, wearied out we suppose, for we dare not say that we are informed, by the perseverance of this constant couple, beckons the youth to his daughter's apartment, after having frightened her with a noise by no means ghostly, and then leaves the enraptured lovers to shape the course of their own fortunes. The damsel, however, appears to have conducted the negotiations with more than royal prudence, and for the present, the affair proceeded no further than to the espousals. Reidmar receives a miniature of his mistress, in a gold case, having a lesser compartment containing poison, with an injunction which he promises to fulfil, and which, in truth, was not unlike that of the Spartan mother, requiring her son to return with his shield, or to return upon it. The moment he ceased to love, the trinket was to be unloosed by death.

In the meantime, according to the usual fate of lovers, more particularly in high stations, a certain intriguing, political busybody, named Lorentin, steps between. From the ubiquity, and superhuman contrivance of this gentleman, we at first took him for an impersonation of the arch fiend himself. Yet from subsequent events, he seems to be a thing of flesh and blood. However this may be, it is certain, that his officiousness had the effect of sending poor Reidmar upon his travels, filled with disappointment, fixed in hatred of his adversary, and somewhat dephlogisticated by the rough experiments to which his attachment had been exposed. Accordingly, our first acquaintance with him commences by discovering him upon an unknown and unfrequented heath, just as the shadows of evening are closing in upon him. Looking out for some sign of the road, he espies a large stone with a statue upon it, to which the vapours of the evening imparted a gigantic appearance. A slight shudder creeps over him, and as he ridiculed himself for it, he insensibly fell into this parley with himself:—

"Is it timidity then, to tremble before the inhabitants of an unknown world, to which we must all surely descend, after having shuffled off what we now consider our own? Is it?"—his inward horror took the upper hand, since it confused and effaced every accurate thought, and

impetuously hurried him over to the object of his fears. As he passed by, he threw a glance upon it, and thought he recognized the shape of his mortal enemy, Lorentin. 'Did they erect monuments to him here?' said he, inwardly agitated; and directly after: 'no, foolish fancy, have done. It is an evil delusion, which thy own angry torture bears along with thee.' Immediately the figure cried out to him: 'You are in error, dear friend. I am that Lorentin, so fatal to you.' And the well-known laugh of contempt, sounded in Reidmar's ears." p. 4.

His first thought was to have discharged his pistol, but a feeling of self-respect prevented him. He bids him draw and defend himself. He is disarmed, and is refused the boon of death, which he earnestly seeks at the hand of his antagonist. The latter promises to meet him again in the Turkish war, under prince Eugene, to which they are both bound, and after directing him to a neighbouring habitation, parts from him.

It is here that the interest of the tale commences, and we are introduced into a scene and to personages, every way worthy of our notice. It is a chapter from the book of every day's existence: made up of human feelings, and earthly interests, and heavenly aspirations, and yet, the "selectest influences" of the writer's genius seem to have presided over its composition. To him, it owes little more than the skilful exhibition of those elective affinities in the circumstances of life, which never fail in the result, when combined by the hand of a master:—

"A close thicket of beeches rose on the sides of several gentle hills, which bounded the heath. The foot-path led directly thither, and Reidmar felt, as if secretly embraced and welcomed, as soon as the twigs overshadowing him, expanded themselves around and above. The steadfast gloom accorded well with the temper of his mind, and he was on the point of adopting the umbrageous foliage, the tender and elastic sward, as a chamber and couch, and to rest here for the night, when a distant taper, which still more hospitably twinkled near him, shone through the leaves. Every thought of treachery and danger vanished; here, it was evident, none but good spirits could inhabit. The path led through the valley nearer to the light, like a calm, friendly glance of love in the night, and in an open space, the outlines of a small building, became visible against the deep blue of the starry heavens. Reidmar silently approached nigher, and from an elevation looked over the garden into a window, from which the light proceeded. Every thing in the small chamber appeared neat and agreeable, the daily peace of the tenants was so intelligible to the mind, as one looked from the benighted valley into the well-ordered chamber. Two female figures sat at a table opposite to one another. She, with her back to the window, was an aged matron, as appeared from her air, and the respectable, but somewhat antiquated style of her dress; the other was reading aloud, as it seemed, from a book of devotion, and bending over it with earnestness, so that the flaxen ringlets, of surpassing beauty, concealed her whole counte-

nance. Her small and delicate hands were folded together over the book. On a sudden, she raised her eyes on high, and Reidmar gazed upon a heaven of innocence, goodness and beauty. What followed, she seemed to repeat by heart, for her sweet lips moved incessantly, whilst an expression of infantile attention and holiness sat upon her whole countenance. Reidmar did not think of a nearer approach until she had ended, indeed, in the joy of the spectacle, he would have longer remained still, had he not feared that according to the usual arrangement of the establishment, they would retire to rest immediately after evening prayer, and that he might then seek admittance in vain. But how could he give notice of his presence, without interrupting, by a sudden alarm, the calm which so gently and soothingly bespoke him?—Above all, it would have distressed him to have called up, especially by his first appearance, perhaps an uneasy expression into the heavenly smiling countenance of the damsel. He spoke softly to himself in song, and anticipated all possible good for himself henceforth in the world. I will send this friendly guest before me; it must certainly be well known to that angel form, and can give notice of myself, and the design of my journey. And then he went up the nearest hill, from which, again shouting to the house, he sang an old song of chivalry, at that time much known and esteemed."

* * * * *

" 'Amen,' said the old lady, from the opened window. 'If you should die fighting against the infidel, dear warrior, the angels will bear you upwards on their wings of light. Whither are you bound?' 'From peace to war, from joy to death.' 'Ah! those are only sad thoughts, with which the dark night inspires you.' 'Not at all, I assert the truth. And what, even if it were much harder, would it be to march to the field if one did not leave what is dearest and most valued behind.' 'There, you are right. I discover in you a quiet, humble spirit, which becomes soldiers much better, than the unbelieving world imagines. Besides, to such as are bound on travels like your's, one must show affection and kindness. My servant will open the house to you, and supply you with food and a chamber.'

"At her command, a hoary-headed waiting-man unfastened the door, and received the wanderer, with a powerful shake of the hand, and invited him to enter his apartment. As they stepped over the floor, Reidmar, filled with emotion, looked directly at the door, which opened at the head of some steps, and permitted a view of the dignified matron, with a light in her hand, and behind her, the blooming daughter. The old lady was astonished at the noble presence and gorgeous dress of her guest; just too, as he looked at her, the brightness of the light fell directly upon the mild, pleasant lines of her countenance, and she said, with some surprise, 'young gentleman, excuse me, I mistook your rank, and came very nigh not receiving you in a manner corresponding with it. Will you be pleased to step in hither to us?' Reidmar followed up the welcome invitation, with the unrestrained politeness, which

was peculiar to him ; the mother conducted him up to the place of honour in the room, directly opposite to the door, and desired her daughter to arrange such a supper as the poverty of the house admitted of. It was in vain that Reidmar forbade all ceremony. 'It is not come to such a pass with us yet,' said the old lady, 'that we could not minister to the refreshment of a guest who is bound on so good an errand, and who doubtless has not yet inured himself to the fatigues incident to a journey on foot through an unknown country, amidst the fogs of night.' She spoke, in this manner, without interruption, so that the youth had abundant leisure to plunge himself deeply into the occupation of Godwina, for it was thus the mother called her lovely daughter. She brought every thing so frankly and agreeably out of the old preases, that it appeared doubtful whether she were the daughter of some innkeeper, or an interesting child, that was entertaining itself with the amusement of laying the table, and serving up at it. And as she afterwards helped him to meat and presented him with something to drink, with her small, white, tender hands, he would have been willing to sit there forever ! Even the old lady's prattle awaked in him pleasant recollections, like the rustling of the air through ancient trees : indeed, he seemed, to himself, so accustomed to the economy of the household, that, notwithstanding the pleasure of the sight, he retired like a well-behaved son, as soon as the clock struck twelve. They wished each other a good night, and the old servant conducted him to bed." p. 16.

To our conception, there is a spirit and beauty, and truth to nature, in the foregoing passage, which are not often surpassed. Such an Elysium, as is there described, lays hold on the heart, because it is such as we may hope to see realized. There is also great fineness of observation, and great delicacy in the details. In the original, to which we do not flatter ourselves with having done justice, there is a delicate selection, a curious felicity of phrase, which owes much, no doubt, to the copiousness and power of the German language, but still more, we are persuaded, to the care and success with which the author has sounded the heights, and depths, and quicksands of elegant composition. A fastidious critic might, perhaps, grow squeamish, and take exception to Godwina's performance of the homely offices described, but we confess we should not have liked the intrusion of a fourth person. The existing taste, in a regard to domestic duties, is, we fear, becoming prurient beyond the reach of remedy. Nathless, ten lustroms, can scarcely be said to have elapsed, since, in England and this country, a proper *tournure*, in the use of the carving knife and tea-urn, was considered a no less indispensable accomplishment than the display of a pretty foot in the dance, or of a fine arm at the harp. Indeed, we have heard sad complaints of the havoc committed in the good humour and happy digestion of dyspeptics, since the ladies resigned the care of distilling, to more ignoble hands, the precious nectar of China.

Disappointment, anxiety and fatigue, engender a fever in the constitution of Reidmar. He is tenderly watched over and nursed by Godwina and her mother, and, at length, recovers. During the delirium of this illness, Reidmar betrays the secret of the romantic connexion existing between the princess Diona and himself, but without fully elucidating the nature of the oath by which it has been sanctioned. After his recovery, he is tempted to seek an oblivion of the past in the possession of the good which is before him. In short, in the midst of an entire solitude, with the charm of Godwina's beauty and conversation, he strives to convince himself, that his contract with Diona was rather a frolic than a serious affair, and that the importance he has hitherto attached to it was the effect of a distempered imagination. Godwina entertains some evil presentiment in regard to the oath, yet suffers her wariness to be overcome by the manifest excellence and amiableness of Reidmar's disposition, joined to his promise to rebuild a certain ancient castle in the neighborhood, from which, at some very distant period her ancestors had been violently ejected. This family mansion is accordingly rebuilt in spite of the molestation arising from the apparition of the austere old knight, who had at first demolished it. It is eventually exorcised and inhabited. Godwina and Reidmar are united in a marriage, rendered doubly fortunate by the birth of a lovely daughter, whom they call Beata. Shortly after this, the mother of Godwina pays the debt of nature.

About this time, Lorentin finds it necessary to revive the intimacy between Diona and Reidmar, with a view to prevent the marriage of the former with a certain prince, whose suit was abetted by the interest of her brother. The two mortal enemies accordingly meet, and Lorentin presents Reidmar with a letter from Diona, reminding him of the oath. This same oath, as we have seen, had previously made a great impression upon the mind of Godwina. Her fears were not a little enhanced by an accident which discloses the likeness of the Princess through the playfulness of the child Beata. As it affords, we think, a fine situation, we shall translate it:—

"One evening, he (Reidmar) was seated with Godwina on a bank of sward in the garden; the little one was playing between them, while she sportively fled from the one, to hide herself in the bosom of the other. As she once was in the act of pressing herself very close to the bosom of her father, she tore his clothes asunder, and Diona's picture, clear and glorious, started to view. 'Lady! pretty lady!' cried the child, and turned the picture quickly round, thinking that the wall was behind the glass, and would permit herself, on that side, to hold of and kissed. At the instant, the spring which kept the gold

together, gave way by accident, when Beata tried to put her hand in it, and Reidmar, angry with apprehension, shoved her from him, so that the little creature eyed her father wishfully, and began to sob, whilst she held up her little hands in an attitude of petition. 'Hush, hush, my good child,' said Reidmar, enclosing her in his arms, himself seized with sadness, 'only hush, father is not angry with thee.' And thereupon he gathered flowers for her, and said every thing kind, by which he soon pacified her, but Godwina's eye remained fixed, with distress of mind upon his." p. 73.

If we mistake not this is a scene not only full of natural interest, but of great tenderness and beauty.

Diona's letter, his own apprehensions, from the nature of his compact with her, and Lorentin's arguments, induce Reidmar to renounce his present plenitude of bliss in search of a renewed intimacy with the first. We shall give his last interview, and his only parting with his wife and child. It immediately succeeds the agony of his interview with Lorentin :—

"'I follow you, Satan,' said the tortured youth to himself, and in the same moment Godwina was heard, who, with her child, came trippingly up through the thicket. 'Now, O! now,' said Reidmar, softly and movingly, 'now begone for a few minutes, that you may not frighten that angel.' Lorentin hid himself and his horse. 'Are you angry that I come so late?' said Godwina, holding their little daughter from her own arms towards his; and whilst the father hid his face in the cheeks of the coaxing child, she proceeded: 'the evening was so fine, and Beata listened so prettily, that I have told her full twenty tales below yonder at the brook. We shall now, however, sup in an instant. Take the child and come in along with her.' 'I'll come instantly—I am still waiting here for some one,' stammered Reidmar. 'Don't stay too long,' said Godwina, 'your favorite dish is waiting for you.' She gave him a passing kiss, and took Beata in doors, who cried out behind, 'papa, follow quickly.' Reidmar, however, descended the hill with Lorentin." p. 91.

These two ill-sorted compeers made the best of their way to the capital; Reidmar, at the suggestion of Lorentin, assumes the costume of an Hungarian officer, and takes up his residence at the ambassador's palace, under the protection of his companion. He resolves to visit the Opera, and there beholds his friend, and is recognized by her. We shall here extract two. To describe the influence of music by means almost hopeless, yet the attempt is quite natural, now of nothing finer in this way than that, which is the present quotation :—

"forward through the dark passages amidst the moving throng, then took his seat near the orchestra, whilst the

curtain waved backwards and forwards before him, with the lighted lamps in successive rows, and the solitary notes of the musicians tuning their instruments became stirring, the whole delight and expectation which he had experienced here, when a boy, crept over him. 'It was prophetic,' said he to himself; 'now they apparently tune the instruments for the representation of my whole life, and the waving curtain must soon fly up, disclosing what is prepared behind it, be it palace or tombs.' Things became more animated. The lights in the royal box were already burning; guards and pages appeared in it, over all the balustrades it sparkled below from the jewels of splendid ladies, the musicians sat quiet and attentive, waiting for the signal of the arrival of the court. Suddenly the trumpets and drums sounded, and the other instruments struck in, Diona appeared between her brother and the prince, saluted by the joyous acclamations of the crowd. She bowed in all her loveliness three times towards the assembly; more beautiful than ever, as it seemed to Reidmar, whose heart, as the tones of the symphony broke through the hum, fluttered towards the object of his passion. The notes vibrated from the most heroic boldness to the sweetest and most soothing murmurs of love; then like musical levers, balanced between the beautiful expanse of heaven studded with stars and flower-enamelled meadows, lowered themselves playfully down to this, as if passing directly over violets and amaranths, and then again bounded aloft in animating and joyous peals up to all the suns of Olympus." p. 99.

At the Opera, they recognize each other by secret signs, and Reidmar returns home rapturous with delight. The following day, their correspondence is renewed by letter, and a midnight assignation agreed upon. It was to take place after a public illumination, made for the espousals of the princess.

"From the expiring lights, he, (Reidmar) looked aloft impatiently to the stars, to see if they would not soon indicate the glorious approach of midnight. On the whole, his eyes looked for this signal too early, but finally it appeared above the lighted rows in the desired form, the sound of the royal carriage ceased, the populace shouted their acclamations more loudly at each other, and Reidmar glided towards the gilded rails of the well-known garden gate. It flew open without noise, as in the early romance, he had, by anticipation, entreated of it. The familiar path in the park shone in bright gravel, he found the entrance to Diona's apartment open, and his glowing emotion banished the ghost of the old chieftain from the long passages. The happy lover stood in the chamber which breathed forth perfumes, and Diona, in all the pomp of richest ornament before him. He hardly ventured to hold out his arms towards the glorious princess, but she pressed him, of her own accord, to her bosom, asking: 'is thine offering thus richly enough adorned, my idol?'—and Love, with his pinions, overshadowed the intoxicated pair." p. 110.

Some touches of nature supervene in the progress of the story, which serve to connect and complete its various associations. We are fain to continue our extracts:—

“The dawn of morning separated the lovers. Reidmar passed in the twilight among the fading lamps of the illumination along the streets. All that was within him was agitated with delightful and dazzling images. He felt himself constrained to pity the city, in which none possessed like him, such rare felicity. ‘Father! father! ah dear, kind father, do hear!’ Such was the sound that proceeded from a small alley in the heart-moving tone of childhood, which so powerfully addresses itself to all of us, without exception. Reidmar stood still, and felt himself suddenly agitated, as he saw a little girl of Beata’s age running about. With folded hands and streaming eyes she looked on the right and on the left at all the houses; one while she called upon God, at another upon father and mother, and promised to be right docile in future and follow. Without doubt she must have lost her way in the crowd during the illumination. Reidmar wished to go up to her and conduct her home, but the urchin ran away, with a loud cry, from the strangely dressed man and his huge beard. Reidmar concealed himself in order not to frighten her any more; at the same time it struck him that she would make mention of him to her parents, and if he spoke German, his whole secret would be in danger. Still he could not pass on. He felt himself called upon to watch, unseen, over the deliverance of the child that still constantly ran up and down in the same neighbourhood, and cried so touchingly. The recollection of Beata fell heavily upon her father’s heart, the more heavily, the oftener the distracted child cried ‘father!’ All at once she stood still, stretched her little hands out and said: ‘wont do so any more, dear father!’ and a young man of the class of citizens lifted the child up in extacy, carried it along with him amidst a thousand caresses, related how the mother would rejoice over it, forgave it all its thoughtlessness and patted its cheeks. Reidmar, however, full of strange, disturbed feelings, betook himself to the abode of Lorentin.” p. 113.

Lorentin rates Reidmar soundly for passing through the streets so imprudently, and in such strange attire. However, they agree to co-operate for the completion of their plans, or rather those of Lorentin, for his companion does not appear to put forth much volition in the matter. In the evening, Reidmar is informed by this arch contriver that the princess, in order to escape from the contemplated nuptials, is resolved to visit Scotland. The plan is accomplished by the elopement of the princess during the excitement of a rowing match on the river. Greater security is given to this by the appearance of the lady and her maid in exactly the same dresses. When the festival is at its height, the princess escapes from her affianced husband, and leaves her proxy dangling at his elbow. She escapes to a boat in a bay of

the river, previously prepared with oarsmen, where she finds the enraptured Reidmar in waiting. The skiff has some difficulty in clearing the shore, and in the mean time, the prince appears, and a single combat ensues, in which, after a desperate conflict, he is despatched. The embarkation and departure are almost completed, when the satanic Lorentin appears and demands of right to be of the party.

We next meet this singular trio in Scotland. Here we are regaled with several exhibitions of Scottish heroic life, and we must do the author the justice to say, that though not equal to the best, they are yet equal to many, which have proceeded from a great domestic hand. They are certainly vastly superior to the mass of English imitations. But M. Fouqué is no imitator, since the tale we are now reviewing was published in 1812, and is, therefore, at least a brace of winters anterior to "Waverly."

On their way to the castle of Douglas, an old court companion and bosom friend of Reidmar's, they discover his vassals in actual conflict with the Murray clan. Diona's nag startles at the sound of a gun, and Reidmar consoles her by saying:—

" 'The merry Scots are hunting, and will deliver a good piece of game into Douglas' kitchen for our supper to night.' 'That is provided he eats human flesh,' rejoined Lorentin. 'There runs a wounded subject already.' As he spoke, he pointed to the top of a rock, which an armed Highlander, dripping with his own blood, attempted to climb. Diona reined up her nag, and Reidmar looked warily around. Hereupon the wounded man cried out to those below; 'go on without fear, strangers, our war has nothing to do with travellers; you may safely pass betwixt our muskets.' 'Who are engaged then?' said Reidmar, 'who, from earlier intercourse with his friend, understood the language of the country very well.' 'Against Murray for Douglas,' replied the Scot, and ran instantly between the crags: 'this way, Douglas! here Victory! follow me!' Many of his companions climbed forward, shouting the name of Douglas, and following their beckoning companion who seemed not to heed his wound. Diona looked anxiously at her lover; she only half understood the conversation. 'It concerns my friend Douglas,' replied Reidmar, and his cheeks glowed with a deeper tint, as a continued fire broke from the mountains, which the Scots had just ascended. 'Is there war here then?' said Diona, 'Clan against Clan, urging forward all its followers in honourable rage, as in the renowned days of chivalry?' said Reidmar. Douglas has often related to me how free and glorious it flames up in the mountain, where every man carries his own arms in his hand. 'Would that I were present. How pleased should I be to appear again in the shape of a warrior, to my friend.'— 'That depends entirely on yourself,' replied Lorentin. 'The retainers of your friend have just pushed forward that way, and you are ready in their language. What prevents you? You can still trust Diona under my care. You know I keep my word, and I promise you to guard her,

without trick or deceit, only in order to see, for once, if you really have such a longing for battles, as you are often pleased to represent. We'll wait for you here under this rock. It is a better security against the balls that fly around us than would be the continuance of our journey.' Reidmar looked at Diona. Although she was a little pale, and not quite ready to give utterance to words, she yet beckoned smilingly to the heights, which the vassals of Douglas had just scaled. Reidmar, encouraged, flew forwards. Above, he came across a thick wood. The fire, which continually passed on to a greater distance, pointed out the way to him, along which the clansmen of Douglas had pushed forward. Shortly too, single shots from the enemy passed over and fell by him, occasionally cutting the branches of the copse to pieces. He hastened, at the height of his strength, along the traces of the fight. A dead Scot lay in his way. A ball had just pierced his heart, and he remained stretched out, still and without animation. Reidmar loitered an instant over the noble picture. Then he said, 'thou hast no farther use for these arms, comrade;' took away his flint and cartouch-box, and put himself in a state to engage in the fight. Douglas' party had driven their opponents to a valley, into which the latter had precipitated themselves in flight. In the sequel, however, the victors were annoyed by a heavy fire, as a reinforcement was in waiting on the other side, which protected the fugitives. They were carrying on a brisk fire on both sides, when Reidmar came up. He mingled in the crowd, and discharged his musket. Those who were nearest to him regarded with astonishment, the stranger in his foreign dress. 'For Douglas!' he cried out to them, as he coolly reloaded, took deliberate aim, and watched how his fire took effect. 'That's right,' said they that were about him as they stepped before him, after he had shot and retired confidently behind him, when they found themselves in the same case. He felt himself constantly fresher and more buoyant, the louder and quicker the volleys rolled through the wood." p. 138.

Next follows, the interview with Douglas, which is well managed:—

"He (Reidmar) beheld his friend among the foremost, not firing himself, but gazing round on all sides with the glance of an eagle. 'Fergus,' he cried, suddenly—'Is dead,' answered a combatant—'Robin,' he cried again.—'He lies bleeding at the last hanging rock,' cried some one back again. 'Who now then would be there to understand me correctly,' said Douglas, speaking to himself—'Perhaps I can do it,' replied Reidmar, whilst he stepped up aside of him. Douglas looked at him with admiration. 'What brings you into my war?' asked Douglas, and superadded immediately, interrupting himself: 'more of this anon; it is good that thou art here just at this moment. Thou had'st always a quick glance when we played at war together; it will be the same case with you now.'" p. 139.

Reidmar receives a command of twenty men, with orders to make a detour, and force the Murray party to engage with

Douglas, or to stop them in their flight from his pursuit. The party are to halt at a certain rock, with this double object in view :—

“ The road led them through rough precipices, with steep walls of rock above and beneath, and that too with an alertness which would have required on the part of Reidmar, exertion to keep up with the troop on level ground. In this situation, dizziness often forcibly contracted him ; when, however, he saw his twenty men bound over the dangers like the *chamois*, he was duly sensible that every moment of hesitation must entail indelible infamy upon him, in comparison with which, any alternative was desirable. The most critical situation was at the tree-bridge. Two trunks almost unhewn, and furnished with a rail only on one side, which rather rendered the danger apparent, than warding it off, were thrown over the yawning abyss. At a turn, the fire was very distinctly heard in all its wildness. ‘ O ! hear, hear ! how the chieftain of the clan is fighting ! ’ cried one of the party. ‘ Douglas in the fight, and we not near. ’ ‘ Quick, quick to the red rock, ’ cried all the rest after. The guide flew like lightning over the bridge ; the rest rushed impetuously forward behind Reidmar, so that he threw himself on the trunks of trees, as it were upon destruction ; and between jumping and falling, got over, perhaps, the only way in which the inexperienced mountain-traveller could succeed. On the other side, the dangers of the way diminished. They quickly found themselves at the red rock, which, agreeably to its name, appeared of a blood red above the hills and thickets. The whole position of the enemy could be reconnoitred, like several numerous groupes, with their backs all turned this way, opposed to Douglas at the border of the valley. Reidmar exerted his whole vision and circumspection, in order to justify the confidence of his friend. From his companions he received clear intelligence concerning the hollow-way, through which alone the Murray party could retreat, and distributed, according to direction, his squads among the neighbouring bushes, so that the enemy must suffer greatly by having their retreat cut off, whilst for other contingencies, the twenty might easily reunite their strength. After he had enjoined upon them in the strongest manner not to break cover unless desired by him, he commanded—Fire ! All discharged their pieces at this moment from the different windings of the vale. The report reverberated fearfully from the cliffs, and the vapour directed its course in an eddying cloud to the position of Murray. Douglas’s warriors from the other side, were heard to answer the signal with a shout, and manifested by the nearer approach of the discharges, that they were trying to make their way across the valley. The enemy vacillated for a moment ; and immediately after his parties retired from the border of the valley, and made for the hollow road. In these movements might be seen the calm spirit of martial courage which presided over them. Reidmar perceived from this, as well as from the number of his opponents, why Douglas had commanded him to keep himself, in this case, in the thicket. As he was hastening about to give his followers fresh directions upon this

subject, the eldest of them said: 'Quite right. We have Murray to deal with, and will not thoughtlessly run upon the boar. Besides, you command sir, and stand in the place of Douglas.' Two or three youngsters murmured; indeed, one of them broke forth, as the enemy were in the pass, and rushed upon an old swarthy man, of almost gigantic stature, who appeared to be the leader of the opposite party. The latter brandished his blade, and as it whizzed down, the young assailant lay motionless in his own blood. Reidmar indignant at this, shot at the old man, and struck him in the left arm. The wounded leader bound it in his handkerchief, pressed forward into the bushes with a fearful glance, and advanced without at all quickening his pace. After the hostile party had, with great loss, made good their retreat through the pass, an old Scot said to Reidmar, 'that was Murray whom you hit. How was it with you at the sight of his flaming eyes? Our young comrade has stumbled upon a high honour, since he fell by the hand of such a hero; more good fortune indeed, than any one deserves, who contravenes the command of his leader in battle.' Soon after that, they pushed on to the main body, which was advancing over the field of battle it had gained, and the parties embraced each other most joyfully." p. 145.

The full length portraits of battles to which we have been lately accustomed in the descriptions of Austerlitz, Leipsic and Waterloo, detract in some degree from the striking effect of the foregoing miniature. From Americans, however, and from Carolinians in particular, who have been taught to regard King's Mountain, the Cowpens, and the Eutaws with veneration, it will meet with its due share of admiration. If it wants some of the pomp of wholesale manslaughter, it has its equal share of soul-stirring perils and attractive bustle, and surprising incidents. It has this merit too, that though essentially episodal, it yet fixes our attention strongly on the legitimate hero of the tale, and enhances his importance in the estimation of the reader. Reidmar is the pink of sentimental adorers, and yet he is throughout, the very antipodes of those dough-faced dangles, Wilfrid and Waverly, who seem intended to show how little of any thing positive, is required in a Knight of Romance, any more than in other high and mighty personages.

After the battle, Reidmar and Diona visit the castle of Douglas, and reside there. While residing there, Reidmar, with the aid of Douglas, prepares a beautiful garden for the entertainment of Diona. For a time, the illusions of their Paradise appeared to be almost perfect. An untoward event, however, brought about by the holy zeal of a Priest, much esteemed in the neighbourhood, places Reidmar in a most trying dilemma; from which he is obliged to extricate himself with so little gallantry, that the passion of the Princess, previ-

ously wrought to the highest pitch, experiences a sudden revulsion.

"The lovers were one evening sitting near each other in the twilight, in one of Diona's apartments, when they heard a slow, solemn step mounting the staircase, and immediately afterwards an old ecclesiastic entered, who was so esteemed in the neighbourhood, that his visit to castles and cottages was regarded as a blessing of heaven. Reidmar, possessed by the secret horror of the time, as well as by the apparition, arose and bowed himself respectfully, whilst Diona with anxiety, retreated to the other side of the sofa. The old man said, 'God be with you and with me in this important hour!' and instantly seated himself by the side of Diona, whilst he beckoned Reidmar to the place close on the other side of him. For some moments he seemed to be collecting himself, and to enter deeply into his own thoughts. Then he broke forth in the following manner:—'You are from a foreign country, speak from youth upwards a foreign language, and, as I suspect, have renounced a profession of faith different from my own. Moreover, every emotion of requited love burns in your veins, strewing your every path with the overpowering redolence of flowers. How then shall I begin to make myself intelligible to you, how glowingly impress upon your hearts my care, my apprehension for your salvation! I have thought of it long, but could not hit the exact point. Then it struck me, that time runs fleetly away, life is short, and the destiny of every man so uncertain. Then I perceived how my delay might become sinful, and also what kind of a preacher would rouse you.' He drew a death's head from under his robe, held it up before their eyes, and said—'See, here is one whom we all understand!' At the same time raised up with the other hand a crucifix, whilst he uttered these words: 'See, here is one who understands us all!' As the two continued to sit pale and silent beside him, he proceeded—'Ye are Christians, although attached to another religious sect. Ye are mortals, even if born under the farthest region of heaven. From your youth upwards, it has been taught you to love him that was crucified, and the grave awaits you. So runs my exhortation, and—are you bound in Christian wedlock? is the tenor of my next question to you.' They still continued silent, and the good Father said with bright tears in his eyes—'Beautiful forms, noble spirits, ye who were created for the glory of God and the delight of men, will surely remain worthy of the gift of your creator, and strive to be recipients of the bliss which is prepared for you. What is most noble in you, admonishes you at this moment that you have wounded it by an unlawful connexion. I am between you, and have the power to tie a knot which makes earthly joys participate of those of heaven. Put your hands in mine, if ye are free from every earlier engagement.' Diona offered her right hand; Reidmar looked downward, aghast and apprehensive. 'Then I am a separator between, if I cannot be a binder,' said the Confessor. 'Cease young man. By him that was crucified cease! By the horrors of death cease!' Reidmar trembled. At that instant the old man held the Death's head close to his face, whilst he repeated with dreadful utterance, 'Cease, cease

from your lust ! Thus it will become, and thus it is already.' Reidmar stood up in suspense. Diona hastened past the priest to the arms of her lover, and covered his lips with burning kisses. 'I remain thine,' cried he, sinking down before her, and embracing her knees, whilst she again pressed her glowing cheeks to his face. The old man left the chamber with a deep sigh, and from that time never permitted himself to be seen at the castle." p. 163.

Notwithstanding her seeming equanimity at the moment, it requires no great forecast to prognosticate, that after this strange bearing on the part of Reidmar, the love of the Princess will begin to wane. Accordingly, we soon find ambition supplying in her mind the place of love.

Diona is the means of reconciling the two hostile clans, by arranging a marriage between Edward, the brother of Douglas, and Editha the daughter of Murray, who had long pined in hopeless attachment for each other. It appears, that at the supper, which follows on the betrothal of Editha to Edward, there was present a certain Rodrick, the holder of a neighbouring fortress, which passed for enchanted. He is a very *Front de Bœuf*, and holds the whole neighbourhood, hardly excepting the Douglas, in subjection to his brutal and terrific force. It was more than the lofty spirit of Diona could bear, to behold the supremacy which this monster arrogated. Her confidence made him dumb, and fixed him in astonishment. She openly upbraided her host with truckling to this upstart. In the meantime Edward, whose nerves have been strung anew by the certain prospect of his union with the heiress of Murray, challenges Rodrick who had insulted him. The latter cries out in a tone of contempt—

"Half-cured fool !" whilst he foamed at the mouth. At the same moment Douglas cried, 'Out of my castle Rodrick ! There is war between us !' 'With all my heart,' said the latter, and as he was leaving the hall with his companions, he cried after him to Edward, 'To our happy meeting in the field, young gentleman ! There are twenty balls for one at your service.'

The union of the young lovers leads to a reconciliation between the Douglas and the Murray, and they agree to unite their forces for the demolition of Rodrick's power. Under these circumstances, Diona informs her lover that he must not expect to lead a life of Arcadian blessedness, and that she requires in him, who aspires to the possession of her person, not only the courage of a foot soldier, but the arts and the ambition of a chieftain. She knew well, however, that though he might possess prowess, every semblance of management was detest-

able to him. In the midst of these perplexities, Reidmar, in wandering over the neighbouring mountains, loses his way, and is hospitably received at the cottage of a shepherd. From him, he hears the story of a youth, who, after much reluctance evinced, is induced to leave his mistress and his native hills in order to acquire reputation and fortune by a campaign in Italy. Success at first attends his efforts; he forgets her whom he had before adored, until continual reverses brought him to a better sense of things, and made him resolve to return home and make amends. Arrived at the cottage of his mistress, he finds that herself and aged mother, stung to the quick by his desertion, had died some time before. He becomes demented, occupies the house which they had inhabited, and eventually dies there; but still continues to haunt it at the early hour of prime, when he seats himself on the threshold.

With such fuel, it is no wonder that Reidmar's otherwise susceptible imagination was thrown into a glowing flame. Desirous, however, to prevent the anxiety of Diona, he resolves to set out again, and takes a lighted torch with him. We think the whole scene is conducted with more art and a greater attention to probability than most narratives that turn on the supernatural. The ghost is rather implied than represented, and nothing occurs but what might be explained from the operations of a mind of rather more than ordinary susceptibility, already predisposed to faith in the marvellous.

“On his journey through the mountains in the night, Reidmar found himself disturbed with all sorts of anxious imaginations. As the light of the torch threw itself over the acclivities of the rock, it seemed to him that it depended solely upon himself, to raise up from them the most awful apparitions, and that by virtue of an unheard of word, which every moment struggled in him for utterance, whilst he, with increased resolution, kept it down. ‘These are certainly the thoughts which I shall experience at the deserted house,’ said he, ‘and which are now ushered up in me by evil spirits and my own sinfulness.’ He hoped to pass by the ill-omened place without remarking it, but the representation of it laid hold too strongly upon his spirit. By the time he reached that neighbourhood, his frightful thoughts grew up into giants. He supposed he already distinguished the form of the frantic Edwin, as he roared out from above, in order to get the heedless wanderer into his clutches. He cautiously held the light of the torch behind him. He saw nothing, but he reasoned in himself the sprite must and will come, and dismay at a figure, which stepping after him, might peep over his shoulders, drove him in preference up the wild mountain. As he now stood before the little habitation and observed nothing strange on the threshold, a deep melancholy fell upon him, which in a singular manner mixed itself up with dread of the world of spirits. It seemed to him, that

he again stood before Godwina's little window; and it almost appeared as if, as on the first evening, an unavoidable judgment drove him as a culprit into it. The unlatched door yielded to his first effort, although it pressed somewhat heavily upon its rusty hinges, and the sound seemed to lament at the unusual disturbance. Every thing upon the little floor still retained an appearance of order, except that Reidmar's footsteps imprinted themselves in the dust of many years on the planks. On the right hand, the half-opened door led inward to the chamber, probably even now standing just as wide open as the dead Edwin had left it at the commencement of his distraction. The walls, for a long period, accustomed only to the illumination of the lights of heaven, appeared to be thrown into surprise at the sight of Reidmar's torch. The bride's bed, her spinning-wheel, and the mother's loom, stood exactly as they were represented in the history. Whether he were by Godwina and her mother, or in a land of spirits, or perhaps, carried back many years, and the infuriate Edwin alive and about to fall upon him, crying, 'Are you not the counterpart of myself! Are you not listening in this house!' Which of all these was true and might take place, Reidmar knew not, and not much more of himself than that he felt the cold sweat trickle down his body. Then it suddenly occurred to him, as if the spinning-wheel began to go, as if the old woman's loom began to move, and his shroud were about to be spun and woven. At the same instant, two voices, the one old, the other young, in moving tones began a dirge. 'It is the mother and the daughter,' said he. 'O! that the madman would not come.' These words worked him up to a degree of fever, his torch went out, and with a loud cry, he rushed out of the house. As the stars without looked down upon him, and the night-wind played around his cheeks, his agitation was succeeded by melancholy. He laid himself on the dewy grass before the threshold, lamenting over Edwin, his bride, Godwina, Beata, and himself. He remained in this situation for several hours. Old stories of people who had wept so much, that they had flowed away in streams, came into his mind, and he almost began to believe, that he himself, in the form of a sobbing brook, would trickle down the valley. At least, he could not satiate himself with tears, watering the damp sward with them, until at morning twilight, some one close by, said to him—'Dismissed! the hour is mine, comrade!' Perplexed, he looked upward, and thought he saw Edwin's pale misty figure sitting on the threshold. Now he descended into the valley in still inward trembling, and went forward on his way without regaining his right senses, until the risen sun, bright and friendly, began to pierce through the bushes." p. 205.

The adventure of Diona, who escapes from a wolf, through the fortunate interference of Manfred, the faithful page of her late lover whom Reidmar had killed, is preliminary to the catastrophe. He comes to inform her that her brother is attacked with a mortal malady, and that the people are favourably disposed towards her claims to the throne. Before her sudden departure, Reidmar has an opportunity of distinguishing himself

in the attack on Rodrick's castle, by killing the monster with his own hand. We have not room for the account of the preparations. We shall extract, however, the part which is most honourable to the hero of the piece, for we think it strong evidence of the genius and taste of M. Fouqué, that the chief character, although vacillating and imprudent in the extreme, yet always retains shining qualities sufficient to interest, and to prevent him from falling into contempt.

"'Fire the castle!' cried Manfred. 'Let him (Rodrick) be consumed in his own labyrinths.' 'In these square vaults!' said Reidmar in derision. 'And if it were possible, I would not have it so. I'll take him prisoner, hand to hand, or kill him. We have possession of the three doors, and also an open retreat. The sorcerer may, perhaps, put forth his arch devices. They shall at least become weary with my destruction. Forward! those that have a taste for this kind of hunting. I make for the North door.' Some young men followed him, whilst Manfred glowing with provoked emulation, also accompanied by some clansmen, began the search on the opposite side. In the singular way through sunken cellars, halls and rooms, the Scots, who followed Reidmar, frequently blew their hunting horns, in order to keep up an intelligence with their companions in the great hall, and also by their answer, to be the better able to direct their own course. The same thing was done on Manfred's side, and they reciprocated from the hall downwards the salutation of both parties. In this way it happened, that the whole castle rang with the noise of horns, which rebounded wonderfully from the vaults, and awakened in Reidmar's bosom the fearful thought, that it was in reality a man-chase, in which a human being was regularly hunted by human beings. Still his excitement only became the wilder in full pursuit, his steps mounted and descended: the few prisoners which he now made, he took no time to interrogate, in the apprehension that Manfred might snatch from him the greatest glory of the day. Moreover, at every step, the number of his companions was diminished. He was obliged to send some to guard the prisoners, and others to occupy, or to search out the labyrinths of the ramified passages. He had only three or four with him, as the clang of arms from the side of Manfred struck his ears, whose voice he thought he distinctly heard. Now, the desire of at least dividing the laurel, precipitated him forward with such rapidity that his companions lost sight of him in the progress through some deserted passages, and he entered quite alone the door of a long, high-arched, dilapidated hall. The grass peeped out from between the stones of its rarely trodden pavement, and brought to the mind of the solitary, the adventure of the knight; who, with the nun, had fallen into his friend's burial vault; at the same moment, he remembered the trap-doors of the entrances, and the howl of those who fell through them. He stood hesitating. Through the windows, almost destitute of glass, a sharp current of air moved the stems of the grass on the floor, and dashed from them, as Reidmar now plainly perceived, drops of blood on the stone. At the same instant, the noise of arms sounded

out of the depth quite near, but a little further forward. That Rodrick must have left these traces of blood behind in his flight; that Manfred must, even at that moment, be engaged in fight with him, shot like a flash of lightning through Reidmar's mind. With the speed of the wind, he flew through the hideous hall. At the farther side stood an open door, disclosing some steps which led beneath. A startling sound of complaint, in which Reidmar recognized Manfred's voice, added wings to his steps. Having descended, he stood in a large, damp vault, at the other end of which he noticed Manfred, whom Rodrick held fast to the ground. Rodrick howled like an enraged animal over his opponent, whilst Manfred groaned out: 'hard! hard to meet my death in this vault! an infuriated enemy before me.'

"Hastening thither, Reidmar saw that Rodrick was worked up to real madness by wounds and rage, attempting to stick his teeth into the face of the fallen, who now but feebly defended himself. Reidmar lifted his blade, but Rodrick applied himself to his sword with all the fearful energy of a maniac, raised it in the air like a giant, and hurled a blow at Reidmar's breast, which, at the same moment, brought the latter, in great pain, to the ground. Manfred now lay still in mute astonishment. Now Rodrick, placed between them both, burst into laughter, and mocked at them in childish wantonness, and then foaming at the mouth, fastened upon Reidmar. Astonishment gave force and resolution to the latter. He snatched a pistol from his belt, and fired it off in close contact with Rodrick's breast. The report reverberated like a clap of thunder through the vault, and the madman rolled himself sideways, with a piteous howl. As Reidmar stood up tottering, Manfred also tried to raise himself. He supported himself on the proffered arm of his deliverer, both held fast upon one another, glad, in this solitude, after this event, of the consolation of being near some known human being. 'That was a horrible conflict,' said Manfred in a half tone. Reidmar nodded his assent.—'They did not venture themselves upon the body of the dead man, hardly yet stiff, but Reidmar took, as a trophy, the sword, which, in his last agony, he had hurled from him. It was only when they found the deserted hall behind them, and the sounds of their companions' horns bespoke the approach of human beings, that the colour returned to their cheeks, and their breasts began again to breathe freely.' " p. 129.

Rodrick and Front de Bœuf are evidently the same description of character. We think, however, judgment is on the side of the foreign writer, who makes his monster rather remarkable for exhibitions of corporeal energy and furious gesticulation, than for venting his spleen in words. We consider the last dying speech of Front de Bœuf as presenting mere pages of inanity. Whether for good or for evil, the speeches of all men, *in articulo*, are we take it like all speeches of persons in earnest, short and pithy. Where the style, in such cases, is exuberant, we may be sure that it is the writer and not the moribund who holds forth: each phrase may possess propriety, yet the whole fail in verisimilitude.

We must now succinctly present our readers with the sequel of the Tale. No exhibition of prowess, on the part of Reidmar, could expect to avail much in the heart of fair woman, after the fine opportunity afforded by the intervention of the priest and Reidmar's failure to avail himself of it. In addition to this circumstance, the fatal locket, which holds so prominent a place in the machinery of the piece, was severed from his neck during the contest with Rodrick. With this, the spell which bound the lovers was dissolved. Diona deserts Reidmar, and elopes with Manfred, with a view to prosecute her ambitious projects. On receiving a letter from her announcing her departure, Reidmar attempts to commit suicide, but is prevented in the very act by Lorentin, who insists upon his accompanying him to the continent for the purpose of exonerating him from the charge of having killed Diona's royal suitor. They pursue the same track with Diona, and suddenly discover her and Manfred in a forest. An altercation ensues between him and Reidmar, when the latter is mortally wounded by the former. Godwina and Beata also appear and close the eyes of the dying man.

The chief fault of this tale is the great indistinctness of the character of Lorentin, which is not sufficiently developed, considering the importance which attaches to him in the progress of the piece. With this exception, and the business of the miniature and its contained poison, the whole is natural, interesting, and well supported.

There are nineteen shorter tales contained in the volumes before us, many of them exhibiting great fertility of invention, richness of fancy, and beauty and delicacy of execution. Most of them, however, are deformed with a dash of the marvellous. We have neither time nor inclination for a particular analysis of each. We shall, however mention the names of some of them, and point out a few passages, which, from their merit, we consider worthy to be presented to our readers.

"The Happy Fortnight" (*Die vierzehn glücklichen Tage*) is remarkable for the splendour of its details, and has, if we mistake not, made its appearance in English. Leonardo is a poor poet, whose imagination becomes extravagantly excited by two or three glimpses that he had caught of a princess, the daughter of a reigning duke. He, at first, restrains the exorbitancy of his passion, by a reflection, which is commonly sovereign in such cases—that there was not the slightest probability of its ever being gratified. But the evil one makes his appearance, and inspires other and less correct notions. He engages that Leonardo's wishes shall be gratified for a fortnight, and that he shall

taste all the delights that requited love, with the exalted object of his wishes, could confer, upon his agreeing to surrender himself at the end of that time forever. In an evil hour, Leonardo consents. The duke is afflicted with a supernatural malady, that nothing but the music of Leonardo can charm away. Gratitude for this benefit easily degenerates into love, and the poet accordingly is gratified. The delineation of their transports during the first days of their connexion, the flood of bright and beautiful objects that is poured around, the apprehension of Leonardo, as the period of his contract draws to its close; his despair, and the withering effects of his change of situation on every scene with which he had been familiar, are conceived and developed by a mind of no ordinary power.

Leonardo had succeeded in inspiring the princess with mutual passion, and become her constant companion. One evening seated together on a marble bench in the garden of the palace, Cristaline had woven a garland of myrtle and laurel, with which she intended to deck the brows of Leonardo. In the mean time a remarkable bird, of very bright colour appeared, and taking it in its bill, flew away with it:—

“‘O the thief!’ cried Cristaline, sighing, ‘I had intended the beautiful garland for you, laurel and myrtle, for you my ingenious lover, my beloved genius! thou shouldst preserve it, and the sight of it should forever remind you how precious is art, how glorious is love.’ ‘He dares not carry it off from me,’ said Leonardo, and pursued the bird, which appeared to be tame and to hop towards him. It acted as if it were waiting for him, but when Leonardo came nearer, he glided two or three trees farther off, again looking down at him and Cristaline very knowingly and quietly. In the course of this pursuit they had already passed the bounds of the castle-garden, and Cristaline, laughing all the while at the unsuccessful pursuit of her friend, passed on by the side of him through the wood. Leonardo chagrined, at last seized a stone. ‘If kindness will not get it from him, then let fear do it,’ cried he, and threw at the little creature. It flew away moaning, but kept its booty fast in its bill, and let its flame-coloured bill shine through a neighbouring bush, in which it had alighted. Again, Leonardo and Cristaline hastened after it, to be again disappointed, and so it happened continually until the bird appeared to be uneasy at the game, darting over the highest trees with the speed of lightning, and disappearing beyond the highest pine-tops. Leonardo eyed him with vexation, and Cristaline said on a sudden: ‘but, good God! where are we now? In what direction do the palace and the city lie? See the calm solitude by which we are surrounded, Leonardo!’ Indeed their zealous pursuit had conducted them into a little, wood-skirted valley, which had never been observed before by either of them. Every thing within it appeared calm and lovely; the sward, bright, green and fresh; the trees, umbrageous, and every where, with dense foliage, a gently rippling spring at

their feet, and on its margin a tastefully built cabin of twigs and shining pine-tassels. 'It is true,' said Leonardo, 'the spot is also quite strange to me. But what makes you tremble, Cristaline? Does it not appear beautiful to you here?' 'So far from the castle,' said she, 'so lonely, and the evening begins to overshadow us already!' 'Trust, however, to the guidance of him to whom thou entrustest thy heart, dear Cristaline,' said Leonardo, and pressed his hand soothingly on her breast.—'Calm thyself, I will inquire the way home from the inhabitants of the cabin. We cannot be far from the castle-garden.' He opened the door. Every thing within was quiet and solitary, but very elegant: mats of plaited rushes, growing flowers climbing up the open windows, instead of the hearth a piece of green marble, on which, however, only a small quantity of ashes, long since cold, appeared to present indications of the former inhabitants. Every thing bore remarkable traces of long desertion and neglect. 'We shall find nobody here' said Cristaline, anxiously. 'Nobody, but ourselves,' added Leonardo, and throwing his arm around her, drew her gently after him into the cottage. 'How every thing here,' proceeded he, 'appears domestic, real and familiar. It is erected for two lovers Cristaline! only room for two amorous flowers at the window—is not this also to thy satisfaction.' 'How then,' said Cristaline, perplexed,—'As if we were at home here,' replied Leonardo, 'as if I had gone out, in the morning, to hunt or fish, and thou receivedst me, at my return, as my beloved wife. Good evening, dear Cristaline!' 'What a chatterer thou art,' said she, blushing more deeply. 'Let us go before the door?' 'Not so, dearest, sweetest,' said he, 'the trees already wave their tops in the evening gale, and every thing is agreeable and secure. Remain in our charming shelter, my love.' 'Heaven, my father! how will he look out after me,' said she, sighing; 'beware of his anger.' 'At this moment, we do not know whereabouts his court lies. He, and all his household, know nothing of our cottage and this valley, we are now virtually separated from them; the moment really presents thee to me as my beloved wife.' 'The moment!' rejoined she, 'what is a moment against an hour! an hour in comparison of a fortnight! O treat not life with so little foresight.' 'Fourteen days,' said Leonardo, pensively. 'Fourteen days, sayest thou. Ah! Cristaline, they are divinely long. If one could buy them with temporal, nay, more, even with finite misery—Ah! wo to the thoughtless trifler!' 'What dost thou mean, Leonardo?' stammered she, 'the wildness of your appearance alarms me.' 'My sweet wife!' so he called her again with a bolder embrace, till, with soothing tenderness dissipating her bashfulness, he won the latest and most secret prize of love." Vol. ii. p. 76.

The contrast between this scene and that in which the folly and wickedness of his course is brought home to his experience is very striking:—

"Leonardo passed on silent and deeply dejected to his garden. At its little gate, he found a poinard and a glass vial, which contained a fermenting, red liquor, betraying its poisonous power. He threw both

into the brook that flowed by, crying out: 'I know you well devil, but you have not my soul yet, and shall not gain it so soon.' He who is no longer happy was at least so once, and the temple of joyful reminiscence shines in me, inaccessible to your grasp. He entered the garden. The pines appeared clear and bright in the blue heaven, the myrtles waved friendly, overshadowing his way, and whilst he related to these, the former confidants of his rash desire, the happiness which he had since enjoyed; his heart became prouder and more cheerful. He laid himself down to rest, like a wearied, but unsubdued warrior, in the well-known alcove. About midnight, he was awakened by the light of blue and yellow flames, and found his garden on fire. Like dried staves, the pines crackled out of the flame upwards, the myrtles bowed, their withered twigs bent down towards the smoking sward, and the devil's laugh of scorn sounded in the midst. 'I might have expected it,' said Leonardo, and went out with his guitar in his hand over the live coals, which, moistened by some tears from his eyes, hissed more clearly, and touched his mantle. 'Only take me some whither,' said he to them, but the devil's voice shrieked out: 'not yet, my stag! the chase is a delightful game to me.' Leonardo halted under a cork tree, regarding, almost with indifference, the conflagration of his small possession.—'Love, honour, power,' said he, at last—'what have I now that he can take away from me?' He grasped the strings of his guitar, but its sounding board started in horrid discord into a thousand pieces. 'Yes,' said he, 'thou also belongest to externals; but now I bid the enemy defiance!' " p. 97.

Leonardo stabs himself with a dagger, which the evil one had purposely thrown in his way. The body could not be found, but only dark, black blood, which inspired every one with horror.

There are scarcely any of these tales from which we might not extract passages of great beauty and power. We have already given some specimens in which a fine fancy is evidently predominant. We shall now present our readers with a picture of a different description. It is from the story entitled, "The Unknown Patient" "*Der unbekannte Kranke.*"

"In a German, free, imperial city, somewhere about three hundred years ago, the following singular event took place, which appears to be well worthy of being related.

"The old, respectable and highly celebrated physician, Mr. Helfrad, sat before the fire late one evening in the harvest, with his spouse, in edifying discourse. They had sent the household to bed, since supper was over, and no one liked to place a restraint upon the two good old people. Mr. Helfrad had, that day, obtained the costly copy of a pious book from the convent of Maria's Help, where he had long ago bespoke it, and could not help reading, that same evening, a portion of it to his wife, for his eyes were yet lively and fresh like those of a man of thirty. The whole heart of the married couple was engaged in pure exultation with the thoughts of the excellent writer, and more especially with some fine verses, which were also contained in the book; full of thankful

emotion, they discoursed their whole life over again, looked confidently forward to the way which yet lay before them, as well as to the course of their only son, who was travelling in Italy as an ingenious student of painting; and contemplated, with inward confidence, the cheerful brightness which had beamed upon them in the world from their tenderest infancy, and, at every year, was become more glorious and explicit, so that it now appeared to their eyes like a circle of light.

"The great clock from the tower of the neighbouring minster had already struck ten; the lights in the houses of most of the citizens were already extinguished, and Mr. Helfrad still continued sitting in the arm chair, with the silver-clasped parchment volume on his lap, opposite his Gertrude, who let the spindle stand still, listening with folded hands and glittering eyes, to the discourse of her husband, and, occasionally introducing here and there, appropriate observations. It had already struck the half hour, when Mr. Helfrad looked up astonished and said: 'How far into the night we have gone on speaking! it is not good for the eyes of men to be so much longer awake than the sun! though certainly when one has been employed in looking at the eternal sun.' The old man raised himself from his seat, and began to stir the brands which yet smoked in the stove, and repeated the proverb:—

"When you find that you succeed,
Remember to proceed
In good measure and design."

"Then the great club which hung by a chain before the house door, began to thunder powerfully. 'I am coming directly!' said Mr. Helfrad through the sashes, and whilst he got a light ready, he said to Gertrude: 'Now it is fortunate that I remained up; if the patient be dangerously ill, the quarter of an hour that I shall come earlier, will do much good.' 'Would it not be better' said Gertrude, 'that you waked some one of the servants to open the door to them? Who knows who is out there? Night is not the friend of any man.' 'That is the good of it to me,' said Helfrad, laughingly; took his old, respectable sword from the wall, put into his pocket a little box of medicines which he was accustomed to take with him, by way of precaution, when he went to see the sick, threw on his fur cloak, put on his black coif, and went out of the room with the lantern in his left hand, and his arms in the right. Thereupon, they knocked still very wild and impatiently, and the master said, stepping down the couple of steps which led from the chamber to the house-floor. 'Patience! patience! I shall be with you instantly.' Gertrude lighted him out of the chamber, and stammered after him: 'It lies like a heavy weight upon my heart! if you now would but wake up one of the people; do it only to please me, and let me have my own way for once.' 'When my own affairs are concerned child! I do what you wish with all my heart,' said the old man, shoving at the bolts of the house door; 'but when professional business is concerned I don't mind it a tittle.' As the door opened, he again laid hold of the lantern, which, while waiting, he had placed upon a projection of the wall, drew a step back, threw the light upon the landing, and asked, in a friendly voice, 'who is waiting at the door? In God's name let him come in and tell

me in what way I can be useful to my fellow-creatures.' The autumn wind whistled shrilly into the open door, and out of the darkness of the night there appeared a completely black countenance, with a strange, high cap upon its head and a bright, yellow dress, in the circle described by Mr. Helfrad's light. With a loud cry, Gertrude staggered back into the room, and even the old man stepped a little back, and drew a large cross with his sword before his entire person. After which, he supported himself upon his arms, and spoke with a firm voice: 'In God's name, declare what you have to propose, and declare who it is that sends you.' The black man might himself have been frightened at the appearance of the lofty, firm old man, with his light and sword, since he trembled greatly, but soon composed himself and said: 'Quickly with me to the Three Crowns tavern, mister! there my lord lies sick of a dreadful fever which has attacked him with such violence, that it will snatch him off in a few hours if you do not help him!' 'We'll see what can be done,' replied the physician. 'From God and skill much is to be hoped for,' and, at the same instant, he blew upon his light so as to make it burn clearer, and stepped out of the house, calling back to the trembling Gertrude: 'Shut the door, go to bed; however, let there be a good fire made in the stove, and give yourself no uneasiness, I have the key of the house-door with me, and walk out also, under the protection of God.' 'But you singular messenger,' said he, turning to the black man, 'go before me and step briskly, that we may soon reach our destination.'" Vol. iii. p. 59.

We must take our hand off, for we find that we are transgressing all reasonable limits. There are, however, so many charming passages in these tales, so many interesting situations, such numerous and highly finished descriptions of natural scenery, such splendid exhibitions of high-wrought passion, that our only difficulty has been selection, our only care, to secure compression. No effort in the regions of popular writing can be supposed beyond the power of this author. He has only to dismiss the cumbersome machinery of the marvellous, and to betake himself wholly to the worship of nature, to command the most exalted success. Why does he not apply his masterly powers to the illustration of the manners of his country; a land which has such indisputable claims upon the admiration and gratitude of the human race, and whose political situation is now so favourable to the reputation of genius, as awakening no alarm, and, therefore, causing no jealousy. German domestic life has much in it that is delightful: it is frank and hospitable, unrestrained and full of vivacity, and permitting, within the limits of good taste, an exhibition of feeling which is almost banished from other and more artificial forms of European society. Moreover, the public of Germany are a reading people; highly cultivated and ingenious, and capable of conferring the most lasting popularity on a writer, who shall be at once enamoured enough

of the institutions of his country to think them worth portraying, and vigorous enough to present them in the bold relief which they so well merit. What may not be expected from such materials, clothed in a language, which unites with the copiousness of the Greek, the perspicuity of the French, and the simplicity and pathos of the English? We deem it hardly to much to say too our author, not for what he has hitherto done, but for what we are convinced he is yet capable of achieving,

“Thine too, these golden keys, immortal boy!
This can unlock the gates of joy,
Of horror that. and thrilling fears,
Or ope the sacred source of sympathetic tears.”

ART. III.—1. *The Report made to his Majesty by the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the Practice of Chancery.* Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 9th March, 1826. London. 1826.

2. *Considerations suggested by the Report made to his Majesty, under a commission authorizing the Commissioners to make certain inquiries respecting the Court of Chancery.* London. 1826.

THE distinction between common law and equity, has generally been considered a great anomaly in English jurisprudence. But we are inclined to think that it is a regular consequence of a still greater anomaly—the Trial by Jury. If we are not mistaken in this notion, the Chancery jurisdiction instead of being regarded with an unfavourable eye, should be considered as an essential auxiliary to the best part of our system. Writers have commonly had resort to Aristotle for a definition of equity, as something ordained to temper and mitigate the rigour of the law, where, by the generality of its rules, it would, in some particular cases, operate injustice. But this definition gives no idea at all of that peculiar jurisdiction which is called equity among us. It is the business of the courts of common law, as well as of equity, to judge according to the intent, and to except from the operation of the rule, those cases which are not within the spirit, although they may fall within the letter of the law.

And so on the other hand, equity as well as common law, judges by positive rules, which form an artificial system altogether distinct from what is called natural justice. But the leading characteristic of the common law is precision. The way of commencing a suit, the mode of procedure, and the character of the relief administered, all show the greatest anxiety to keep the parties closely to the point. This is strictly conformable to the nature of jury trials, which are admirably calculated to give satisfaction when the attention of the jury is directed to the evidence, and the evidence is kept within the bounds of a definite question. To the good sense of the people, the task of determining between what is true and what is false in the story of the parties and their witnesses, is admirably suited; but to understand the rules of property, which a complicated state of society has introduced, requires study and a peculiar education. These are, therefore, the province of the judge. This distribution is coeval with the earliest accounts of the history of juries—and the experience of modern times has suggested no alteration of it. No reformer has ever proposed to take away the judge from the jury—or to abolish the distinction which refers the questions of fact to the one, and the questions of law to the other. The whole procedure of the common law has a reference to the functions of the jury; every thing is done to bring the matter in dispute to such a state, that the jury may have nothing more to do, than to give a precise answer. No law ever took a straighter course, that evidence should not be perplexed, nor juries inveigled, than the common law of England. As on the other side, never law took a more precise and straight course with juries, that they should give a direct verdict.*

The conclusion of the suit shows the character of the whole. The writ of execution is the only relief which the successful party can obtain at law—and it is like the verdict of the jury, single and positive. So much is to be rendered to the successful party—there is no modification or restriction—nothing conditional. The law has adjudged the property to the demandant, or the claim is reduced to a simple debt. If the party fails to obtain this, he fails altogether. In the earlier stages of society, when personal property was of small account, and marriage settlements were unknown, there was little call for any other species of relief in Courts of Justice, and the writs in the register applied well enough to all the cases that were likely to arise. The supply was equal to the demand. But in time, the great increase of personal property and new modes of industry gave

* Bacon—Reading on the Statute of Uses—Law Tracts, 328.

rise to cases that called for a different sort of relief. Take for instance, the case of a partnership—a large property to be divided in unequal shares, great sums of money to be collected, and many debts to be paid. Whatever complaints one of the partners might have to make against the other, he could not be entitled to an execution at common law; for he could not show that any thing was to be paid to him till the debts of the concern were paid, nor could he show how much was due, until the outstanding debts were collected; nor could he require that the sheriff should put him in possession of the goods, because the custody of them belonged to the other partners as much as to himself. Neither was a common law execution applicable to the complaints of the dissatisfied partner, for it was a settlement that he wanted, and the power of compelling his associates to unite with him in doing a great variety of acts to effect that object. Again, as relates to trusts. The trustee needs instructions, or the *cestui que* trusts disagree with him or with one another, as to the mode of administering the property, and ask the directions of the court. Such directions it is not the province of a jury to give.

Nor is the simplicity of the course of the common law to be referred merely to the forms of action or system of pleadings which prevail in those courts, but exists intrinsically in the nature of the subjects themselves, which form the proper objects of their jurisdiction. Whatever latitude of pleading may be allowed in the courts of common law, whether the matter is submitted to the court by the way of precise and definite written allegations and answers, or is tried under the more comprehensive statement of the general issue, there is a unity in the subject of a suit at common law, which resolves itself into the simple affirmation or negative of the jury. If any one will compare the judgment in the most complicated suits at Law, with the decree in an ordinary cause in Equity, he will be struck with the difference. In the one, various directions are given, inquiries are to be made, accounts are to be taken, and important acts done by the various parties. In the Court of Law, one party is merely to pay or render, and the other to receive, something definite.

If we consider the important and efficient part which the jury sustain in the courts of Common Law, we shall be at no loss to account for this difference. If the courts of Common Law were opened to the subjects which require the long and minute decrees of a Court of Chancery, the jury would be perplexed with duties for which they are not prepared by education or

habit. In this state of things they would soon sink into neglect, and with the loss of their usefulness, they would lose their popularity, and be gradually abolished.

We are far, therefore, from joining in the reproach of usurpation with which the Chancery has been often assailed. It is probable that the existence of such a court, called the *Privatum Concilium* or *Concilium Regis*, and afterwards the Court of Chancery, is of equal antiquity with the other courts of Westminster Hall—the origin of them all, as well as of Parliament itself, being concealed in the obscurity of a distant age—although the cases which called for its interposition were of rare occurrence, and the jurisdiction little noticed in early times.

As we consider the trial by jury to be every way inestimable, and particularly as connected with the spirit of liberty, we regard the Chancery as an admirable regulation for preserving that institution in its usefulness and vigour. But if we are right in our speculations on this subject, the Chancery jurisdiction should be confined to those causes which, from their nature, cannot conveniently be decided or settled by a verdict. The notion of a concurrent jurisdiction between Common Law and Equity, seems to be at variance with the principle on which the separation between the two courts is founded.

The complaints against the delays and expense of the Court of Chancery in England, led in the year 1825 to a parliamentary inquiry: a commission was issued to a number of the most distinguished legal characters, with Lord Eldon at their head, to inquire what alterations should be made in the Chancery practice, and whether any part of the business of that court might be usefully withdrawn from it, and committed to other tribunals. The majority of the commissioners made a voluminous report, which we have placed at the head of this article. Lord Redesdale dissented, and is understood to be the author of the *Considerations*, &c. The nature of Chancery jurisdiction is thus explained by the commissioners.

“The proceedings in the courts of Common Law are simple, and generally founded on certain writs of great antiquity, conceived in prescribed forms. This adherence to prescribed forms has been considered as important to the due administration of justice in common cases: but in progress of time cases arose, in which full justice could not be done in the court of Common Law, according to the practice then prevailing; and for the purpose of obtaining an adequate remedy in such cases, resort was had to the extraordinary jurisdiction of the courts of Equity, which alone had the power of examining the party on oath, and thereby acting through the medium of his conscience, and of procuring the evidence of persons not amenable to the jurisdiction of the courts of Com-

mon Law, and whose evidence therefore, it was, in many cases, impossible to obtain without the assistance of a court of Equity.

"The application to this extraordinary jurisdiction, instead of being in the form of a writ prescribed by settled Law, seems always to have been in the form of a petition of the party or parties aggrieved, stating the grievance, the defect of remedy by proceedings in the courts of Common Law, and the remedy which it was conceived ought to be administered. This mode of proceeding unavoidably left every complaining party to state his case according to the particular circumstances, always asserting that the party was without remedy at Common Law.

"In examining the provisions framed for the conduct of business transacted in courts of Equity, it is necessary first to consider, what are the subjects usually brought under their jurisdiction; and how it has happened that such adequate remedy cannot be obtained in the courts of Common Law, or more convenient remedy may be obtained in courts of Equity.

"One great source of the extension of the jurisdiction of courts of Equity, has been the invention of new modes of disposing of property, particularly in the forms of trusts, and the ingenuity of fraudulent contrivances, to which may be added, the power of disposition of all property by will. The vast increase of personal property which may be disposed of by deed or will, or distributable according to Law upon intestacy; the difficulty of obtaining complete justice under the forms of Common Law against persons accountable for property of others, as executors or administrators; or as partners in trade, or as joint owners of property; or in a vast variety of other ways in which parties may become so accountable; the demand of justice for the specific execution of contracts of various descriptions; and the complications of interests arising from intricate transactions for which the course of the Common Law, in its simplicity, can give no adequate remedy." p. 9.

The alterations suggested by the Report are generally exceedingly minute and circumstantial. Little is to be learned from the Report by us, for the intricate practice of the English Chancery does not prevail here, and the complaints against our court are entirely of a different kind. The following is the boldest measure which they seem inclined to venture on, with the aid of the Legislature; and it will be seen that our judges made no scruple of doing the same thing and much more by their own authority:—

"A difficulty has sometimes been experienced, amounting to a failure of justice, from the contumacy of a party, who refuses to obey a decree or order, directing him to execute a deed or other instrument, thereby depriving his adversary of the benefit which he is entitled to derive from the judgment of the court. We propose that a power shall be vested in the court which will remedy this evil. That where a person is in prison for disobedience of an order of the court, directing him to execute some deed or other instrument, there the court, upon motion or petition, supported by affidavit that such person, upon application duly

made to him, after he had been not less than one week in custody, has again refused to obey such order, shall, if it think fit, authorize one of the masters of the court to execute such deed or other instrument, for and in the name of such person." p. 49—prop. 155.

Our Court of Equity, without any legal warrant, has made a sweeping regulation that the master shall execute every deed which the judgment of the court requires. The convenience of the practice is not to be disputed, but the stretch of power which led to the introduction of such a law, by judicial legislation, was a pernicious example—and the more to be regretted in this case, because it is a fundamental maxim that Equity acts on the person only; and this innovation confounded first principles, and removed one of the strongest barriers to unlimited jurisdiction. The Court of Chancery was like Aaron's rod, that swallowed up all the others.*

Upon that part of their inquiry, which related to the question, whether any of the business of the Court of Chancery might not be transferred to the other courts, the Report is short and unsatisfactory; particularly so, considering the experience and high character for talent of the authors. The only part of the chancellor's jurisdiction they are willing to abridge, is that of granting a commission for the examination of witnesses abroad as auxiliary to a court of Common Law. This is a very obvious suggestion, for there is no sort of reason why a court of Law should not issue such a commission. There is nothing in the power which calls for the peculiar jurisdiction of a Court of Equity; and this case illustrates the principle for which we contend, that wherever the Courts of Common Law possess the means of administering the remedy, the Court of Chancery ought not to interfere. For why should there be two tribunals to accomplish an object for which one of them is sufficient? Or why resort to an extraordinary jurisdiction, when the ordinary and regular course of the Common Law is capable of giving the same relief? It would have been worthy of the talents and great experience of the late Lord Chancellor and his associates, if they had examined this matter on principle instead of contenting themselves with a superficial observation; and had, by a judicious classification of the subjects of Equity jurisdiction, distinguished those which call for the peculiar powers of that

*[By an order of Lord Lyndhurst, and the Master of the Rolls and Vice-Chancellor, dated April, 1823, many of the propositions of the Commissioners have been adopted as rules of the Court. But no order is made on the above proposition, and others of the like kind, on the ground that such alterations can only be made by the Legislature. (See 2 *Russell's Reports*.)

Court, from those which can be effectually managed in a Court of Common Law.

We have already stated, that from the very nature of the trial by jury, there were many subjects to which it could not apply ; and these subjects formed the original and early jurisdiction of the Court of Chancery. But the early jurisprudence of England was necessarily narrow, and was remarkable for a subtle and technical way of reasoning. This was owing to the character of the times, and the logic of the schoolmen. The Courts of Common Law, far from extending, narrowed their jurisdiction still more ; but the Chancellors had their minds enlarged, and their ideas of justice improved, by an acquaintance with the great civilians. They gradually took possession of all those cases in which the Courts of Law refused to interfere, where upon reason and principle, a right was acknowledged to exist, and there was nothing in the law of the land to forbid them from giving redress. The Ecclesiastical Courts attempted the same thing, but their pretensions were repelled, and their efforts to enlarge their jurisdiction constantly put down by prohibitions from Westminster Hall. The high political character of the head of the Court of Chancery, as the prolocutor of the House of Lords, and the first civil dignitary in the kingdom, saved the authority of his court—although often contested and long regarded with jealousy. It was one good consequence of these conflicts that the Chancery was taught to proceed with great moderation, and a check was put to that latitude of discretion, which, as we have seen in this State, is the besetting sin of that court. In time, the decisions in Chancery assumed the regularity of a system. It was soon perceived that many of those causes which had been hitherto carried into the Court of Equity, might be equally well disposed of in the Courts of Common Law, which now began to take cognizance of them. This is the foundation of the concurrent jurisdiction exercised by those courts over a numerous class of subjects. In former times, the obligor was obliged to resort to Chancery for relief against the penalty of a bond. Afterwards, a statute was passed to allow parties the same benefit at Law. Yet, so late as the time of Lord Hardwicke, this was a subject of concurrent jurisdiction. For a long time, the only redress that could be obtained on a lost bond was in Equity. The jurisdiction is now concurrent. Lord Mansfield was a judge of a truly liberal and philosophical way of thinking ; he saw, that in a multitude of cases, there was nothing to prevent a Court of Common Law from enforcing the principles of Equity, and that it was unjust to drive a suitor to the expense

of a double litigation when complete justice could be obtained in a single suit.

Our judges, soon after the Revolution, attempted something of the kind, but in the application of the principle, they were not always successful. They allowed a defendant, in an action on his bond, to rescind his contract, but they unluckily forgot half the case while they were about it, and the consequence is, that the defendant keeps the land and the money too. A moderate degree of reflection would have been sufficient to show that a Court of Law, in this case, could not enforce the principles of Equity, because it could not do justice to both sides.*

The proper mode of regulating the boundaries of jurisdiction between the courts, is certainly by an act of the Legislature.—Something has been done in that way, but not effectually. The act of 1791, provides a mode for obtaining satisfaction of a mortgage in some cases at law. There is no good reason why the remedy should not be general; and even in the cases to which the act applies, it still continues a subject of concurrent jurisdiction—but if the Court of Law can deal with the subject effectually, the jurisdiction of Equity is merely superfluous. Why should a suit be brought now on a lost bond, more than on any other, since the remedy, in each case, is equally plain at Law? Contribution between sureties is still a subject of concurrent jurisdiction. There was a good reason to sue in Chancery formerly when an action at law would not lie; but with the reason the practice ought to cease. Relief of sureties, where the creditor has given time to the principal, or has varied the terms of the contract, is still considered, in this State, an equitable defence. But the principle is familiar to Courts of Common Law, and is every day applied in actions against insurers and parties to a guaranty. And it certainly is worthy of the attention of the Legislature whether the jurisdiction of Chancery, in all such cases, should not be taken away.

It has frequently been a subject of wonder, how in a small State like South-Carolina, with comparatively few inhabitants, and the titles of property so simplified that the business of a conveyancer, as a separate profession is unknown, we should have found work for five Chancellors. But, in fact, our Court of Equity seldom is so happy as to have a proper Chancery suit; its chief business has always been in trying legal questions. One most fruitful source of employment is, the practice of granting injunctions against the sheriff. There is an execution against A. and his negroes are seized; some one comes forward and

* *Gray vs. Handkison*. 1 Bay, p. 278.

suggests that the negroes do not belong to A. Upon which, an injunction is granted, and the court sits to try the legal titles of A. and B. to the property. This is a proceeding perfectly unknown to the English system;* and it is apparent, that in such cases, the court is trying an action of trover. It is true that such injunctions are frequently granted at the application of some trustee for the wife or children of A.; but this makes no difference, for the trustee is the legal owner, and is perfectly free to sue at law. The only good reason for the practice is, that the sheriff (in the low country at least) is generally a *nulla bona* man, as it is called; the number of unsatisfied executions in the hands of his predecessor against him, form generally a very strong recommendation, and perhaps deservedly so, to the office. A judgment, in an action of trover therefore against an insolvent, would be but an inadequate measure of relief to the suppliant and daily orator of the Court of Equity. We are happy, however, to see that the Legislature have recently, by an amendment to the proceedings in detinue and trover—giving the plaintiff a right to security for the property itself, taken away the chief ground for the continuance of this practice—and we hope that an act will soon be passed to withdraw, effectually, all cases of trover and detinue from the Court of Equity. This measure is rendered absolutely necessary by the increased facility of granting injunctions, since the commissioners in Equity have been invested with that power.

The changes which we have recommended would be attended with a great saving to the suitors, and to the public. A single Chancellor would be perfectly adequate to the business of the country, provided he were not required to hold a court in every district, and to try cases of law. Of causes that properly belong to his court, the most numerous class by far, consists of suits against executors and administrators—and the appointment of guardians. But, since the decision in *Howard and Baldrick*, establishing the right of the ordinary to appoint guardians, it is

* *Asplin* made an agreement with *Garstin*, on the 9th of September, 1815, to lease his house and furniture to him; and on this agreement, *Garstin* took possession. A judgment was afterwards recovered against *Asplin*, and on the 23d of November, 1816, the sheriff seized his goods in *Garstin's* possession. The latter filed a bill against the creditor and the sheriff, and moved for an injunction.

The Vice Chancellor.—This is a legal contract for a ready-furnished house and land, and the party has a possessory right. If his possession is intruded upon, he has a remedy at law. The sheriff has no right to seize. If he does, it may be very injurious to the plaintiff, and it is to be regretted; but this court cannot interfere where there is a legal remedy. The right to take in execution, is a question of law. Injunctions would be applied for every day, where executions were improperly issued, if the court were to assume a jurisdiction in such cases. There is no instance of stopping a proceeding at law under such circumstances.—*Garstin vs. Asplin*, 1 Mad. Rep. 151.

unnecessary to resort to the Court of Chancery for that purpose. Nor do we think that the exercise of this power, by the ordinary, is attended with any inconvenience, while, on the contrary, it is a great saving to the suitors in point of expense. It is true the ordinaries are not likely to make many inquiries into the fitness of the guardian, nor the situation of the infant's estate ; but the practice is just as loose in the Court of Equity, and guardians are appointed there without any inquiry at all. Every thing is taken on the word of the solicitor, and the only question which the judge asks is, whether the infant chooses the person in court, and whether that person is willing ?

A great saving also might be effected as to the settlement and distribution of estates, by referring those cases more frequently to the Court of Ordinary. Where the estate is clear of debt, and the question is simply respecting the executor's accounts, that court is perfectly competent to decide. The executor is now compelled to pass his accounts before the ordinary, and may be cited before him for that purpose. It would be a wholesome regulation to require the complainant where the suit is merely for distribution, to cite the executor, in the first place, before the ordinary ; and to allege in his bill, specifically, the errors in the accounts, admitted by the ordinary, against which he excepts ; or to show that the defendant has refused to obey the citation, or to comply with the ordinary's decree.

The objections to our late Chancery system, as cumbersome and expensive, have induced some persons to recommend the delegation of Chancery jurisdiction to the Common Law judges. But this, we apprehend, would soon merge the Common Law in Equity, and Equity in the discretion of the judge. To fill the State with Chancellors, is a sure way to render the law vague and uncertain. From the very structure of the court, much depends in Equity on the discretion of the judge—and from the nature of Equity, as embodied in the artificial and elaborate system which we have adopted, it requires a highly gifted mind, with long habits of study and experience, to administer the jurisdiction with ability. Suits in Equity are not always carried on by a plaintiff and defendant really opposed to one another, as in actions at Law. Infants and persons not *sui juris*, are very often parties on the record, and often in the management of trusts, there are creditors and others who are deeply interested in the subject, and who are represented by executors or trustees, having an interest or feeling in opposition to them. Much is done by interlocutory and occasional orders, which are not the subject of appeal. It is often the interest of those before the court, to get the judge to relax some rule of the court, or otherwise to

interfere in a case of doubtful propriety. Among a variety of Chancellors, some one will generally be found to grant what is wished in such cases, and they will all be tried until one is found who will do so. Then the precedent is quoted to the next, and the *argumentum ad verecundiam* is brought in aid of other questionable grounds of judgment. At length it becomes uncertain whether there is any rule at all.

The rules of that part of our law which is called Equity, admit of many distinctions and abound in exceptions: those of the Common Law are general and positive. Thus the Common Law is said to be strict, and Equity flexible. This is the true reason why so much depends in Equity on the discretion of the judge. But this discretion ought not to be arbitrary, although the rules by which it is bounded are necessarily less definite than those of the Common Law. But however wide the discretion may be, which the rules of the court allow, there will always be cases of compassion in which the judge is tempted to go beyond the rule; and, in those cases where the parties are not adversary as we have before explained, the facility of trespassing on the rule is very great. Some judges will appoint the husband a trustee for the wife; which is one way of breaking the trust, and spending the children's fortune. While men are at their ease they are always desirous of treating the estate of the wife and children as if it were their own; and when they are pressed by creditors, they are anxious to show that it does not belong to them at all. An easy judge will lend his aid to spend it, and another to get it back again. If the Common Law judges are confined to their proper jurisdiction, the rules of Law will be strictly applied: and if the Chancery jurisdiction is administered by a single judge, the discretion of the court will be kept within bounds by his own consistency. But the union of the powers of both courts, would lead, insensibly, to the blending of Law and Equity, which would relax the rules of law, and increase the discretion of the judge: and the number of Chancellors, each ruling according to the bent of his private way of thinking, would render that discretion vague and arbitrary. On the jury, any change which increases the discretion of the judge must operate injuriously. They must either assume a corresponding license of discretion to keep pace with the bench, or they must accommodate their verdict to the opinions or caprice of the judge; and in either case, it appears to us their office might as well be abolished. Indeed, the verdict of the jury would be likely soon to become a mere form: for if it did not conform to the discretion of the judge, it would be brought to the

standard by an injunction. On the law of evidence, the effect would be equally disastrous. Every one knows that in the Court of Chancery the same pains are not taken which the Courts of Law employ to exclude improper evidence, because it is supposed that it can do no harm, and that the judge will not be biassed in forming his judgment by illegal testimony. The habit of receiving it, however, will gradually extend to all cases, and affect not only questions of property, but also those of life and liberty. It was the opinion of a great judge* that if the jurisdiction of Law and Equity had been committed to the same court, the Common Law would have sunk long ago. We have endeavoured to show that the trial by jury is the real cause of the distinction between Courts of Common Law and Courts of Equity, and if the original separation of those jurisdictions was founded on a solid and substantial reason, they ought still to be kept distinct. But, at the same time, the limits of Chancery jurisdiction should be settled on principle, and strictly confined to those cases to which the course of the Common Law, and the trial by jury do not apply. To preserve the trial by jury in its purity, the jurisdictions of Common Law and Equity should be committed to separate courts, and to secure the respectability of the Chancery, and prevent that court from running wild, a single person will administer the jurisdiction better than a greater number, subject of course to the supervision of the Court of Appeal as it exists at present.

Lord Redesdale has taken a different view of the subject from the other commissioners: he points out, with great force and acuteness, many inconsistencies in the proposed regulations, he thinks the commissioners have began at the wrong end—and condemns the whole of their scheme of reform as inadequate and superficial. We are very much inclined to agree with him—*non tali auxilio*—serious and inveterate disorders are not to be cured by such skin-deep applications. His account of the old and the new practice is highly interesting. In former times, the business of the Court of Chancery was done by the clerks, seventy-two in number, who were the only attorneys of the court.

“The whole business was transacted in one office, in which, each six-clerk had his separate apartment, for the purpose of transacting his business, and each of his ten sworn clerks, and two waiting clerks had a seat in the public office in which the business entrusted by the suitors to their care, was transacted. The office was near the residence and office of the Master of the Rolls, who had a general superintendence over the six clerks and their under clerks; and the offices of the several Masters in Chancery, and of the several other officers connected with

* Lord Hardwicke.

the Chancery, were all established nearly on the same spot; so that the whole business was conducted within a space of ground of small extent, and the communication of every office of the Court of Chancery with every other office, was short and easy." p. 42.

The establishment of the Court remained on this footing for a long time, but the attorneys at law gradually got an entrance into the court as practitioners. At first they transacted the business between their clients and the Chancery clerks, and divided the fees; but in 1729, they were admitted into the court as sworn solicitors, and soon monopolized all the practice; from that time the clerks in chancery lost their importance, and they have dwindled from seventy-two to eighteen. But the solicitors have become a very powerful body of men, and transact every kind of professional business, not confined as the clerks were to a single court. The account of the way in which they get through their business is curious.

"They delegate their duties in their practice in the courts of Common Law, in a great degree, to persons called special pleaders; and their business in equity to persons called equity draughtsmen: whilst in matters of practice, they generally resort to the more immediate officers of the several courts. In another part of their business they are assisted by persons called conveyancers, by whom not only all deeds supposed to have been prepared in a solicitor's office are generally drawn, but even the preparatory business which may enable a conveyancer to draw a deed, is often his work, and not the work of the solicitor.

"Some solicitors do still diligently give their personal attention to their business in Courts of Equity; but others generally leave it to be transacted by clerks, and sometimes by ignorant clerks.

"It is evident that this mode of conducting business by delegation, may ultimately lead to a general want of that knowledge of their business, which solicitors ought to possess; and it is evident that the knowledge required to enable any man to conduct the business of a solicitor, will, finally, only be the knowledge, to which of his several assistants he ought to resort for the purpose of having his business done for him.

"But even this limited degree of knowledge is sometimes delegated to another description of persons, called managing clerks; who are the real workers of all the under parts of the business. Under these again are other clerks—often mere boys—who are daily sent about with a paper containing written directions, to go with that paper to the several places therein specified, to ask the several questions therein proposed, and take down the answers in writing; and if an attendance on a Master in Chancery should be part of the business to be done, the boy is furnished with a bundle of papers, of the contents of which he knows nothing, and he is ordered to attend the master, not with the expectation of any benefit to his client, but merely to warrant a charge for that attendance in a bill of costs." p. 46.

"For various purposes, and particularly when a cause is brought to a hearing in a court of equity, a duty devolves on the solicitors employed on both sides to abbreviate the pleadings, and the depositions of witnesses, if there should be any. This business was formerly done by the solicitor himself, or by an experienced clerk, whose work was corrected by the solicitor. It is now usually delegated to a stationer, who often delegates it again to his boy. What is called a *brief*, is, therefore, no longer a *brief*. It is a mere transcript." p. 51.

It is to the solicitors then, that his lordship attributes the delay and embarrassment of the courts. They have too many irons in the fire, and have got above their business. We are by no means sure that these observations are entirely inapplicable to our own judicial proceedings. Our lawyers practise in every court to which they can get admittance, and are engaged in all kinds of professional business. In Charleston, the evil from this cause, has become very great. The lawyers cannot attend, or take the time to procure the witnesses when the cause is called, and the case is continued from one term to another; so that after a session of six weeks, the judge has transacted very little business, except hearing motions for continuance. Mutual indulgence, negligence and forgetfulness are the necessary consequence, so that even cases at Common Law, are often four or five years on the docket.

If the following remarks be thought to savour somewhat of the *laudatur temporis arti*, it must yet be admitted that they contain a great deal of truth:—

"Redundancy is the vice of the age, and it appears in every thing. Perhaps, it is no where more striking, than in the length of modern reports. What Peere Williams would have comprised in a single page, in a modern report may occupy half a volume. The length, indeed, of modern reports, is a serious evil, and a great obstruction in the despatch of business. A case in Peere Williams may be read in five minutes, and its import perfectly comprehended: it may take as many hours to read over a modern report, and in the mass of matter, it may be difficult to discover the import of the whole. In citing a modern case at the bar, the counsel can scarcely avoid adopting something of the prolixity of the reporter; and if in curtailing, he omits what his adversary may think or choose to think important, the court may be compelled to hear a re-statement of the same long case. The prolixity complained of, is not attributable only to those subjects already noticed: it is to be found every where—in Parliament as well as in Courts of Justice. Almost every modern act of Parliament is an example, and it should be remembered, that six days were occupied by a celebrated orator in opening one article of an impeachment." p. 65.

We recommend these remarks to our new reporter, Mr. Peters, who prints from the counsel's brief every thing, with

long letters and all sorts of evidence, without any bearing on the decision, and then gives the whole story over again in the judge's opinion. He is not so bad, however, as Wheaton, who when the crop of cases happened to be short, was accustomed to eke out the volume, by long extracts from other works, or even from his own common-place book.

ART. IV.—*The Life of Erasmus ; with Historical Remarks on the state of Literature, between the tenth and sixteenth centuries.* By CHARLES BUTLER, Esq. of Lincoln's Inn. London. 8vo. John Murray. 1825.

THERE is no portion of history more rich in important events, or which more immediately strikes the mind as having produced definite and lasting effects on the world, than that of the early part of the sixteenth century. The illustrious monarchs that swayed the sceptre—the distinguished pontiff that held the chair of St. Peter—the storms that severed the Christian world into Romanist and Reformer, all combine to give interest to the period. Learning, the fine arts and the elegancies of life, which had before been the almost exclusive property of Italy, now began to develope themselves beyond the Alps in abundance and maturity ; and the newly discovered art of printing, while it rendered common the relics of ancient lore, teemed with a modern literature which evinced from its taste and elegance, that the dawn of civilization was complete. Yet far the greatest number of authors of that time, on account of the temporary or local interest of their works, or an overstretched imitation of the ancients, totally destructive of originality and force, have nearly sunk into oblivion. Bembo, Sadoleti, Sannazaro, Sebastian Brand, Paulus Æmilius, &c. are known but to a few scholars, who have given their works a very cursory inspection. Erasmus alone is immediately remembered as one completely identified with his age, while his writings exhibit a wisdom, raciness and genuine humour, still in accordance with the manner of thinking of our day. His labours in the cause of learning recur to the scholar—his exertions for christianity to the theologian, and his lighter effusions still please the mere

general reader. Indeed, a book cannot be written on that period without bringing to view the extensive influence he exerted, or without quoting some sensible remark, some shrewd observation, or humorous saying of that eternal glory of Holland. His name is much less known in England than on the Continent, where his works, especially some of his minor productions, either in the original or in translation, form a necessary part of the permanent standard literature.

We shall give a short sketch of his life after our own fashion, and then take notice of Mr. Butler and some of his other biographers.

Desiderius Erasmus was born at Rotterdam, the tenth of October, 1467, or thereabouts, as he himself never knew the precise period. He was the love-begotten progeny of a young man of respectable family of Gouda, and Margaret, a physician's daughter of Zevenbergen.* His real name is said to have been Gerardus Gerardi,† which means in the German language *amiable*. "Following the fashion of learned men of those times, who affected to give their names a Latin or Greek turn, he called himself Desiderius, which, in Latin, and Erasmus, which in Greek, has the same signification."‡ It is true that his mother "had loved, and was a woman," but this instance excepted, her conduct appears to have been irreproachable; and it is evident from the history of the circumstances, that the perverseness of their parents was the sole cause of the aberration of two amiable and well-disposed lovers. The father sometime after embraced the ecclesiastical state, yet continued to provide for the maintenance of Margaret and her offspring.

At the age of four years, he was put to school, probably at Utrecht,§ where, by his own account, he made little progress, and, according to some authors, was long held up in Holland as a shining example of the beneficial effects of fagging. Bayle suggests that the dullness attributed to him, if any, was in music, a study then of great importance; yet even in this he must have been a towardly boy, as he was soon engaged as a singer in the cathedral of Utrecht.

In his ninth year he went to the school at Deventer, where his mother attended him to take care of his tender age. This

* Compend. Vitæ.

† Saxius, *Onomasticon Literarium*, 3. 14.

‡ Jortin's *Life of Erasmus*, 1. 3. Fabricius says "*Erasmus prius patrio more Gerardus Gerardi F. postea e Gerardo (a Germanico Gier, avidus, et Arth, natura) Desiderius e Gerardi filio Erasmus fuit appellatus.*" Owen thus derives it,

Queritur unde tibi sit nomen Erasmus? Eras mus.

Si sum mus ego, te iudice summus ero.

[*Jo. Alb. Fabricius. Sylloge. Opusc. 363.*

§ Jo. Herold. *Declamatio Oper. Erasmi*. 8. 637.

institution, in the thirteenth century, was considered as the Atheneum of Belgium, and still maintained a high reputation, notwithstanding the increased light of the succeeding age. His genius here began soon to develop itself, and to attract attention. "He acquired, with facility, whatever was taught, and retained it faithfully.* As a proof of the excellence of his memory, it is stated that he could repeat every word of Terence and Horace.† One of his teachers, John Swinthein, was so delighted with him, that kissing him, he declared that he would attain the highest pinnacle of erudition. The celebrated Rudolph Agricola, who may be said to have introduced the muses into Germany, coming into the school during an examination of the themes of the boys, perused that of Erasmus, then in his twelfth year; he was surprised at the invention and the various beauties which it displayed, and after complimenting Erasmus, told him that with perseverance he would make a great man.‡ In many places, Erasmus speaks of the encouragement he derived from those praises.

Among his works are preserved some Latin verses, written by him at Deventer, in his fourteenth year, which are very creditable, but like most grammar-school poetry, have probably the finishing touch of the master. Whilst at this school he received something not quite as pleasant as the praises before mentioned, but quite as durable in a school-boy's memory—various substantial and fundamental applications of the birch, to which he often bitterly alludes,§ "alas," exclaims the worthy Fuller, speaking on that subject "many a school-master" better answereth the name *αυδοσις* than *αυδαιργυς*, rather tearing his scholars' flesh with whipping than giving them good education. No wonder if his scholars hate the muses, being presented unto them in the shapes of fiends and furies."||

Losing both his parents while at Deventer, he was left in the hands of faithless guardians, who first dissipated his fortune, and then wished to force him to become religious, to escape a just retribution for their own want of religion. But even at that early age, thinking there was "more warmth than piety in a cow!," he resisted manfully the idea of entering a monastery. After using many persuasions, one of his guardians said to him in a rage, "you are a rascal (*nebulo*) devoid of the good spirit; I renounce my guardianship; see how you will support yourself." Even these threats could not force him to adopt a vocation so repugnant to his feelings. In the meanwhile, on a visit to the

* Beatus Rhenanus, Vita Erasmi.

† Ibid.

‡ Bayle Dict. Erasme.

§ Encomium Morie, &c.

|| Holy and profane state.

monastery of Steyne, he encountered one of his former companions at Deventer, a certain Cornelius, who depicted to him in glowing colours, the tranquillity, the repose, the abundance of books, the angelic society of the place, until Erasmus, between persuasion and force, aided by sickness, entered as a novice, probably in his seventeenth year, and in regular time was professed.* He often, in after life, complained bitterly of the arts employed to inveigle him into the monastery, and to retain him. They told him, particularly, the horrible fate of the various reprobates who had returned to the world after commencing the noviciate—some died of dreadful disorders—many were thunderstruck—others, snake-bitten.†

He was fortunate in contracting, in the monastery, a friendship with William Herman of Gouda, a studious young man of talents and attainments. The time spent by their companions, in joking, sleeping and eating, was, by Erasmus and his friend, devoted to the best Roman authors and to Latin composition.‡ His poems, written at this period, exhibit facility and considerable poetic talent, though he never valued himself as a poet. His letters also evinced that he had attained that purity of style so uncommon out of Italy, that ease and pleasantness that afterwards acquired him such an elevated rank among epistolary authors.

It is worthy of remark that in his first letters at Steyne, he speaks highly in favor of the "elegancies of the Latin language," by Lorenzo Valla, and enters warmly into his defence against the attacks of Poggio Bracciolini.§ Later in life, (1505) he published Valla's Commentary on the New Testament, and we think it not improbable, that Erasmus, even then, might have been awakened to religious research by the works of this author. Valla denied the validity of Constantine's donation, the letter of Abogarus to Jesus Christ, and the received opinion that each of the articles of the Apostles' creed was composed separately by every one of the Apostles; he had also severely attacked the immoralities of the clergy. For his boldness, he was obliged to fly from Rome to Naples, where he was protected by king Alphonso; but, if reports be true, even there, though he escaped the fires of the Inquisition, he had to compound for a severe scourging in the convent of the Jacobins. The cause of letters also received

* *Compend. Vitæ.*

† *Erasmi Opera. Tom. iii. p. 1623. Epist. 442. App.*

‡ *Beat. Rhenanus, Vita Erasmi.*—Besides his poems, this William Herman was the author of an Explanation of the Mass—Aubertus Miræus, *Auctuarum de Script. Eccles. 131*, and a History of the War of Holland and Guelderland—Fabricius, *Bibl. Med. et Infim. Latin. 3. 147*

§ *Opera Erasmi. Tom. iii. p. 2. Epist. 1-2, p. 1793. Epist. 407 to 420.*

material benefit from Valla, who pointed out the beauties of the Latin language, and exposed many of the barbarous locutions of the age.*

Le Clerc tells a story, on what authority we know not, which shows, that all the time of Erasmus was not employed in gathering the fruits of knowledge, unless the trees of Steyne had been transplanted from Eden into the garden of the monastery. There was a certain pear-tree that bore fruit so exceedingly fair to the eye and savoury to the taste, that the Prior reserved it for the especial gratification and comfort of his own palate. Now Erasmus perfectly coincided in opinion with the worthy father, and to prevent a monopoly, visited the tree several mornings betimes. Perceiving the rapid diminution of the fruit, the superior placed himself very early at the window of his cell to detect the offender; he did not watch in vain; for he espied through the dubious light of the dawn, a monk gathering the precious harvest with an activity and despatch that showed a master-workman. As he could not distinctly see the personage, he thought it best to wait for broader day—meanwhile Erasmus heard some noise in the Prior's cell, and fearing discovery, slipped down the tree and made off for his own apartment, limping all the way. The good father now thought himself sure of the graceless culprit, for there was a lame monk in the monastery: he accordingly assembled the whole fraternity, and after a harangue, replete with unction, on the important duty of canonical obedience, he called forth the limping brother, and rebuked him sharply for his utter want of godliness in purloining the pears of his spiritual father. In vain did the astounded monk earnestly protest his innocence; he was condemned to a heavy penitence for the combined crimes of gluttony, theft and falsehood.† Erasmus was all his life fond of fun, but this anecdote is so inconsistent with his perfect kindness and justice, that we very much question its authenticity.

A monastic life was little to the taste of Erasmus. The numberless ceremonies, fastings, interruptions of sleep, want of time for study, and ill health, combined to render his residence disagreeable. To this we may add, the want of a Catholic stomach, for even the smell of fish *revolted* his olfactories.‡

Henry de Bergues, Bishop of Cambrai, contemplating a visit to Rome in search of a cardinal's hat, desired a learned secretary, and hearing of the talents and ready pen of Erasmus, em-

* Brucker. Hist. Crit. Phil. Tom. iv. part 1. 32.—Fabricius. Bibl. Med. et Infam. Lat. Valla.

† Biblioth. Univ. 7. 140.

‡ Eras. Oper. Tom. iii. p. 1827 Epist. 442.

ployed him in that capacity, having first obtained his discharge from the monastery. The companion of Erasmus' studies, William of Gouda, was much afflicted at their separation, and addressed him in an ode, which begins:—

“At nunc sors nos divellit, tibi quod bene vertat,
Sors peracerba mihi
Me sine solus abis, tu Rheni frigora et Alpeis
Me sine solus abis.
Italiam, Italiam lætus penetrabis amœnam.”*

The journey did not take place, for the bishop was in want of money,† and knew that it was useless “to fish without a golden hook.” He, however, retained his new secretary with him.

The bishop treated Erasmus with much kindness, and sent him to Paris (1494 or '95) to finish his theological studies, with the promise of a pension, but it appears to have been seldom if ever paid. He resided in the college of Montague, where he soon fell sick from the putrid eggs, and the foul air of his residence. What, between poverty and repeated sickness, he rather lived than studied, to use his own phrase.‡ By teaching some young men attending the then celebrated university of Paris, he gained a slender subsistence; in point of learning, he was equal, if not superior to any of the professors, according to Rhenanus. One of his pupils was an English nobleman, Lord Mountjoy, who settled a pension on him, and continued ever after a steady friend and benefactor.

Either Erasmus soon acquired reputation, or the French literati had tact enough to perceive his merit, for he was soon on a friendly footing with Faustus Andrelinus, the poet laureate, and with Robert Gaguin, professor at the university, author of a *Treatise de Mundissima Conceptione*, a *History of France*, &c. In 1495,§ a letter of Erasmus to Gaguin, prefixed to the *History of France* by the latter is published, which is the first thing of his we can discover to have been printed, though he informs us that his poems were given to the world about the same period.|| We also find some laudatory verses from his pen annexed to an edition of the poems of William Herman of Gouda, published at Paris in 1497.¶

Erasmus now began to apply himself with enthusiasm to the Greek language and literature; for his good sense soon convinced him that his Latin studies must ever remain imperfect without

* Beat. Rhenanus. *Epist. ad Carol. Quint.* † *Compend. Vitæ.* ‡ *Ib.*

§ *Panzer Annal. Typograph.* 2. 309. || *Oper. Erasmi.* 1. *Epist. ad Botzhemuni.*

¶ *Panzer Annal. Typog.* 2. 314.

a thorough knowledge of the parent source. In one of his letters, he writes, "had I money I would first purchase Greek books, and then clothes;" and, in another, he declares he had rather pawn his garments than deny himself the comfort of the newest Greek publication!* We fancy there are few who would do as much for the latest Waverly novel.

Indeed, it required all the enthusiasm of Erasmus, aided by excessive fortitude to bear up against abject poverty and constant sickness. It is painful in the extreme to read his pressing and pathetic appeals to the bishop and other patrons for assistance, which were, apparently, fruitless. But notwithstanding the occasional glimpses of his wretchedness, he generally in his letters exhibits his accustomed festivity, full of zeal in his studies and hopes for the future. One of his Epistles, for instance, describes a set-to, or literally "pulling of caps" between his landlady and a maid servant of small stature but great soul, in which the spirit and vivacity of these two choice specimens of the softer sex are depicted with graphic effect.† Erasmus had given the maid some previous instruction, merely in joke as he says, but no doubt he was well diverted with the spectacle.

Being obliged to quit Paris on account of the plague in 1497, he was employed in the low countries by Anna Bersalle, Marchioness of Vere, to educate her son. The Marchioness settled an annuity on Erasmus, which, by the bye, was never paid; but he always spoke highly of her virtues and talents, and remembered her with gratitude.‡ Had the pensions granted to him been paid regularly, he would have had a competence; but most of them were as unsubstantial as the Barmacide's feast in the Arabian Nights.

In the year 1498, Erasmus visited England, probably at the invitation of his old pupil Mountjoy, and was received with the greatest kindness by the literati. Indeed, the English appear first to have perceived the great talents and erudition of Erasmus, and to have ever after estimated him correctly. The precise time of his first visit is perhaps doubtful, and also the number of visits, but this is a matter of little importance.

Literature had made small progress in England, compared with Italy or even France; yet still there were not wanting men of profound learning, many of whom had heard the best teachers of Greece and Italy. Such were Sixtine, Latimer, Pace, Grocyn, Linacre, Sir Thomas More, &c. The first was a foreigner, deeply versed in canon and civil law, with extensive

* Opera. Erasmi, Tom. iii. p. 51. Epist. 58.

† Ib. Tom. iii. p. 17. Epist. 19.

‡ Ib. Tom. iii. p. 83. Epist. 92.

acquirements in other departments, but who wrote nothing. Latimer is said to have been one of the most learned men of the age in sacred and profane letters, but of such excessive modesty that he never ventured upon authorship. Besides a profound knowledge of Latin and Greek, Pace understood Hebrew, Chaldaic and Arabic, and spoke several of the modern languages. Grocyn had studied Latin under Politian, and Greek under Demetrius Chalcondylas, in Italy, of which languages he attained a critical knowledge; he afterwards taught Greek, with great applause, at Oxford, though nothing remains of his writing but a Latin Epistle, prefixed to the Aldine edition of Proclus' Sphere, translated by Linacre in 1499. Under Politian and Chalcondylas, Linacre also received a thorough, classical education, which placed him among the most learned of the age; but in medicine also, his merit was so pre-eminent, that he was appointed to a professorship in Padua. On his return to England, besides his benefits to classical literature, he established two professorships of physic at Cambridge and Oxford, and was mainly instrumental in founding the college of physicians in London. He has left works which evince his scholarship; but he published little compared with his learning.

Erasmus was on a familiar footing with all those profound scholars; but from a similar sportiveness of wit and congeniality of disposition, Sir Thomas More, afterwards Lord Chancellor, and himself, soon were like two brothers. In wit, learning and eloquence, More ranked among the first men of the age, but among his numerous works, the *Utopia* is, at present, the only one remembered. Amidst many fanciful notions of government, it contains political principles of a justness and mildness above the spirit of the times—expressed in an easy and pure style. Colet and Lily also deserve mention in the above illustrious catalogue, but they will be alluded to by and bye. We may remark in passing, that in this and his subsequent visits, Erasmus uniformly mentioned the higher clergy of England as men of exalted virtue, distinguished learning, and finished education.*

The letters of Erasmus exhibit, during his visit, the highest state of satisfaction and excitement. Like Dr. Johnson, he had learned to ride as well as any clown in the country, which he puts down elsewhere as a thing as marvellous in a Hollander as to see a frugal Englishman or eloquent divine.† “Yes,” says he in a letter to Faustus Andrelinus, “Erasmus is become no

* Opera. Erasmi. Tom. iii. p. 41. Epist. 42, p. 118. Epist. 135, &c.

† Parabolæ. Opera. Erasmi. 1. 599.

contemptible horseman, almost a hunter, a not unskilful courtier, he makes his manners prettily, smiles blandly, and all this in spite of dame nature." From his rapturous description of the attractions of England, it will not cause surprise that he tarried there willingly, but that he was stoic enough ever to tear himself from that Isle of Calypso. "Oh Faustus," exclaims the pious monk, "if you thoroughly knew the blessings of Britain you would hasten here with winged feet, and if your gout would not permit you to do this, you would desire to be made a Dædalus. To mention but one pleasure among many, here are nymphs with heavenly countenances, soft, kind, and whom you would readily prefer to your muses. Besides, there is a custom worthy of everlasting praise. Whenever you come, all receive you with kisses. If you go away, they dismiss you with kisses—you return, you are received with kisses: they take their leave of you—still kisses. Do you meet them any where, they kiss you abundantly. In short, there is nothing but kissing wherever you go. Oh! Faustus, did you taste but once how soft, how fragrant they are, you, in truth, would wish, not as Solon did, to pass only ten years in England, but to sojourn there to your latest hour."* We think, however, it is Montaigne, who says "that the good Erasmus, though he writes so gallantly, was shamefaced enough among the fair-sex."

In departing from Dover for France, he was not quite as well pleased with some of the *gentlemen* as he had been with the ladies; as he expressed it, he was shipwrecked before he entered the ship. By the laws of England, it was forbidden to take coin out of the country, and Erasmus, who was ignorant of the regulation, was so thoroughly stripped by the custom-house officers, that he had not enough left in his pockets to have sunk the boat of Charon. He seems to have remembered the loss as long as he lived, but he merely says, goodhumoredly, that he paid dear to learn one law.†

After his arrival in Paris, he wrote some most supplicatory letters to his patrons for money, in order to go to Italy, for the purpose of obtaining a doctor's degree. Not that Erasmus valued a mere title, "but no one," says he, "is thought learned, unless he is called our master, (the title given to doctors in theology,‡) although Christ, the first of theologians forbids it."§ Erasmus says, "his wants oblige him to be impudent;" but im-

* Opera. Erasmi. Tom. iii. p. 56. Epist. 65.

† Compend. Vitæ.—Colloq. Famil.—Epist. ad Botzhemum, &c.—Opera. Erasmi. Tom. i. &c.

‡ Epist. Obecur. Vlror. 2.

§ Erasmi Opera. 3. Epist. 92, p. 84.

pudence seemed to have availed him nothing : he remained in France, and remained poor.

He published his treatises "*De Copia Verborum et Rerum*," and "*de conscribendis Epistolis*," probably about this time, although they are not mentioned by the bibliographical writers till long after.* Both of those works are agreeably written, and contain things that may be even now read with profit, notwithstanding the many works we have on Rhetoric. We would cite as an instance, the eleventh chapter of the first book of the treatise "*De Copia*." But at a time when every gentleman was expected to write Latin, and no tolerable treatise on style existed, they were invaluable. The numberless editions attest the estimation in which they were held.

But the first work which can be said to have given him an European reputation, was his *Adages or Proverbs*, (1500.) 'This was a learned explanation of the Greek and Latin proverbs, without a knowledge of which it is impossible to read understandingly, and particularly to comprehend numberless delicate allusions throughout the classics. Immense and critical reading, a profound knowledge of antiquities, and a clear and sagacious mind were required for this great and useful undertaking. Most of it has been dressed out differently, and served up in notes to the classical authors, which, in some measure has diminished the absolute necessity of the original, and, as might be expected in so large a work at that period, it is not exempt from errors ; but to this day, it cannot be well dispensed with from the library of the classical student. Besides its learning, the anecdotes with which it is enlivened, the judicious reflections, humourous remarks and facile style, render it as amusing as instructive. Under different proverbs, he threw out the leading ideas of that amiable morality and pure piety, afterwards more fully developed by him, and which were strongly contrasted with the superstitions and erroneous principles of the period. The vices and follies of kings and rulers are lashed with severity, their duties pointed out with moderation and wisdom. He censures in strong terms that rage for war among Christian princes, by which the lives and happiness of their subjects are wantonly sacrificed to an unprofitable ambition. The corruption of doctrine, the pomps and ceremonies that clouded vital religion, the luxury and irreligion of the higher clergy are handled with a boldness amazing for the times. It would be idle to recapitulate all the errors that had crept into the schools, the church, and politics, that are touched by his

* Jortin's *Life of Erasmus*, 1. 13. *Opera Erasmi*, lib. iii. p. 47. *Epist.* 53.

poignant pen. Many of our observations, it is true, will apply better to the succeeding editions, than to the first imperfect impression, but the germ of his peculiar way of thinking was here exhibited.

There is no doubt that the liberal principles of the "Adages," excited the ill-will of many of the ignorant monks; but the applause it received from the learned was so unanimous, that the voice of detraction was perfectly hushed. "After the publication of the treatise 'De Copia,' and the 'Adagia,' learning (says Rhenanus) broke out like a sun that had been obscured by clouds." Many of the praises bestowed on it then by the learned, now seem hyperbolic; but we must remember the importance then attached to classical learning, and the difficulty of acquiring it out of Italy. Not less than thirty editions of this huge compilation, or abridgments of it, were printed during the life of Erasmus.

We may judge of the importance of this work in a religious point of view, from the circumstance that Pope Gregory XIII. and the Fathers of the Council of Trent, ordered an edition to be published, carefully weeded of all those sprouts of heresy that possessed not the genuine odour of sanctity to orthodox senses.* This task was performed by Paolo Manuzio, no doubt to the improvement of the Latinity, but deprived of all the strength and wit of Erasmus.

The plague breaking out at Paris, Erasmus retired to Louvain,† where he published several of his writings, the most important of which was his "Enchiridion Militis Christiani," or "Manual of a Christian Soldier," (1503.) "I did not write it," (the Enchiridion) says he in a letter to Colet, "for the purpose of shewing my genius or eloquence, but solely to cure the vulgar error of those who make religion consist in ceremonies, and the more than Jewish observance of bodily matters, strangely neglecting those things which pertain to real piety."‡ The idea of writing this work, arose from the following circumstances:—Erasmus had a military friend or acquaintance, who was not only given to breaking the seventh commandment, and committing other peccadillos, but occasionally exercised the right which the judicious Blackstone has accorded to every free-born Englishman, of chastising his helpmate—a right, it will be admitted, more agreeable to common than civil law. Yet this man was very exact in the externals of religion. The wife requested the assistance of Erasmus, who wrote the small work above alluded

* Renouard—Annales des Aldes, p. 35, Suppl. A. D. 1612.

† Lambinet—Origine de l'imprimerie, 2. 141.

‡ Opera Erasmi. tom. iii. p. 94, Epist. 109.

to, to demonstrate the necessity of vital piety, and the exercise of the Christian virtues. His laudable exertions had little effect on the graceless husband, who tauntingly said the book possessed more piety than its author. It was much the fashion then with theologians to divine the mystical and allegorical meaning not only of the Scriptures, but of Ovid and *Æsop's* Fables, &c. of which, Don Calmet's explanation of the holy books of Blue Beard, by the King of Prussia, is no bad specimen.* The *Enchiridion* of Erasmus, was somewhat tinged with these pious hallucinations, which shew more ingenuity than good sense or probability, but is generally simple, pious and useful. It is said that Ignatius Loyola found his religion like Bob Acre's courage, oozing out of his finger's ends whenever he read this work, and some other devotees of highly spiritualized religion, have passed a similar judgment. But it is no wonder that common sense is not hot enough for bigots, who like all other persons overheated, think every thing cold that does not come up to their own temperature.

To practise himself in Greek,* Erasmus translated into Latin from that language, parts of Euripides, Lucian, Plutarch, Libanius, &c. which were published at various times, commencing as early as 1501.† Works of that description were received with avidity, because many who did not understand the original language, were enabled to enjoy them in translation, and to those who were studying Greek, they were an useful assistant before good grammars or lexicons were in existence. It may be readily imagined, that in the present state of classical learning, we have translations more exact and elegant.

After long meditating a journey to Italy, he set out for that cradle of reviving literature, towards the close of 1506. To amuse himself while crossing the Alps, he composed on horseback, his beautiful poem "On Old Age," which contains expressions, from whence we may discover that Erasmus began to bend under the weight of years, though not yet forty, and ever after speaks of himself as feeble and sickly.‡

He received the title of Doctor of Divinity at Turin, and then went to Bologna.§ Here he witnessed the edifying spectacle of the entry into that city of Pope Julius II. as representative of the Prince of Peace and Saviour of Mankind, at the head of a victorious army, bearing war and bloodshed before them. Erasmus, in many places of his works, has expressed his abhorrence of the conduct of this blood-stained pontiff,|| and for this

* King of Prussia's work translated by Holcroft. Also *Epist. Obsc. Vir.*

† Panzer. *Annal. Typograph.* ‡ *Opera Erasmi. tom. i. Epist. ad Botztheman.*

§ *Beatus Rhenanus. Vita Erasmi.* || *Encomium Moris—Novum Test. &c.*

reason, has sometimes been suspected of writing the witty dialogue "Julius Exclusus," in which, that Pope is represented as excluded from heaven by St. Peter, on account of his misdeeds. We see no reason, however, why Mr. Butler should wish to saddle this work on Erasmus, when he has so positively disavowed it, and disapproves so warmly of anonymous publications.* From the known principles of Faustus Andrelinus, we think it more than probable that he was the author, according to the suggestion of Prosper Marchand.†

It appears that Erasmus was several times in danger of being pelted and beaten to death at Bologna, on account of his monastic habit, which resembled the dress of those who attended persons infected with the plague. He, therefore, obtained permission from Pope Julius II. to wear the habit of his order or not, as he pleased, which was afterwards confirmed by Leo X.‡

Ever since the first publication of his "Adages," Erasmus laboured at a more ample and correct edition, which he completed while at Bologna; but he was desirous of having it printed at the celebrated Aldine press of Venice. This was the first establishment since the invention of printing, whose especial object was to give correct and elegant editions of the classics, particularly those in the Greek language. The types, the paper, the ink, the composition and press-work, were far superior to any thing of their kind at that period, and even at the present day, show what slight improvement we have made in the typographic art. Aldo Manuzio, the founder and the then director of the establishment, was himself deeply versed in the learned languages, and also called to his assistance the most erudite men of the age. In order to attain a more exact and ready knowledge of Greek, he formed an academy of skilful Hellenists, whose conversations were held entirely in that language, of whom Erasmus was afterwards one. The excellency and beauty of the Aldine classics had given them a high value throughout Europe, which they still maintain, particularly as they often preserve the readings of MSS. which have perished.

Erasmus wrote to Aldo, informing him of his wishes, and was immediately invited to Venice in the most flattering manner. "The printing of other important works was immediately suspended for the "Adages," on account of its great utility and erudition."§

* Opera Erasmi. tom. iii. p. 1622. Epist. 160. p. 324. Epist. 317.

† Basbier, Dict. des Anonymes, 3. 519. Paris, 1824.

‡ Opera Erasmi, Epist. ad Servatium—Beat. Rhenanus, Vit. Erasmi.

§ Renouard, Ann. des Aldes. vol. ii. p. 23, A. D. 1803. Suppl. 93, &c.

During eight months, Erasmus was lodged in the house of Aldo, and treated with great kindness.* It has been said by various authors,† that the friendship of these two scholars soon ended in mutual coolness; but certainly, Erasmus, in his letters, continued to speak kindly of his host and to render justice to his learning;‡ and, on the other hand, after the death of Aldo, his father-in-law, Andrea Torresano d'Assola, invited Erasmus to Venice in the most friendly terms.§ It is true that Paolo Manuzio treated Erasmus with some contempt, "Transalpinus quidam homo," but this was after the Reformation, when bigotry or policy were, probably, more consulted than his judgment. The fame of Erasmus had preceded him, and obtained at Venice the friendship of Marcus Musurus, Scipio Cateromachus, (Fortiguerra) Hieronymus Aleander, and other men celebrated for their classical attainments. He next proceeded to Rome, where he was received with distinction by Bembo, Cardinal Grimani, Giles of Viterbo, Cardinal St. George, Giovanni de Medici, afterwards supreme pontiff under the name of Leo X. &c.|| Had he desired to remain in Italy, the inducements held out to him were sufficiently flattering, but neither the state of literature, nor the manners of the clergy corresponded altogether with his expectations.

In 1509, Henry VIII. ascended the English throne, a monarch of talents and learning, who, it was hoped, would lead on an Augustan age. Mountjoy communicated the news to Erasmus, and pressed him by all means to hasten to England. The prospect was certainly flattering for Erasmus, as in the childhood of Henry he had known him well, and had since received letters from him full of kindness and respect. A prebend was also offered him from Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury. In short, he was promised such mountains of gold, that he thought "one Pactolus would not suffice to wash the precious metal out of him." We are sorry to say, the El Dorado which had feasted his fancy, vanished at his approach; and he often lamented the literary treasures of Italy, and cast many a longing, lingering look at her bright skies and smiling landscapes. The amiable Warham gave him a pension, and during his life, remained a firm and active friend. It seems from their correspondence, that the right reverend Father in God was as fond of jokes as his humourous *protegè*, and that too on pretty delicate subjects. Erasmus was at that time suffering under the gravel, which,

* Renouard, *Annales des Aldes*, 2.

† Mills, Theodore Ducas—Renouard, *Ann. des Aldes*.

‡ Opera Erasmi, tom. iii. p. 506, Epist. 466.

§ Ibid.

|| Beat. Rhenanus Vlt. Erasmi.

contrary to the doctrine of Sydenham, he thought was increased by beer, and much mitigated by Greek wine, or any other good palatable wine, even without a classical name.* He tells the Archbishop that he is fallen into the hands of executioners and harpies, that is, doctors and apothecaries. "I am in labour," continues he, "but I know not what offspring I am to give birth to."† In reply, the old prelate gives him a letter of puns, and, moreover, sends a medicine, which he says, possesses a wonderful virtue—a good sum of money.‡ On one occasion, he presented a horse to Erasmus, who, in a letter of thanks, among other things says—"I have received a horse not very seemly but good, for he is free from all the mortal sins but gluttony and sloth; and is adorned with all the virtues of a good confessor, pious, prudent, humble, modest, sober, chaste and quiet; he biteth no one, and kicketh not."§ Warham spent his fortune in acts of beneficence, and died penniless, which can, probably, be said of few archbishops since the Reformation. From Tostall, Bishop of Durham, and Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, two learned prelates, he received constant acts of kindness and liberality.

From the letters of Erasmus, it is certain that he taught Greek at Cambridge, whether as Professor or not, is not perfectly sure; but it is more sure that he got very little money for it. He observes in a letter, with his usual grave manner and suppressed sarcasm, "I behold in the university the appearances of a most Christian poverty. As for gain, I see no prospect—for what can I strip from the naked."||

The first work he printed during this visit to England, was his celebrated "*Encomium Morie*," or "*Praise of Folly*," which was among the most witty and popular of his works. In it he makes folly mount the rostrum, and, after modestly excusing herself for speaking her own praises, shows that folly constitutes the happiness of every class of mankind. Are not all the world fond of children even before intellect begins? Is not every grey-bearded philosopher delighted with the fair sex, not certainly on account of their wisdom, for nothing is more dreaded than a blue stocking? What is more delectable than courtship, yet what more silly? What is more dull and fatiguing than long repasts with the grave and wise, and how we are relieved when the blunders and jokes of some jack-pudding "sets the table in a roar?" Have not hunters, gamesters, amateurs of the fine arts, even men of science, all their follies, and

* *Opera Erasmi*. tom. iii. p. 108. Epist. 118. † *Ibid*. p. 164. Epist. 188.

‡ *Ibid*. p. 117. Epist. 134.

§ *Ibid*. p. 813. Epist. 697.

|| *Ibid*. p. 108. Epist. 117.

are they not happy in them? He then passes in review grammarians, poets, lawyers, courtiers, monks, bishops and cardinals, neither does he spare kings and princes, nor the popes themselves. The vices of the theologians and the corruptions of the church are touched with peculiar severity; and truly, if he gives a correct idea of the discussions of the schoolmen, divinity was in a rare condition. "*Num possibilis propositio: Pater deus odit filium?* Num deus potuerit *suppositare* mulierem, num diabolum, num asinum, num cucurbitam, num sili-cem? Tum quem admodum cucurbita fuerit concionatura, editura miracula, figenda cruci? Folly concludes by asserting that folly is the true *summum bonum*. The work was written at the house of Sir Thomas More, for the amusement of his friend, and finished in a week. It was probably printed in 1509, though the first edition with a date, is in 1511.* So great was its popularity, that it was re-published seven times in a few months, and was soon transfused into most of the modern languages. A commentary, added by Martin Lister, in which the classical allusions and refined irony were explained, added to its more extensive circulation. That eternal punster, Owen, among his other epigrams on Erasmus, has thus noticed the "Encomium."

*Stultitiæ laudem scripsisti primus, Erasme:
Indicat ingenium Stultitia ipsa tuum.*

About 1510, the learned and virtuous Dean Colet, founded the school of St. Paul at his own expense, and appointed the famous Lily, author of the grammar, the first master. Erasmus, who had been kindly received by Colet on his visit to England, and had constantly afterwards experienced his bounties, composed various works for the school, and in particular, recast his treatise "*De Copia*," till it might be said to be a new book. "Alas," exclaims he, in allusion to that treatise, "in the midst of abundance, (*copia*) I am suffering from want, (*inopia*.) Indeed, his poverty was so excessive, that he had to beg his friends in the most abject and unblushing manner." But the thorny point

"Of bare distress had ta'en away the show
Of smooth civility."

And he complains feelingly, that the thing he hates most in his fortune is, that it will not permit him to be modest.† His friend

* Brunet, Manuel du Libraire, Erasmus.

† Opera Erasmi. tom. iii. p. 131. Epist. 150.

Colet writes to him in one instance, that he will send him money if he would beg hard enough for it; yet even his humiliations were not always successful. Cardinal Ximenes once, when provincial of the Franciscans, set out on a pious expedition, accompanied by one Ruyz. They had but one mule between them, and as for nurture, they depended on him "who fed the ravens." Whenever Ruyz begged, they fared well enough, but Ximenes regularly returned with an empty wallet, after spending the whole day in going from door to door. So that while they were copiously dispensing the bread of life to others, they were often nearly famished for want of their daily bread. At length Ruyz said to Ximenes, "My worthy father, God gives to every man a talent. You have a talent for preaching, and I for begging—let us each profit by his peculiar gift: do you take the pulpit, and give the wallet up to me!" They made the exchange, and both preaching and begging were crowned with an abundant harvest.* Poor Erasmus, from his success, evidently was not possessed of the begging talent. Nothing but the most pressing want could have so bowed his spirit, for no one was ever less desirous of fortune.

He soon awoke from his dreams of a golden age in England, and returned to the Continent in 1514. In departing, the sailors (*maritimi prædones*) put his clothes and papers, the fruit of many years study, on board of another ship. He did not bear his loss with the equanimity of Sir Isaac Newton, who, when his precious lucubrations were destroyed by his little dog, merely exclaimed, "Ah! Diamond, Diamond, thou knowest not what thou has done." On the contrary, Erasmus lamented his offspring "till the springs that were in his head sent the waters down his cheeks: it was like the voice of Rachael weeping for her children,† and would not be comforted because they were not." As he does not allude to the subject afterwards in his letters, it is probable that the papers were recovered.

Charles, Archduke of Austria, afterwards the Emperor Charles V. appointed Erasmus one of his counsellors in 1514 or 1515, with a good stipend.‡ For some years he led a wandering life, "one foot in the sea and one on land;" sometimes at Louvaine, Antwerp, Basil, and sometimes in England. While at Basil, he printed (1516) "St. Jerome," at the press of Froben, an eminent printer, who was afterwards one of Erasmus' best friends. The labours of restoring a corrupted text of Jerome, were greater than it cost Jerome to write it originally; for not only had ignorant transcribers introduced multifarious errors,

* Barrett's Life of Ximenes.

† Opera Erasmi. tom. iii. p. 137. Epist. 159. ‡ Compend. Vitæ.

but meddling monks foisted in their own improvements and unskilful emendations. Erasmus declared that he had nearly interred himself in disinterring Jerome, and almost killed himself in giving the saint the second birth. In the Hebrew part, he was assisted by his friends, the Amerbachs, for he understood that language but imperfectly.

Various editions of the classics were published by him about the same period and at other times, which it is unnecessary to note particularly. Suetonius, Quintus Curtius, Plautus, Terence, Seneca, Cato, and parts of Cicero, &c. received from his hands a purer text and useful notes. He also printed a translation of the Greek Grammar of Theodore Gaza, Lorenzo Valla's elegancies of the Latin language, and various other works of this description, which were then of immense utility in opening the way to the languages.

Of the original works which issued from his pen, the most important were the "*Querela Pacis*," (1516) or "*Complaint of Peace*," an eloquent and sensible harangue against war, and the "*Institutio Principis Christiani*," or "*Instruction of a Christian Prince*," which abounds in judicious reflections on government, certainly very different from the political precepts of the age. His sentiments on politics are quite as liberal as on religion. He positively denies the divine right of kings placing their power expressly on the consent of the governed; he points out the evils of monarchical power, without the salutary check of a body to represent the people, nor does he forget, as on every occasion, to deprecate the rage for war which then devastated Europe.

A collection of his familiar letters was received with the same favour as his other works, and have been always prized for their good sense and acute observation, united with a suavity of manner, learning without affectation, and "wit that loves to play, not wound." Especially, they exhibit an appearance of the utmost frankness, and express all those delicate shades of thought and feeling that give us a thorough insight of the man. Nothing is formal or laboured in the style, throughout, we see the ease and variety of familiar conversation.

The same free religious and political opinions that were put forth in his other works, of course appear in his letters, one of which is too remarkable to be passed over entirely. It is the reply of Erasmus to Servatus, Prior of the Monastery of Steyne, who tried to persuade him to return to the monastery.* After censuring the numberless ceremonies which encumbered religion,

* *Opera Erasmi*, 1.

and giving other objections to the monastic life, he says, "why should I return, only to die with you? But, perhaps, you imagine that it is a singular happiness to die in a fraternity. Alas! you are mistaken, and almost all the world is mistaken with you. *We make Christianity to consist in dress, in eating, and in little observances.* We look upon a man as lost who quits his white garment for a black one, who wears a hat instead of a hood, and often changes his habitation. Shall I venture to affirm that the greatest mischief that hath been done to the Christian religion, arises from these *religious*, as they are called, though perhaps a pious zeal first introduced them? They have since been augmented by slow degrees, and multiplied into various kinds. The authority of Popes, too easy and indulgent in such things, hath supported them. For what is more corrupt and more wicked than these relaxed religious? Consider even those which are in the best esteem, and you will find in them nothing that resembles Christianity, but only I know not what cold and judaical observances. Upon this, the religious orders value themselves, and by this, they judge and despise others. Would it not be better, according to the doctrines of our Saviour, to look upon Christendom as upon one house, one family, one monastery, and all Christians as one brotherhood? Would it not be better to account the sacrament of baptism as the most sacred of all vows and engagements, and never to trouble ourselves where we live, so we live well?"

We now approach the work of Erasmus, that produced the most extensive and decided effect on the age, and which added most to his fame. We mean his edition of the Greek Testament. In accomplishing this important and unessayed undertaking, his first care was, by a sedulous collation of MSS. to present a pure Greek text; next, to give a Latin translation nearer than the Vulgate, and free from its errors, omissions and additions; and, lastly, to furnish notes, in which were pointed out, the grammatical and critical difficulties, the various readings and true meaning of the original. What he had proposed to himself, he executed with an ability that displayed extensive scholarship and a profound knowledge of the fathers; but he equally evinced a sound, discriminating judgment, and genuine piety. Under various digressions, he speaks out his own opinions on religion and the state of the church, which were retained in the subsequent editions. He comments with equal freedom and severity on the vices of some of the bishops and higher clergy; the devotion to relics, the abuse of forms and ceremonies to the exclusion of vital Christianity; the errors of the monastic orders and mendicant friars; the absurd questions and discus-

sions of the theological schoolmen, and many other abuses of the day. As in most of his theological works, he occasionally tells anecdotes and cuts jokes, which are certainly none of his worst.*

It is a matter somewhat surprising that at a period when the church possessed such extensive influence, and when books of piety issued so abundantly from the press, the Testament, in its original language, should have remained so long unpublished; but the rapidity with which editions were afterwards multiplied, shows, that many were "athirst for the fountains of the waters of life."† Many were induced to study Greek even at an advanced age, by its publication, and many more to ponder deeply, in order to resolve doubts suggested by a new text, or by sensible notes, which presented a religion widely different from the practices and precepts of some of the leaders of the faithful.

Pope Leo X. to whom the work was dedicated, wrote in a highly flattering manner to Erasmus, and he would have met with a good reception at Rome, had he been desirous of wealth or dignity. He was also loaded with praises by a number of dignitaries of the church and literary men. His numerous publications, his frequent journeys, and agreeable manners, all conspired to give him a reputation more extended than any man of the period, and to acquire him an illustrious correspondence from every part of Europe. He frequently complains that it is impossible to answer the loads of letters that were poured in on him from cardinals, bishops, distinguished scholars, &c. In Germany, particularly, he was regarded with equal admiration and pride. Rudolph, Agricola, Camerarius, (Dalberg) Paul of Middleburg, Rudolph, Lanjuies, Reuchlin, Wempheling, Sebastian Brand, &c. were men of considerable talent and learning; but they did not exhibit that extensive knowledge or elegant scholarship that had given European reputation to Poggio, Guarini, Pontano, Pico, Hermalaus Barbarus, Pomponius Lætus, Buonaccorsi, Cateromachus, and a long line of classical scholars in every part of Italy. It was reserved to Erasmus, first to rival the Italians in learning, and far to surpass them in original talents, and the multiplicity and importance of his labours. Among his other correspondents, was the learned Capnio (Reuchlin) the great restorer of Hebrew learning, who deserves mention on account of his exertions for the advance-

* Vide Opera. Erasmi. tom. 6. Nov. Test. Mat. xix. v. 12.

† More than ten editions of his Testament were published in his life, viz: five by himself, those of Gerbelius, Cephalæus, Bebelius, &c.—the Bibles of Aldo and Cephalæus, and perhaps others, all followed the Erasmusian text with little variation. See Dibden's *Classica*, xxvii. 1804.

ment of literature in Germany, and particularly biblical literature. With immense labour and zeal, he had become acquainted with Hebrew, which then was scarcely known but by Jews, and called the attention of scholars to the necessity of understanding that language in reference to the Scriptures. But a *route* of ignorant monks, headed by one Pepericornus (Pfeffercorn or Peppercorn) "a converted Levite and real knave," raised a mighty clamor against the study of any thing written by an "Ebreu Jew," and supplicated the Emperor Maximilian I. to burn every thing, but the Bible, contained, in the language of the heathen. This ignorant request excited the zeal of Reuchlin and his friends, and a spirited paper war was carried on, until it was stopped by the celebrated "*Epistolae obscurorum Virorum*," said to be principally written by the witty but profligate Ulric de Hutten,* which turned the monks into utter ridicule, and obtained a triumph for the cause of good sense. The perusal of that work is said to have made Erasmus laugh so heartily that it broke an imposthume on his face, which otherwise would have required the surgeon's knife.†

It is surprising what a number of places, of different kinds, continued to be offered to Erasmus. He could have had a professorship either at Louvain or Ingolstadt, and ecclesiastical preferments were open to him every where; but he prized perfect liberty above every thing. "Courts," says he, "are splendid misery, and as for wealth and honours, I want them not."

Francis I. who may be said to have first created that elegance and polish which has ever since distinguished the gay court of France, was anxious to secure the talents and learning of Erasmus, and employed Budaëus in that negotiation. The offers of the French king were not accepted, but the correspondence between Budaëus and Erasmus was kept up at intervals for many years. It was not uncommon then to consider Erasmus, Budaëus and John Louis Vives, as the literary triumvirate of the age; to which, perhaps, the Italians would not have assented. Vives undoubtedly possessed a clear head and considerable learning, but, by no means, a great, original mind; his letters to Erasmus are sensible, pleasant, sometimes witty, and perfectly devoid of affectation. In jurisprudence and Greek, the knowledge of Budaëus was profound and extensive, but, as a writer, he was stiff, pompous, laboured. After the lively off-hand Epistles of Erasmus, those of Budaëus are positively unreadable.

* Barbier Dict. des Anonymes iii. 533—Brunet, Manuel du Libraire, t. 590. Brux. 1820.

† Bayle, Dict. Erasmus.

In 1518, or rather the close of 1517, Luther commenced attacking the abuses of the church, and, by a succession of steps, rapidly brought on the separation of the church usually called the Reformation. "Who does not know," says Bossuet, "the publication of indulgencies by Leo X. and the jealousy of the Augustins against the Jacobins, who had had the preference in this business? Who does not know that Luther, an Augustan doctor, chosen to maintain the honour of his order, first attacked the abuses which many made of indulgencies, and the excesses which were preached up of them?"* We know the censure here conveyed, by referring every thing to a mere quarrel between two poor and obscure monks, has been often repeated, but we think it historically clear that Luther's peculiar style of thinking existed to a great extent before the commencement of the Reformation,† and, that however we may doubt his other qualifications as a reformer, certainly justice should be rendered to the dauntless intrepidity and disinterested motives with which he entered the arena. That many reforms were needed in the church, no Catholic denies, or ever did deny; that is, reforms in the discipline of the church and the morals of the clergy. We will not raise the question as to what are articles of faith, and what are articles of discipline; the latter word will answer well enough, and what we include under it, will be seen from our remarks.

In the dark ages, an artificial system of theology, overrun with abstruse refinements and unintelligible distinctions, had obtained possession of the schools, and been introduced into nearly all religious publications, and the external worship of the Deity had been encumbered with fasts, processions, pilgrimages, and a profusion of mere bodily observances. Hence, religion had become, in a great measure, incomprehensible to the mind, and onerous to the body.

The lax morality also, which had taken rise in a period of ignorance, had extended too much from the laity to the clergy. It is not then a matter of wonder that the troubadours soon began to attack men whose practises so badly accorded with their principles, or that other writers should prolong the censure.—Dante, Boccacio, Petrarca, and other Italian authors have spoken freely and severely of the deplorable state of religion which is adverted to with equal causticity in our own language by Gower and Chaucer. But the poets were not alone. In every country, excellent and learned prelates had either written or exerted their

* *Histoire des Variations des Eglises Protestantes.*—Oeuv. de Bossuet. Tom. xix. p. 38, vers. 1816.

† *Milner Church Hist.* iv. 278–80, &c.

talents to procure ameliorations in discipline or amendment of morals.* We cannot cite a more memorable instance than the steady and active labours of John Gerson, at the council of Constance.† Besides, those who only desired reformation in the church, there were a distinct class who held peculiar doctrines of faith of their own, and who aimed at a total rejection of the Papal power. The origin of the *Vaudois* who still exist, is lost in the night of time, and, in the fourteenth century, other schismatics, from various causes, had multiplied exceedingly. Many temporal lords recognized, with reluctance, the vast increase of the clergy, their possession of immense bodies of land in mortmain, their exemption from burdens of state and civil jurisdiction, their right to tithes, annals, &c. by which they had attained an extensive and often controlling influence in government.

A number of things concurred to hasten a reformation, needed and desired on so many accounts.

Some of the Roman Pontiffs, by their scandalous lives, had lessened the habitual respect for the Roman See, or by attempting to enlarge their territory, descended from the sanctified station of heads of the church, and sunk into mere temporal princes. Nothing, however, more lowered the veneration towards the church than the great schism which exhibited rival, infallible Pontiffs, fulminating excommunication at each other.

The extensive diffusion of knowledge in the opening of the sixteenth century, increased the number of reasoners, and both those who desired a reformation in the church, or who objected to its leading tenets, increased in number and boldness. Biblical inquiries had made immense strides in a few years.—The Hebrew learning of Reuchlin had prepared the way for a better understanding of the Old Testament, and the labours of Erasmus even more effectually laid open a knowledge of the New. A great effect was produced on the temper of the times by numerous works of the nature of the “*Encomium Moræ*,” “*Julius Exclusus*,” and “*Epistolæ obscurorum Virorum*,”‡—among which, the Tale of the Tub might meet with more than one rival.

In all ages of the church there were pure and spotless prelates, and, in proportion as knowledge was diffused, the greatest portion of the higher clergy, who, generally speaking, were men of education and piety, desired ardently to throw off the trammels

* Bossuet Hist. des Var. *passim*.—Hist. Biblioth. Fabric. iv. 197.

† L'Enfant's History of the Council of Constance, 4to, Engl. transl. *passim*.—Bossuet, Hist. des Var. &c.—Roscoe's Leo X. 3. Append. 40.

‡ Brucker Hist. Crit. Phil. iv. 84.

of the scholastic theology, and an unmeaning routine of almost judicial observances. All ideas, however, of reformation were clamorously opposed by hosts of ignorant monks who had become bigoted in their ways of thinking, and reverence for their ceremonies, and who regarded the acquisition of mere human knowledge "as heaping coals of fire on their heads." Not only did these unenlightened zealots oppress the people, but even by their number and unanimity overwhelmed the regular clergy whenever they attempted the most obvious, simple and salutary reforms. Certainly the opposition to reform did not come entirely from the monks, but they were the regular, embodied army who appeared most prominent in a contest, in which they had the countenance of some of the more luxurious, bigoted or ignorant clergy, and that portion of the people who have a reverential respect without any sufficient reason, except the fatigue of thinking, for the established order of things.

Still, amidst the religious discontents, there was an habitual submission to the church, as the general bond of the civilized world, that could not have been speedily sundered without some flagrant act, such as would excite a general co-operation among the discontented, rather than those numberless smaller abuses which had been submitted to by their separate enemies. The sale of indulgencies, by Leo, was such an act; for it was brought to the view of all, and disgusted all at the same time. To be sure, indulgences had been sold before, and have been sold since, but never before had they been exhibited in such profusion or vended with such frontless impudence. Tetzel, the principal salesman of salvation in Germany, and some of his associates, scandalized society, and disgraced their vocation by paying, with very little concealment, more ardent devotion to Bacchus and Venus than to St. Peter and the Virgin.

Disgusted at this state of things, many of the wise and pious viewed, with approbation, the first movements of Luther as a faithful son, who upheld the honour of his mother church in repelling manfully whatever could dishonor her. Erasmus unhesitatingly wished the first movements of the Saxon reformer success, but advised him to act with moderation and circumspection. "More is gained by modesty," says he in his letter to Luther, "than rashness. It was thus that Christ drew the world under his rule. *To raise your voice against those who abuse the authority of the Pontiff will be better than to censure the Pontiffs themselves.* I think with regard to kings, the same thing is to be observed. The schools are not so much to be treated with contempt as to be recalled to more sane studies. In order to

overturn, readily, received opinions, we should dispute with abundant and strong arguments, rather than assertion. We should always take care neither to do, nor say any thing in an arrogant or factious manner," &c.* The advice was certainly good, but little suited to the ardent temperament of Luther, who, with his friends, proceeded with a heat and virulence that raised up many enemies, frightened the timid, and often disgusted those well disposed towards him.

It may be well supposed that the reformers spared no means to secure one whose reputation, especially in religious matters, stood so high as that of Erasmus, and had they conducted themselves with temper, prudence and consistency, no doubt he would have lent a steady aid to procure reforms in the church itself. As it was, he withdrew immediately from a strife carried on by both sides with any thing but Christian moderation.

After various feeble attempts to allay the increasing commotions of the church, Leo launched the thunders of the Vatican at Luther (1520.) The disturbances could at first have been easily appeased, but then it was as impossible to control the current of opinion as with a finger to arrest the mountain torrent and push it back to its source. After an extensive, zealous party had been permitted to form on principles perfectly understood, the only effect of excommunication was to range under the names of Romanist and Reformed, those who had been badly united before, under the more general appellation of Christians. We speak not of the Diet of Worms, and the subsequent attempts to reconcile matters; the schism was complete from the promulgation of the bull against Luther.

The movements of Luther, heretofore, had not been of a kind to allicit the general co-operation of the prudent and reflecting, and the anathemas of the church had not the effect to produce more prudent measures or gentle phrases—to be sure, the Bull of the Pope itself, was drawn up with a coarseness quite equal to that of Luther.†

He called the Pope Antichrist—dignified the church with the title of the old whore of Babylon, and, as for the schoolmen, he termed them sophistical locusts, caterpillars, frogs and lice."‡

Erasmus still declared that Luther had pointed out many necessary reforms, and that the best Catholics approved his early proceedings; yet, he deprecated a division of the church, to whose authority he declared he would always submit. "I know," says he, "that any thing is to be borne rather than that the world

* Opera Erasmi. tom. iii. p. 444. Epist. 427.

† See the Bull, Roscoe's Leo X. 4. Append. 12.

‡ Seckendorf, lib. i. 166.

should be vexed with pernicious disturbances. I know that it is true piety sometimes to conceal the truth, and not to speak it fully in every place, nor in every time, nor to every body, nor in every fashion." "I follow the decrees of the Pope and the Emperor when they decide so correctly, which is pious; when they decree wrong, I bear it, which is prudent." Though he disapproved the violence of Luther in controversy, and considered him wrong in departing from the church, he admitted his learning and talents, and rendered justice to the purity of his intentions. "It is true," says he, "Luther has given us many a wholesome doctrine and good advice; and, I wish he had not defeated the effect of them by intolerable faults." From the first, it is evident that Erasmus thought the efforts of the wise and good could remedy the abuses of the church, and that he viewed with horror an event that should sever the tie which held Christians united. He thought it better that each should practise religion in silence, according to the dictates of his conscience, and wait for the steady progress of knowledge and reason, than to express stubborn truths at the hazard of discord and war. On the subject of passive obedience to the church, we have no doubt that many good Catholics would think that Erasmus carried it to an excessive extent; but, at all events, from the whole tenor of his writings there is no reason to doubt his candor.

It was the desire of Erasmus, above all things, to keep himself aloof from the contention, not only on account of his quiet, amiable disposition, but he could not entirely approve the conduct of either party. His moderation, however, got him no credit. The Lutherans accused him of timidity and hypocrisy in not joining their ranks after having, in various works, so vehemently attacked the vices of the clergy and corruptions of Christianity, they considered him as one "who had laid his hand to the plough and looked backward." On the contrary, the zealous Catholics, particularly the monks, stigmatized him as one who stood idle while "a boar was ravaging the vineyard of the Lord;" they called him *Arriasmus*, *Errasmus*, &c. and declared that he was the cause of all the confusion. They moreover manufactured divers Latin and Greek proverbs, in order to make their abuse more compact and portable, viz.—*ἡ Λουθηριος ερασμιζει ἢ Ερασμος λουθηριζει*, aut *Lutherus Erasmizat* aut *Erasmus Lutherizat*. *Ubi Erasmus innuit, Lutherus irruit. Posuit Erasmus ova, Lutherus exclusit, &c.** Of the last, Erasmus observed,

* Jo. Alb. Fabricius Sylloge. Opusc. p. 387. In the same way the Theologians said of Luther's German Bible—*Si Lyra non Lyrasset, Lutherus non saltasset*,—*Saxius, Onomasticon Litterarium* ii. 334.

that if he laid the 'egg, they hatched something out of it very different from his offspring.

Ignorant preachers from the pulpit attacked his various works, especially the bible, with virulence. They lamented "with brimful heart and tearful eye," that a mortal man should amend the word of God, that a descendant of Adam "conceived in sin and brought forth in iniquity," should attempt to improve the Lord's Prayer; as if, forsooth, the Lord had made the Vulgate translation, transcribed fairly the various MSS. and turned corrector of the press in the different editions. Those very works which were formerly cited as models of piety, were now denounced as perfect text books of heresy. Nor was he spared by the press. As early as 1515, Martin Dorp, a divine of Louvain, wrote against the "*Encomium Morie*," because, as Jortin observes, Erasmus ridiculed the ecclesiastics, who have commonly pretended that their function should serve them for a passport, and secure them from having their behaviour inspected and examined.* To this attack, which was not wanting in virulence, Erasmus replied with mildness, and the friendship between the two remained uninterrupted. A controversy with Jacobus Faber (*Jacques Le Fevre d'Etaples*) was also appeased by the amiable conduct of Erasmus. Faber had published a translation of the Epistles of St. Paul, with a commentary and critical notes,† in which, many faults of the vulgate were indicated; and he was offended that all his opinions on scripture had not been adopted by Erasmus in his edition of the Testament. Tonstall, Bishop of Durham, in a letter to Erasmus,‡ speaks contemptuously of Faber, to which Erasmus replies, "What you write concerning my answer to Faber, though I know you wrote it with a friendly intention, yet gave me uneasiness on a double account; because it revives my past grief, and because you seem on this occasion, to speak with less esteem than I could wish of Faber; a man, who for integrity and humanity, has scarcely his equal in thousands. In this single instance only, has he acted unlike himself, in attacking a friend, who deserved not such usage, in so violent a manner. But what man has ever been wise at all times? And I wish I could have spared my adversary: but now I am afflicted for two reasons; both because I am constrained to engage with such a friend, and because I perceive some to think less candidly of Faber, for whom it is my earnest desire that all should entertain the greatest esteem." We may ask with Bayle, "can there be more heroic sentiments than these."§

* *Life of Erasmus*, i. 66.

† *Fabricius, Bibl. Med. et Infin. Lat. Faber.*

‡ *Erasmii Opera*, vol. lii. p. —.

§ *Bayle's Dict. Tit. Le Fevre.*

The discussions with the divines of Louvain, with Lee, and Standish, Bishop of St. Asaph, or, as Erasmus called him in derision, "Episcopus a Sancto Asino, (Bishop of St. Ass) were of longer continuance and more bitter than those with Dorp and Faber; indeed, the numerous theological controversies in which he was always engaged, from the commencement of the Reformation, preyed too much on his feelings, and embittered deeply the current of his declining years.

Many of the theological questions agitated by Erasmus and his opponents, are of considerable importance, and unsettled even at present—particularly, the discussion with Stunica on the much controverted verse, 1 John, c. 5. v. 7. which, though still in dispute, is given up by most biblical critics.

In 1520, he published "Cyprian," and soon after, the first part of his "Paraphrases of the New Testament;" which latter, might be considered as a continuation of his notes on that work. An English translation of these Paraphrases was made, and was ordered to be kept in every parish in England, after Henry VIII. became Pope of England. It seems that they became suspected in the dog-days of religious excitement which followed, for their use was forbidden by Queen Mary.

On his first visit to Basil, Erasmus had been well received by the Bishop, Gerbelius, Ecolampadius, Beatus Rhenanus, and other literary men, but by none with more ardent friendship than the Amerbachs and the printer Froben. The literary assistance he could derive from the learned Amerbachs, and the advantage of having his works printed by the kind and amiable Froben, were probably among his strongest inducements to fix his permanent residence in that city in 1521. Here he published (1522) "Hillary" and "Arnobius." Pope Adrian, the successor of Leo X. to whom the latter work was dedicated, had been a school-fellow of Erasmus at Deventer, and now invited him to Rome, assuring him that his journey would not be without its reward.* But Erasmus adhered steadily to that course which he had adopted on principle—to forego wealth and dignity, and preserve a perfectly untrammelled independence.†

He again was visited with his old complaint, the gravel, which so reduced him that he was near casting off this mortal coil, and in his own words "turning into a locust." "Alas!" exclaims he, "women are wont to grow sterile with age, but my fruitfulness increases."‡ Marvellously however, was he

* Opera Erasmi. iii. 735. Epist. 639.

† Ibid. 734. Epist. 638-819. Epist. 803.

‡ Ibid. 776. Epist. 643.

relieved and comforted by Burgundy, which he pronounces a good Catholic wine, on this sufficing proof, that he found himself neither sick nor sorry after copious potations, and wishes heretics no worse punishment than bad wine. In a letter pleasantly written throughout, he lavishes praises on the favoured portion of the earth that produced the precious liquor before mentioned, and speaks of going there to enjoy the joint advantages of quantity and quality.* In divers instances, he informs us that he cared little for mere terrene pleasures.† Yet it can be gathered from his letters, that like most literary men, he had a learned palate. His observations on the qualities of wines, and on the style of cooking, display critical tact and experience in those matters. His friend, John Louis Vives too, appears to have been somewhat of a gourmand, for in one letter to Erasmus, he had changed his residence in Lent in order to get fish of the utmost freshness, and in another epistle, complains that he had returned dyspeptic from Paris, where he had been feasting with Budaeus and other double and triple-tongued heroes, on something more palatable than Greek and Hebrew roots.

The first edition of his "*Familiar Colloquies*," was issued from the press in 1522. These dialogues were mostly taken from real conversations; they were afterwards retouched, and a few others added. They are dedicated to his godson, Erasmus Froben, and were principally composed to assist young men in acquiring the Latin language. But the *Colloquies* are of two kinds, very distinct—one containing mere Latin phrases, very useful for boys and adapted precisely to their capacities; the other, of dialogues of a more elevated character, in which all the learning, talent and exquisite humour of the author are put in requisition. Though other topics are introduced, yet the abuses of religion are exhibited in peculiarly strong relief. Indulgencies, confession, relics, mendicant friars, fasts, &c. are touched upon with so much wit and originality, that it would be impossible for the best Catholic to restrain a laugh, even while he did not assent to all the principles of the book. Our plan does not permit us to give extracts, or particularize the merits of the different *Colloquies*; but none is, to our taste, better related than "*Peregrinatio Religionis Ergo*."‡ Among other things, it describes most graphically, a visit made by Erasmus and Colet to the shrine of St. Thomas à Becket, at Canterbury, where the very handkerchief, well glazed, on which the saint had blown his blessed nose, and a pair of old shoes, worn and perfumed by the feet of the same holy personage, were presented to them to kiss. The

* Opera Erasmi, iii. 756. Epist. 650.

† Ibid. 790.

‡ Ibid. i. p. 774.

indignation at these things of the blunt and honest Colet are finely contrasted with the mildness and mock gravity of Erasmus, who beheld in patience what he could not correct, trusting to the slow and sure progress of reason.

"The Colloquies of Erasmus," says a zealous writer, "in the memoirs of Trevoux, have made more protestants than the ten volumes of Calvin,* a fact which may be admitted, supposing every one, male and female, to be converted who has waded through ten volumes of scholastic Latin. Certainly a man who could publish such a work after the excommunication of Luther, cannot be accused of deceit or cowardice. We may judge of the extensive circulation of the Colloquies, from the circumstance that Colinæus at Paris, published an edition of twenty-four thousand copies, which even now, we would call an enormous impression.† Copies of the work had crept out and were published before the edition we have indicated, which was the first published with the sanction of Erasmus;‡ but even the earliest of those surreptitious and imperfect editions was after the commencement of the troubles with Luther.

The enemies of Erasmus, particularly the monks, who had been violent and open-mouthed before, now raised their voices in one unanimous chorus of abuse. Many wondered why, when heretics were burnt in scores elsewhere, the smoke did not rise from the funeral pile of that arch heretic Erasmus, as a soothing incense to an offended deity.§ One diligent divine extracted and gave to the world various crying heresies from Erasmus' edition of Jerome, when he had in fact taken by mistake the opinion of the father himself. It was in vain that Erasmus showed to them that many of his works, censured as heterodox, had received the papal approbation, and that he had been treated with regard by successive pontiffs. The monks knew better, aye, better than the Pope.|| Not only were his works vituperated by those who had not read them, but his private life was ransacked, and when facts could not be found, the more convenient plan of fabricating them was resorted to. Of the various ridiculous crimes alleged against him, Pirckheimer gives a good specimen in a letter to Erasmus.

Pirckheimer met with a theologian of the mendicant order, who declaimed violently against Erasmus, and when pressed to tell the cause of his anger, the man putting on a countenance of wonderful gravity, said he had resolved to bury the matter

* Fab. Syllog. Opusc.

† Opera Erasmi, l. Epist. ad Bobyhemum. Cat. d'un amateur, ff. 321.

‡ Epist. ad Bobyhemum, Opera Erasmi.

§ Opera Erasmi, iii. 940. Epist. 823.

|| Ibid. 939. Epist. 822.

in profound silence, but that as he was urged, he would tell what he knew lest it should be thought he had spoken from sheer envy. "That very Erasmus," said the theologian, "that you vaunt so much eats *fowls*! I have not got this story at second hand, for I myself saw him with my own two eyes" "Were they bought or stolen," demanded Pirckheimer. "Oh! bought," answered the other. "Alas!" Pirckheimer sighed, "there is a certain fox far more wicked, who daily robs me of *fowls* without ever thinking of payment; but do you consider eating *fowls* such a crying sin?" "Certainly," said the theologian, "for it is the sin of *gluttony*, and still worse when often done, and by churchmen." "Perhaps," asked Pirckheimer, "it was on a forbidden day?" "Not at all," the theologian answered; "but we pious people should altogether abstain from high living." "Ah my worthy father," exclaimed Pirckheimer, "it was not by dry bread and oatmeal cakes (*farre et hordeo*) that you have fattened that goodly paunch, (for the man was of great obesity) and if all the *fowls* with which you have stuffed your maw (*ventrem*) could now cackle, it would drown the uproar of the drums and trumpets of an army.*"

The letters too of Erasmus, which were published from time to time, gave quite as much offence as the Colloquies; for he had there spoken frequently of the religious discussions then going on, and expressed his opinions of Luther and the Church, with his usual frankness. "Luther," says he, "has taught many necessary things, but discord pleases me in no manner;† as for what Luther writes of the tyranny, avarice and turpitude of the court of Rome, would to God it were false."

The followers of Luther treated Erasmus with not more respect, accusing him liberally of lukewarmness, deceit and sycophancy. Hutten, who had formerly been his friend, wrote an invective against him with his usual acrimony. Luther and Melancthon disapproved of Hutten's "insolence and ferocity, but it was approved of by Gerbelius and some other reformers."

Pope Adrian requested the advice of Erasmus as to the best manner of quieting the Lutheran controversy; but his counsels, probably, gave little satisfaction, as they were not followed. Among other things, he recommended to the Pope to investigate the true cause of the evils; to hold out the hope that some of the palpable faults should be corrected; to call together honest and talented men from all nations to consult; to extend a general pardon and oblivion of the past, and to restrain in some measure the licentiousness of the press.‡ The last recom-

* Opera Erasmi, tom. iii. p. 619. Epist. 562, p. 451. Epist. 504.

† Ibid. tom. iii. p. 777. Epist. 604.

‡ Ibid. tom. iii. p. 748. Epist. 640.

mendation has been censured by Jortin,* but it is evident from the tenor of the writings of Erasmus, that he was a great friend to the liberty of the press,† and did not as a lawyer, well understand how all that he desired could have been effected by a judicious libel law. Certainly, if the personalities and scurrilities of the "*Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum*," be a fair specimen of the publications of that age, private character needed some protection.

A number of the friends of Erasmus, among whom were the Pope, George Duke of Saxony, Cardinal Wolsey, Tonstall, &c. represented to him the divisions and animosities raging throughout Christendom, and the great effect he could have by his learning and abilities, in allaying the ferment; they called on him as a faithful member of the Church to come to her aid, and not leave her unassisted in the hour of peril. Much against his wishes, Erasmus complied, and published his "*Diatribæ de libero Arbitrio*," or "*Treatise on Free Will*," in which to be sure, he attacks a favourite doctrine of Luther, but not Luther himself, nor the grounds of the Reformation. Indeed, the discussion with regard to "free will," was pretty much the same formerly battled between St. Augustin and Pelagius, that separated the Methodists into Wesleyans and Whitfieldians, and that still divides Christians of most denominations, and none more than those now called Lutherans. Luther maintained, that "as fallen creatures we have no power by our natural strength, to do good works pleasant and acceptable to God, without the grace of God by Christ directing us, that we may have a good will, and working with us when we have that good will,"‡ or, to express it more briefly, there is no such thing as free will in us, and every good work is to be attributed to the irresistible operation of grace. In opposition to this doctrine, Erasmus contended that the human will co-operates with the grace or assistance of God.

Throughout the work of Erasmus, he spoke with modesty, and treated Luther with moderation and politeness. Luther replied by his treatise "*De Servo Arbitrio*," or "*Will in Bondage*." "The palm of genius and eloquence all concede to you," says he: "You have managed your opposition to me with so much astonishing art and steady moderation, that I find it impossible to be angry with you;" and to prove that he is in a good humour, calls the sentiments of Erasmus, "*excrements in a golden dish*." Harsh and angry expressions are, indeed, throughout, strangely mixed up with professions of moderation

* Life of Erasmus, i. 286.

† Opera Erasmi, iii. p. 975. Epist. 659.

‡ Milner's Church History, v. 360. Boston 1811.

and a good deal of compliment. In a second essay, entitled "Hyperaspistes," Erasmus met the answer of his opponent, forgetting very much his former moderation. Here the book controversy ended, but the fire was still kept up in the letters of both parties. In speaking of the contest, Beausobre allows Erasmus the superiority over Luther, "in beauty of style and solidity of judgment;"* and Jortin says that Erasmus had the advantage in point of reason, scripture and the Greek fathers.† On the contrary, Milner asserts that the "Diatrise" is a weak, timid production, unworthy of the author, and gives an undoubted victory to Luther.‡ "Non nostrum est," &c.

Mr. Butler remarks that Milner has given an interesting account of the controversy.§ Remembering the usual tone of Milner, we were so surprised at the observation that we immediately turned again to his history, if constant partiality and superficial knowledge can be dignified with the name of history. And what an account has he given? The rudeness and passion of Luther every where smoothed over or suppressed, and all the harsh expressions of Erasmus picked out, placed in *juxta* position and commented on; nay, his whole correspondence ransacked to prove cowardice, falsehood, scepticism in one who passed his life in wilful poverty, incessantly toiling for Christianity!

The controversial writings of Erasmus in his latter days, exhibited sometimes a peevishness very different from his former dignified calmness and forbearance, though they were perfect mildness compared with those of his adversaries. These are, however, moments of forgetfulness, for he generally, even in controversy, was polite and complaisant. It is, however, no small credit to Erasmus, that amidst the bitter animosities of the rival sects, his friendship with many of the reformers and reformed continued unbroken.

The reformers now began to take unto themselves helpmates, and among the rest, Luther found that it was not good for man to be alone. Heretofore, Erasmus had termed the religious disturbances, the Lutheran tragedy; "now," said he, "it should be rather called a comedy, for like all dramas of that kind, it ends in a marriage." The Catholics who were scandalized at the marriage of a monk and a nun, among other slanders, reported that in two weeks from the nuptials, the fruits of matrimony were given to the world in full maturity. This story is related in some of the letters of Erasmus, but he subsequently contradicted it, as it was in fact, a most groundless fabrication.

* Beausobre. iii. 130.

† Jortin's *Life of Erasmus*.

‡ Milner's *Church History*, 5.

§ Butler's *Life of Erasmus*.

Erasmus supposed that the sweets of matrimony would dulcify the acerbity of his stern rival's temper, "for what beast is there so savage that a woman cannot tame." But in his next publications, Luther came out with a rudeness and vigour which showed that he had not been in the arms of a Dalilah.

The various conflicts of Erasmus with the Lutherans and the Monks, caused no interruption to his literary labours. He printed Irenæus, (1526*) Chrysostom, (1526) Augustin, (1528†) and some opuscula.

For a number of years the Italian critics had censured the style of Erasmus, Budæus, and the greatest of the transalpine authors, and asserted that Latin was written no where but in Italy. These criticisms came principally from the *Ciceronians* as they were called, who contended that Cicero was almost the only author worthy of imitation, and hence their writings were mere cantos from the Roman orator, with occasional sprinklings from a few classics of the purest age. No word or phrase was to be employed from Quintilian, Tacitus, Pliny, Suetonius, &c. even to express ideas not contained in their favourite model.—Some of these purists, it is said, were afraid to read the Vulgate Bible for fear of being "defiled by touching pitch." Had an old Roman returned to life and heard one of these scholars explain the Christian religion, he would have supposed the whole heathen mythology and dogmas still in active energy. God the Father, was called Jove, or Jupiter *Optimus Maximus*, the Son, was Apollo or Æsculapius, and the Holy Virgin, Diana—the Apostles were conscript fathers—a person excommunicated was interdicted both by fire and water."‡ Erasmus tells of a sermon he heard preached before the Pope and various Cardinals and Bishops on the death of Christ: a great part of the discourse was consumed in lauding the Pope Julius II. who was pourtrayed as Jupiter *Optimus Maximus*, holding and vibrating the three forked and inevitable thunder in his omnipotent right hand, and ruling every thing by his nod alone. The preacher commemorated the Decii and Curtius, who, for the safety of the Republic, had devoted themselves to the *infernal Gods*. Also, Cecrops, Menœceus Iphigenia, and others to whom the welfare and dignity of their country was dearer than life; and lamented "with salt tears trickling down his cheeks" (*valde lugubriter*,) that brave men who had assisted their country in peril had been decreed golden statues or divine honours, whilst Christ, for his good deeds, was crucified and held in contempt."§ &c. This sect

* Jortin's Life of Erasmus, i. 372.

† Opera. Erasmi, Tom. i. p. 905.

‡ Pannzer, Annal. Typograph.

§ Ib. p. 993.

included then, and afterwards, a number of eminent scholars, such as Bembo, Sadoleti, Scaliger, Paulo Manuzio, &c. The finest writer and most original genius was Muretus, who certainly belonged to them, notwithstanding the opinion of Thomasius and Jortin to the contrary.*

To ridicule those literary dandies as well as to defend himself, Erasmus wrote his dialogue, called "*Ciceronianus*," in which he employed in turn, learning, argument and humor, with the happiest effect. After ridiculing the Ciceronians, who are represented by Nosoponus, Erasmus, under the name of Boulephorus, enters on the scene, and shows that a constant aping of Cicero can produce nothing but imperfect imitations, confined entirely to a range of objects and ideas not all suited to our age; that it would be far better to write, as we must suppose Cicero would were he now alive. There is then a criticism of the style of a great number of ancient and modern writers judiciously done in general. Nothing can be finer than the description of Nosoponus, the Ciceronian, sitting down to compose a letter, *fortified by three huge indexes of all the locutions of his adored author, that as many porters could scarce carry.* His body is first prepared by slight repasts of blandest digestion—as ten corinths and some two or three coriander seed encrusted with sugar—lest the intellectual ray serene be clouded by some corporeal exhalation; his mind must be undisturbed by all human passions—all earthly cares. He has a chamber sequestered from all interruption, in the interior of the house, with thick walls, double doors and windows, every chink minutely closed, where the sharpest noises, as clattering of blacksmiths and scolding of women can scarce be heard—no one is permitted to occupy the adjoining apartment lest the vocal nose of slumber should break the dead repose. There, in the stillest night, after many a weary vigil, he produces an epistle of Lacedemonian brevity, but perfectly Ciceronian, in which no word, no phrase can be found that has not been sanctified by the usage of the immortal Tully. Here too, he sedulously elaborates such extemporary speeches as he may be supposed to need in the ordinary course of events. If he unfortunately be forced to inquituate "the pure well of Latin undefiled," by engaging in conversation where his phrases must be made on the spur of the occasion, the involuntary stains must be washed away by drawing for whole months from the Ciceronian fountains.

Few of the writings of Erasmus possess more pleasantness than the *Ciceronianus*, but its great interest expired, of course,

* Jortin's *Life of Erasmus*, tom. i. pp. 404-5, and see, on the opposite side, Rahnenius. *Præf. ad Opera Mureti*. Lug. Bat. 1789.

with the Ciceronians. The publication of this learned and witty dialogue raised nearly as great a clamour as his theological works. Many writers were affronted because they had not been cited, and others, because they had not been cited with sufficient commendation. A number of the French scholars were greatly offended because he had classed Badius Ascensius, a bookseller and printer, with the erudite Budæus. Doletus and Julius Cæsar wrote in defence of Cicero with the scurrility then common with scholars and divines; the latter called Erasmus in Ciceronian Latin, infidel, bastard and drunkard.

Ingenuas didicisse fideliter artes
Emollit mores nec sinit esse feros.

After the death of Erasmus, however, both Dolet* and Scaliger wrote verses to his memory; the latter even called him a god!

Ille ego qui insanæ ridebam vulnera mortis
Conditaque Ætnea tela trisulca manu
Ad quodvis stupeo monimentum, ac territus adsto
Maxima cum videam *numina* posse mori.†

Whatever might have been the opinion of a few critics, the public at large judged the Ciceronian controversy justly. The laboured, spiritless pages of the Ciceronians were read by few; the belgic trifles of Erasmus were in every hand. The reason is plain; by their fundamental principles, the Ciceronians were obliged to use an eternal sameness of locution and wordy paraphrases, which necessarily deprive their style of point or individuality; besides, they in fact belonged to other times. Erasmus by assuming an extensive vocabulary, was enabled to express himself with variety, precision and raciness, and to put himself fully on a level with the age.‡

Nearly about the same time Erasmus sent forth his "Treatise on the true pronounciation of the Latin and Greek languages;" a dry subject, but of importance when both those languages were much spoken. Besides the learning of the work, he has contrived to relieve its aridity by the sprightly manner of treating it.

The establishment of the reformed religion at Basil, in the close of 1529, induced Erasmus to quit that city, to which he was much attached, and where he had many faithful friends.§ He thought that a residence in what might be called the enemy's

* Opera. Erasmi. tom. i. Epitaphia in Laud. Erasmi.

† Jo. Alb. Fabricius Syll. Opusc. 393.

‡ Gibbon has some good remarks on Ciceronianus and the Ciceronians.

§ Beat. Rhenangs.

camp, would appear inconsistent with the firm devotion he had always expressed to the Catholic church. He had all along disapproved of the violence of Luther, and the schism of the church, and, unquestionably, the progress of events was little calculated to make him recede from his original policy. As in every opposition there are discordant materials held together by no other bond than dissatisfaction towards the party they resist, so among those called Reformed, besides those attached to the tenets of Luther, were many possessing their own peculiar religious notions—many who disliked the Papal authority for their private reasons—many who had no religion at all. By their quarrels, their intemperate writings and divisions, they laid themselves open to the censures of their enemies, and discouraged many from deserting what they thought a leaky vessel in a storm, to enter a shallop where every one was fighting for the helm. The scandalous lives too of many who had joined in the Reformation, threw discredit on the cause.

Among the Reformed, some set up for prophets; some doubted of Christ; some of the Scriptures; some denied baptism, and some were for circumcision. Luther, Melancthon, Oecolampadius, Zwuinglius, Pomeranus, Carolstadt, all differed on various points. Even Luther had advanced from position to position, until many would not go on who had willingly taken the first step, while others of more ardent temperament thought he “had fainted, and could not reap.” The doctrine of transubstantiation, which, from the time of Berenger, had had its opposers, divided the immediate friends of the Reformer, and destroyed the effect that might have been produced by the zealous co-operation of a singularly talented, learned and generally speaking, virtuous body of men.*

We have never seen any reason to doubt the sincere attachment of Erasmus to his mother church, but had it been otherwise, is it possible that the mild, peaceable Erasmus could have put himself under the guidance of Luther? Did it follow that because he liked not certain dogmas of the Roman church that he approved all the dogmas Luther held or was to hold?

The inhabitants of Basil saw, with regret, the departure of Erasmus, and escorted him for some distance. At Fribourg, where he took up his residence afterwards, they were so joyful to receive him, that the magistrates would have honoured him with a public entry, had he consented to it.

* Opera Erasmi. tom. iii. p. 817. Epist. 703-832. Epist. 714-764. Epist. 846.—Jo. Eckius, *Eachiridion* Loc. Com. adversus Lutherum 6.—Lugduni, 1561.

To his other maladies, gout was now added; but his editions of Basil, Chrysostom, Ecclesiastes or method of preaching, show that gout, gravel and old age had not abated his literary ardor. Many editions of authors have his name prefixed to them, to which he probably wrote nothing more than the preface or dedication. His fame stood so high that these commendatory productions were *volens volens*, frequently wrung from him.* He also printed a new edition of his letters, which were as much sought after, on account of his opinions on matters which then divided the world as their jocundity and humour.

Many of his late letters speak on religion, and are perfectly in accordance with the opinions expressed at the very dawn of the Reformation. The monks and abuses of religion are still censured,† and the merits of Luther and his errors, honestly stated. The same moderation and desire of Christian harmony was the constant object of his wishes and prayers. Perhaps no man, without rank, wealth or place, ever exhibited such a brilliant galaxy of correspondents, among whom are kings, princes, popes, cardinals, &c.

Origen was also prepared for the press by Erasmus, but not published until after his death. This was the last of the fathers of the church that received the corrections of his hand. To say the truth, we think he has lauded those primitive authors of the church far beyond their merits, but they were useful in that day in supplanting the schoolmen. We have merely cited the principal works of Erasmus, though many, abounding in good sense and learning, have been omitted: indeed, it would take more pages than are assigned us merely to give a *catalogue raisonné* of the contents of eleven ponderous folios.

Among the other inconveniences of Fribourg, he complains of being dreadfully flea-bitten,‡ but the bites of rabid theologians annoyed him still more. It is difficult to say whether Catholic or Lutheran belaboured him most. He was naturally free of speech, and to the last had not spared either party in his letters.§ Honours and wealth would have crowned his latter days, but he positively refused what he considered would be mere splendid burdens to him. The Provostship of Deventer, offered to him by Pope Paul III, was refused. It is even said by some writers that a Cardinal's hat would have been given had his life been prolonged, but it is perfectly certain that it would have been rejected.|| His own country became anxious to regain the pos-

* *Epistolæ Ineditæ Erasmi. Basilæ 1779. Epist. 73.*

† *Opera Erasmi iii. 1450. Epist. 1230-1485. Epist. 1265.*

‡ *Ibid. 1480. Epist. 1260.*

§ *Ibid. iii. 1348. Epist. 1152-1361. Epist. 1163.*

|| *Ibid. iii. 1510-1280.*

session of her greatest ornament, and the emperor and the court anxiously insisted on his return—and some of his letters, not alluded to by his biographers, show that his intention was to revisit Brabant.*

He went to Basil in 1535, to superintend the printing of his works at the presses of his old friends, the Frobens. Previously to leaving Fribourg, he had been in bad health, and he became sensible from the aggravated symptoms of his complicated maladies, that his dissolution was not far off. Indeed, if we may believe his biographers, he prophesied the very time of his death.

Looking over and arranging his correspondence, he began in the language of the poet :—

“ To feel like one who treads alone
Some banquet-hall deserted,
Whose lights are fled, whose garlands dead,
And all but he departed.”

The death of numerous friends, which had occurred at intervals, were now brought before him at one fell swoop, and while making the melancholy review, he often exclaimed “ would that I were with them and at rest, if such be the will of God.”

Two days before his death, Amerbach, Froben and Episcopus coming to visit him, in his usual jocose manner, he compared them to Job’s comforters, and asked, “ why they had not rent their clothes, and covered their heads with ashes.”† He expired calmly on the 12th of ———, 1536, aged about sixty-nine or seventy. As he died in a Protestant city, surrounded by Protestant friends, where the aid of the Catholic religion could not be obtained, there was much conjecture as to his faith in his last moments; but his perfect tranquillity, and the indifference with which he had always viewed death, leave no good reason to suppose that he changed the sentiments he had uniformly expressed.

Beatus Rhenanus describes him “ as rather below the common stature, yet not short, compactly and elegantly made, with a fair complexion, flaxen hair when young, blue eyes, a gay countenance, a slender voice, but pleasant and distinct, neat and decent in his dress, modest and agreeable in conversation, and an uncommonly constant friend.” To this, we may add an uncommonly forgiving enemy, as is apparent from his conduct to Dorpius, Polydore Virgil, Faber, Longolius, and many others.

* Epist. Ined. Epist. 89.

† Beat. Rhenanus.

He was buried with the greatest honours—the chief magistrate, the senators, professors and students of Basil, joining in the funeral procession. His name was given to the theological seminary of that city.

The city of Rotterdam, his natal place, also rendered great honours to his memory. The Latin school was called after him; a bronze statue of him erected, and the following verses inscribed on the small house where he was born :—

“ *Ædibus his ortus mundum decoravit Erasmus*
Artibus ingenuis, religione, fide.
Fatalis series nobis invidit Erasmus
*At Desiderium tollere non potuit.”**

The knowledge of Erasmus consisted almost entirely in a profound acquaintance with the classics and theology, to which he had applied, during a long life, a clear understanding and uncommonly strong memory. His extensive acquaintance with the classics, is seen not only in works where deep erudition is expected, but in his lighter effusions, in which the choicest flowers of ancient lore are scattered in a manner so profuse and unostentatious, that it is apparent they are drawn from an abundant store. It may be doubted whether he possessed the exactness of some who have devoted themselves exclusively to critical labours, but many of his remarks show an observation and acuteness in noticing the niceties of languages, which demonstrate that he could have taken the first rank in that line.

How far his knowledge of the scholastic divinity extended, cannot be well pointed out, for he viewed it with contempt, and made but little use of it in his writings. His theology was acquired from long and careful studies of the Scriptures themselves, and of the fathers of the Church, many of whom he gave to the world with commentaries indicative of the profound attention he had bestowed upon them. Even in theology he might have had rivals, but certainly no one combined that same familiar knowledge of the classics and theology together. He first showed the theologians that they were helpless without scholarship, and pointed out to scholars the noble ends to which their learning might be employed.

* We have preferred the inscription as given in Ireland's tour, 1, 29, because he says he copied it on the spot, and gives an engraving of the house. Le Clerc, in his edition of Erasmus, gives the two first lines only, in which. Jo. Alb. Fabricius concurs, Syll. Opusc. 361. Other writers give this inscription, “*Hæc est parva domus magnus quæ natus Erasmus.*”—*Buller's Life of Erasmus.* Burignol, vie d'Erasme, i. 18. Itineraire des Pays Bas, 118. Amsterd. 1694.

Among the striking peculiarities of his writings, are sagacity without paradox or artificial refinement, and good sense untainted by common-place truisms. He could not confine himself to strict analytic order, and hence, in his Dissertations, amidst profound arguments and sensible observations, there is a rambling which often confuses, but which is sufficiently agreeable in his Letters. Wit and humour in Erasmus always seem welling in ease and abundance from a native source, but amidst his numberless sarcastic sayings and arch allusions, there is a general air of pleasantness and *bonhomie* indicative of a kind and benevolent heart.

A few solecisms, a word occasionally of questionable authority, a modern idiom here and there, have caused his style to be censured by critics, without sufficiently pointing out its distinctive qualities. In the main it is good—very good. Were a writer in our language to roll Chaucer, Gower, Shakspeare, Johnson, Addison, Burke, Cobbett, Boxiana, and more if you please in poetry and prose of different ages and styles, into one vast vocabulary, it would be doing in English, in some measure, what Erasmus has done in Latin, with the addition of the faults before enumerated. He has sometimes taken words from authors of inferior note, and has not always distinguished between the usual language of prose, and words more particularly belonging to poetical diction. Yet, generally, he takes the words most commonly in use, in their most common acceptation, and writes fluently, expressively, and above all, clearly. There is, particularly in his Letters, an extemporary ease and gaiety which shows the power he had acquired over the Latin, in expressing the most varied subjects and nicest gradations of thought, which can only be accounted for from his exclusive use of that language in his intercourse with the world.

His active exertions and powerful example added an impetus to learning wherever he resided, and throughout his works, he never appears so happy as when aiding it or hearing of its success. From many of his publications, neither honour nor recompense could be derived, whence it is evident that the desire of facilitating the acquisition of knowledge was the only motive of his toils. His labours to diffuse a more correct morality, were not less vigorous and unceasing. Learning, argument and wit were constantly levelled at the vices and follies of the Church, or employed in inculcating a better system. To strike at the root of the errors that then obscured Christianity, he took the best, indeed, the only plan to exhibit the Testament in its purity, by which the learned could see and judge for themselves,

and a new impulse be given to biblical researches. Even his labours on the Fathers had the effect of shewing how differently those primitive lights of the Church interpreted the Scriptures, from the theologians who then reigned triumphantly in the schools, and whose tetric subtleties so quickly vanished before a more intelligible theology.

Most writers* have owned the immense effect produced on the religious world by the writings of Erasmus; indeed, it is apparent from looking at the history of that period, whatever stand other writers might have had with the learned, that he was the writer of the people—that either in Latin or the vernacular language, he was read by noble and by citizen, by clergy and by layman. In all reforms, it is difficult to say what specific effect has been produced by one, where many have joined, before a definite result is obtained. It is also true, that we often consider men as the originators, who are merely the active, prominent champions of principles well understood and widely spread. Still, in absence of testimony, it is correct to assign him the place of precedence, who has embodied, systematized and brought into action a successful body of principles in the same manner as the victory is attributed to a chief who throws himself at the head of a people in a successful revolt. The Reformation then, and whatever benefits have resulted from it, are really to be dated from Erasmus and not Luther. In vain would the latter have toiled, had it not been for the previous labours of the former.

Luther often said of Erasmus, that he knew how to detect error, not to establish truth; which means in plain English, Erasmus would not destroy an edifice because he saw some errors in its construction. If any one in the present day is so far gone in bigotry and illiberality, as to deny that a Catholic may be a Christian, to him all argument would be lost; to all others, the whole conduct of Erasmus in religion may be explained, by supposing him to own the corruptions of the Church like Bossuet, and to submit implicitly to its decrees like Fenelon. He had seen such men as Colet, Warham, Fisher, prelates of exalted virtues, to whom the Reformation can produce no superiors, and to this standard he wished to bring the whole Church. Nor were the instances cited at all rare. Throughout the works of Erasmus, numbers of the higher clergy, and even of the monks, are spoken of as equally honouring Christianity by their devotion, and mankind by their talents and learning. By such men as these, a reformation of all that was really useless or vicious in

* Robertson, Roscoe, &c.

the Church, was desired. The persecutions against Pico, Valla, Reuchlin, Faber and Erasmus, sprung not from this source. While Faber was chased from Paris by the Sorbonne, and Reuchlin beset by the clamorous monks, Erasmus still received the protection of bishops, cardinals and popes, who praised his labours and advised him to disregard his detractors. Even Leo is said to have expressed no disapprobation of the first proceedings of Luther, and to have regarded his opponents as envious monks.* Why then did the Reformation not take place? Because it required that prejudices, long established, should be removed from the many by degrees, that light should be so extensively diffused, that errors should be manifest even to the least clear-sighted. In politics and religion, as in every thing else, where the guide runs too fast, we either lose sight of him or tire by the way; and he who wishes to effect reformation of any kind, must suit his advances to those he wishes to lead on.

Without discussing the merits of the Reformation, we have always thought that the precipitous zeal of Luther was, probably, an injury to the cause of religion and freedom. The number of writers engaged in showing the abuses of the Church, were producing their effect on the wise, the learned, the powerful. Keeping up the discussions in Latin, they particularly addressed themselves to the most enlightened portion of the community, and were constantly increasing the number of intelligent co-operators. This extension of knowledge would soon have produced either a Reformation in the Church itself, or a much larger secession from it.

As Erasmus pointed out the abuses of the Church so clearly, and then refused to join the Reformers, the followers of Luther have loaded him with reproaches and censures, which have been in many cases, handed down with scrupulous exactness, without remembering that most of the judgments of that age were necessarily tinged with prejudice and passion. The whole of these ungenerous opinions are collected and well enforced by Milner in his Church History, and reduce themselves to these; 1st. *He was too timid, that he approved of the first acts of Luther, and then receded.* Yet surely this charge is a singular one, when in his Letters to the close of his life, he continually asserted the early merits of Luther, republished those works unchanged, which gave most offence to the monks, and in his later productions, equally attacked those abuses that drew his first animadversions.

2d. *That his conduct exhibited perpetual double-dealing.* Erasmus thought both parties wrong, and that both parties were

* See Sleidan, Milner, &c. quoting from Bandello.

right in many things. With these impressions, it is not to be wondered that both Romanist and Reformed received his alternate praises and censures, and that he still cultivated the acquaintances of amiable and learned men, without reference to their religious opinions. Indeed, he says he has no objection at all to a Jew, if he be a good man—an opinion, liberal in the extreme in that age. The unreserved manner in which his letters are written, and which he knew would be published, are strong evidences of his candour, when he was aware that they would often give offence to the leading men of the two contending parties.

3d. *It is said he was too fond of the great.* He happened to have many of the great for his friends and correspondents, and nothing more. But he writes with the same kindness and fulness to his untitled and unknown friends, as to bishops or princes. What did he desire of the great? Places or dignities? He refused them regularly. Did he wish money? He was regardless of it. Did he covet high society? He detested courts. Did he seek pleasure? His pleasure was in books alone.

It is evident that the longer Erasmus lived, the more he disapproved of the Reformers. Their violent publications, the scandalous lives of many, the revolts of the rustics, of Muncer, of the Anabaptists, and the slaughters that followed all, alienated one of his peaceable and tranquil disposition. The Lutherans too lost much of his respect by their uncertainty of doctrine* and the intemperate quarrels that divided them into angry sects. When urged to join the Reformers, he says, "fight among yourselves: Zuingle and Œcolampadius against Luther and Pomeranus; and again, Balthasar against the former, and Farel against Pellicanus. Shall I, at the hazard of my life, nay, of my salvation, connect myself with such a discordant faction?"

What were the sentiments of Erasmus of religion, we think are clear and consistent throughout his works—his letter to Slechta, perhaps, exhibits them in a shorter space, and more

* See Bossuet. Hist. Var.—Eckius, Enchirid. Eckius, the celebrated opponent of Luther, Bodenstein, (Carolstadt) Œcolampadius, (Hausschein) employs some curious arguments against the Lutherans. In arguing against the marriage of the Priests, he says, "it is true that the Priests married under the Jewish dispensation, and that the command," 'to increase and multiply,' was obligatory then, but that was in the beginning of the world, when population was needed, but that that reason no longer exists. *Cessante ratione cessat et ipsa lex.* p. 188. In endeavouring to show that the common people should not read the Bible, he gives as a proof of the difficulty of understanding, that the devil, who is undoubtedly possessed of talents, quoted Scripture to Jesus Christ, (Matt. iv.) and yet mistook the true meaning, as has been showed by Jerome.—Eckius Enchirid. Loc. com. adversus Lutherum. p. 71.

clearly than is to be found elsewhere. Often speaking of schisms, he says:—

“One thing, in my opinion, might reconcile many persons to the Romish church, and that is, not to decide so dogmatically upon so many speculative points, and to make them articles of faith, but only to require an assent to those doctrines which *are manifestly laid down in the holy Scriptures*, and which are necessary to salvation. *These are few*; and it is easier to persuade men of a few articles than of a vast number. Now, out of one article we make a hundred; of which, some are such, that a man might either doubt of them, or have no notion about them, without his endangering his soul and his religion. But such is the nature of men, that what they have once dogmatically decided, they will obstinately maintain.

“Now, Christian philosophy or theology may be fairly reduced to this, that we ought to put our whole trust in Almighty God, who graciously gives us all things by his Son Jesus Christ; that we are redeemed by the death of this Son of God, to whose body we are united by baptism, that being dead to worldly lust, we may live conformably to his precepts and example, not only doing no harm to any, but doing good to all; that when adversity befalls us, we patiently submit to it in hopes of a future recompense at the coming of the Lord; *that we make a daily progress in virtue, ascribing nothing to ourselves, but all to God*. These things are to be pressed and inculcated till good habits are formed in the heart. If there be persons of a speculative genius, who want to search into abstruse points concerning the divine nature or person of Jesus Christ, or the Sacraments, with a view to improve their understanding, and to raise their minds and affections above earthly things, be it permitted to them; provided always, that their Christian brethren be not compelled to believe every thing that this or that teacher thinks to be true. As bonds, deeds, covenants, obligations, indentures, expressed in a multitude of words, afford matter for law suits: so in religion, a profusion of determinations, decrees and decisions begets endless controversies.”—“Let no man be ashamed to reply to certain points, God knoweth how it can be—as for me, I am content to believe it is so. I know that the body and blood of our Saviour are things pure, to be received by the pure, and in a pure manner. He hath appointed this for a sacred sign and pledge of his love for us, and of the concord which ought to subsist among Christians. I will, therefore, examine myself and see if there be any thing in me contrary to the mind of Jesus Christ, and if I have any uncharitable dispositions towards my neighbour. But to know how the ten categories are in this sacrament, how the bread is transubstantiated by the mystical words of consecration, and how a human body can be in so small a compass, and at different places at the same time; all this, in my opinion, serves little to the advancement in piety.”

“I know also that I shall rise again—Jesus Christ hath promised it, and to confirm his promise, he rose again himself. But to know what body I shall have, and how it will be the same after having gone through

so many changes, these are not things on which much pains should be bestowed, with a view to make a progress in true religion. Although I disapprove not inquiries of this kind, pursued at proper times, and with due discretion and moderation. By these and a thousand such-like speculations, for which men set an extravagant value upon themselves, their thoughts are only diverted from the one thing needful."

Had these principles been followed, the Christian church would still have been one!

Particular expressions may be gleaned from an extensive correspondence of any one, written under irritation, without reflection or care, which seem inconsistent with the general current of his opinions. This has been done with regard to Erasmus; but to take the whole mass of his opinions, expressed in books, letters and conversations through a long life, we find a wonderful accordance between his principles and actions. Whatever doubts may be entertained as to particular parts of his conduct, every one should feel grateful to him, who, amidst poverty and sickness, without hope of reward, spent a long life, toiling effectually for the cause of religion and literature. Every one should accord his admiration, to that extended benevolence, which, surrounded by infuriate sects, could say with a learned and virtuous Romanist;*

"Christian is my name, and Catholic my surname.
I grant that you are a Christian as well as I,
And I embrace you as my fellow-disciple in Jesus;
And, if you are not a disciple of Jesus,
Still I would embrace you as a man."

But we must say a word or two of Mr. Butler. The life of Erasmus, like many of his works, looks like arrant book-making. Names, dates and circumstances are so changed or mistated that no one can risk citing him for a single fact. Wisely skipping over Antediluvian literature, he commences with Homer, whom he considers as a prodigy—he gives a history of Grecian philosophy, poetry and fine arts, in four pages. In two more pages, he dispatches Roman literature, particularly noticing the state of medicine and jurisprudence. After dodging about through the middle ages, he fairly brings us up to Erasmus, whom he finishes in one-hundred and eighty pages of large type, well leaded. But even then, poor Erasmus is defrauded of his due, by various notes that appear to be foisted in to make the book of a good, saleable size. One details the magnificence of the

* Dr. Geddes.

British government, in furnishing the starving French who escaped from the Revolution—with Bibles. A second, gives a history of the Medici family, a genealogical table of the aforesaid family, for all the world like the table of descents in Blackstone, and then presents us with the old song of "Arno's Vale" at full length, "which has been set to music by the late Mr. Holcombe, with a plaintive sweetness that does honour to his taste and justice to the subject." (p. 81.) In a third, on Bishop Tonstall, he diverges to Arithmetic, and decides positively in favour of Bonnycastle in preference to the veterans, Dilworth and Cocker, &c.

We found so many mistakes in names and dates, that we involuntarily looked at the publisher's name, who we found was not less than Murray. "Herman" is put for "Henry," "Montaign" for "Montague," and "Boulogn" for "Bologna." He says the Epistle dedicatory to Charles V. of Beatus Rhenanus' edition of Erasmus, is dated 1516. Charles was not then emperor, and the true date is 1540.

We owe the works of Michael Agnuolo to the liberality of Leo X. according to Mr. Butler, when it is notorious that "the genius of that great painter was suffered to lie waste in some Florentine stone quarries," during the pontificate of Leo. It would be a loss of time to cite the numberless errors of Mr. Butler; he neither gives a good idea of the disposition and genius of Erasmus, nor a full account of his works. It is apparent that he has always drawn from second-hand sources, without giving the works of Erasmus a glance, and, like most of the modern English books of the kind, he seldom refers to his authorities. In one respect, the style of Mr. Butler is good—it is simple, unaffected English. But every thing appears to be huddled together pell-mell, until often there is neither harmony in the language nor distinctness in the ideas—short, unconnected sentences are strung together in places that resemble hurried notes more than finished writing. In point of fairness, he deserves unqualified praise, and, in looking from him to Milner, we could not help contrasting the mildness and candour of the Catholic with the bigotry and unfairness of the Protestant.

Erasmus wrote a short sketch of his own life, and several letters which have detailed his early history, but they are written with his usual haste, and are not devoid of faults. His correspondence also furnishes abundant knowledge as to his private history; unfortunately, their utility is much impaired by the incorrectness of the dates. Many of the periods of his life could be settled by reference to facts alluded to by him in his writings, or by bibliographical works. Epistle 3d, for instance,

is dated 1490, but, probably, should be 1498 or 1499, as he speaks of visiting Rome during the Jubilee, which was in 1500. It is not probable that he would be preparing for a journey ten years beforehand. The letter to Gaguin* in the appendix, without date, should be dated 1495, for it was prefixed to Gaguin's History of France, printed that year.† Jortin speaks of a letter‡ to the Bishop of Cambray, which he says must have been written before 1503: it alludes to the printing of the poems of William Herman, just published, which settles the date at 1499.§ We could ascertain many other dates with equal facility.

Beatus Rhenanus, who had known Erasmus, has given two short sketches of his life, which contain some interesting circumstances. Le Clerc drew up a life of Erasmus from his letters, which was of course imperfect, as it took nothing from other authorities.

The most learned, sensible and interesting biography, is by Jortin, who has corrected some errors of Le Clerc, but follows him generally, with the addition of a great deal of other matter. The erudition of the work is truly amazing; but it is like "orient pearls at random strung," and somewhat wanting in order.

Mr. Burigni wrote about the same time, a life of Erasmus, on an attentive study of his works, which is candid and instructive, but heavily written.

In his article on Erasmus, Bayle exhibits his usual wit and originality, united to immense and exact research. The character of Erasmus is well appreciated generally, and parts of his history are so well illustrated, that it has been the ground work of all succeeding biographers. But the most full, impartial and able criticism on the merits of Erasmus we have seen, is in the "*Excitatio Critica de Religione Erasmi*," of John Albert Fabricius, in which, he has consulted an immense number of works uncommon out of Germany.||

* Tom. p. 1817.

† Panzer, Annal. Typograph.

‡ Syllog. Opusc. 357.

§ Tom. iii. p. 1782.

|| Panzer, Annal. Typograph.

ART. IV.—1. *Lectures on the Philosophy of the Human Mind.*

By THOMAS BROWN, M. D. 3 vols. 8vo. Philadelphia. 1824.

2. *Inquiry into the Relation of Cause and Effect.* By THOMAS BROWN, M. D. &c. 8vo. Andover. 1822.

Our readers may, perhaps, think it strange that we should at this late period invite their attention to the metaphysical writings of Dr. Brown. Our reasons are, that nothing more than their analysis has yet been given by the periodical press of our country; and that their value is as much too highly estimated by some, as underrated by others. It was to be expected, indeed, that works, treating of subjects which generally require close thinking, should be neglected by many who are unable or unwilling to yield them that application of mind which is necessary to their being understood; and there was equal reason for anticipating that the poetic language and ingenious argumentation of Dr. Brown, would beget an unbounded admiration in many of his readers, and cause them to receive without examination, whatever had the support of his name. That we shall be able to set the opinion of the public right on this subject, we have not the presumption to suppose; but we are willing to use our endeavours in attempting to moderate the applause of some; which, when so excessive, is seldom just: and to remove the prejudices of others, which prevent their approach to sources of real and extensive improvement.

We will make no apology, therefore, for introducing our readers at once into some of the most abstruse of Dr. Brown's speculations: and to those who hesitate to enter upon an article of metaphysics, we would address ourselves in the words of one of the fathers of the science:* “Since it is the *understanding* that sets man above the rest of sensible beings, and gives him all the advantage and dominion which he has over them, it is certainly a subject, even for its nobleness, worth our labour to inquire into.”

* Locke. If more ancient authority (and what would once have commanded more respect) be required, it may be given: “Τῶν καλῶν καὶ τιμίων τὴν εἰδησὴν ὑπολαμβάνοντες, μᾶλλον δ' ἐτέραν ἐτέρας, ἢ κατὰ ἀξίβειαν, ἢ τῶν βελτιόνων τε καὶ θαυμασιωτέρων εἶναι, δι' ἀμφοτέρω ταῦτα τὴν τῆς κυχλῆς ἱστορίαν εὐλόγως ἀν ἐν πρώτῳ εὐρίθμην. Δακσί δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἀπάσαν ἢ γνῶσις αὐτῆς μεγάλη συμπάλλασθαι.”—*Aristoteles de Anima*, lib. i. Opera, tom. i. 166. Bas. 1531.

One of the most curious inquiries which can engage the attention of philosophers, is to ascertain the origin of our knowledge of a material world: and we may add, that it has proved to be one of the most difficult and perplexing. That the mind has a knowledge of material existences, and that this was obtained at a period earlier than is embraced by memory, must be admitted by all. But on the supposition of the mind's entire ignorance of the existence of the body, to which it has been so mysteriously united, and of its possessing only a susceptibility of feeling with certain fundamental principles of belief, of which the existence must have been coeval with that of the mind itself, it is no easy task to shew how the knowledge of external things could have been acquired. It is obvious that the senses are our only means of communication with things without; and of our senses, the investigation is soon confined to one as the only possible agent in the intercourse of mind and matter; since the objects of sight, hearing, taste and smell are particles of matter so extremely minute as to be altogether imperceptible; and, consequently, could give us no notion of resistance and extension, the primary qualities of matter. Even though we knew the existence of these senses, therefore, they could not furnish us with any knowledge of the material causes of our sensations, however probable it may be that the very constitution of our nature would lead us to refer those feelings to causes. Our examination then may be limited to the sense of touch; and the question to be discussed is, whether the mind by the assistance of this sense, could arrive at the knowledge of the existence of matter.

Dr. Brown denies that the mind could make this acquisition in the circumstances described above; and supports his opinion in a very ingenious and forcible manner. The fallacy involved in the supposition that our notion of extension may be easily accounted for, by the similarity in figure of the compressed part of the organ of touch to the compressing body, is exposed very fully, as an assumption of the point in dispute;* and is further shown from the acknowledged fact in regard to the other organs of sense, that they induce in the mind no notion of figure, although it is certain that a determinate portion of these organs must be affected during sensation.† The hypothesis that the notion of extension is connected immediately by our original constitution with the affections of the organs of touch—"the perception of a square arising immediately when the organ of touch is affected in a certain manner, as the sensation of the

* Vol. i. pp. 281-300.

† pp. 282-301.

fragrance of a rose, arises immediately when the organ of smell is affected in a certain manner," is thought to be very improbable: for there should be no more indistinctness on this supposition in our perception of one figure than of another;—of a figure of a thousand sides than of four; since the affection of the organ may be exactly conformed to the figure of the body.* This, however, is in opposition to constant experience. Touch then would be unable to inform the mind of extension. Nor would it be more useful in acquiring the notion of resistance: since this, according to Dr. Brown, is a consequence of muscular feelings, completely independent of the sensations of mere touch.†

After rejecting the common belief as to the origin of our notions of extension and resistance, Dr. Brown proceeds to give his own theory in relation to this difficult inquiry. This opinion is, that we arrive at the knowledge of material existence through the agency of certain muscular feelings that had been but little attended to by previous writers.‡ The infant instinctively moves his arm in a certain manner; this motion is accompanied by a series of feelings in the mind: the movement is repeated, and the mind experiences the same series of feelings; and this happens perhaps a thousand times, so that the time occupied by the series of feelings is distinctly grasped by the mind. Now, if during one of these movements, something be opposed to the infant's arm, it will be conscious of the same volition on its part as before; and at the same time will know that the series of feelings has been interrupted; and, ascending by an original law of mind from the effect to the cause, will conclude that there is something without itself, beyond its control.§ Thus, if we suppose the infant to have a certain series of feelings in consequence of his opening and closing his hand: when a hard body is placed on the palm of his hand, the closing of the hand will be prevented, and, therefore, the series of feelings will be broken: and as the infant had obtained a notion of the length of time necessary for the completion of the series of feelings, the length of the body will naturally be measured by that of the part of the series which had been prevented by the interposition of the body.|| Thus says Dr. Brown, length is first attributed to time; and afterwards to extension from the manner in which we obtain the notion of this property of matter. As yet, however, we have but one dimension of matter, length: the notion of breadth is acquired by the infant on discovering that a greater or less

* pp. 281-284-302-303.

§ pp. 309-311-286-287.

† p. 277.

|| vol. i. p. 309.

‡ pp. 273-277.

portion of the series of feelings is broken off. If only one finger be arrested by the interposed body, the notion of length is induced in the mind : if two or three fingers be resisted, the infant must have the notion of two or three co-existing lengths ; and this, says Dr. Brown is breadth.*

We designed to have given Dr. Brown's theory in his own words, but found that this would occupy too much space : we have, therefore, contented ourselves with a careful abstract and frequent references to our author's pages, where our readers may examine for themselves the correctness of our condensed view of the theory. And, before proceeding farther, we must object to Dr. Brown's mode of expressing himself in relation to our notion of time, which performs so important a part in his speculations. This idea seems to have been drawn in from the necessity of obtaining some additional element in the formation of our notion of extension ; and Dr. Brown appears not to have perceived very clearly that the origin of our idea of time was much more explicable than that of the extension which it was introduced to illustrate. He calls time, "our feeling of succession ;"† "our notions of succession ;"‡ "a series in constant and onward progress ;" "remembered succession."§ Now these expressions are all very loose and vague ; and instead of making more plain this new element involved in extension, cannot but render it more obscure ; since they are absolutely false. Our notion of time is necessarily prior to our conception of succession ; otherwise we could not possibly conceive of things as successive. "To perceive this the more distinctly, let us call the distance between an idea and that which immediately succeeds it, one element of duration ; the distance between an idea and the second that succeeds it, two elements, and so on. If ten such elements make duration, then one must make duration, otherwise duration must be made up of parts that have no duration, which is impossible. Now it must be observed, that in these elements of duration, or single intervals of successive ideas, there is no succession of ideas, yet we must conceive them to have duration ; whence we may conclude with certainty, that there is a conception of duration, when there is no succession of ideas in the mind."|| Time then, which is measured duration, is an original notion of the mind, involved in succession and memory, but not derived from them. It would be less inaccurate to say, that succession and memory are derived from our notion of time, since without this, it would be impossible that we should have either.

* Vol. i. p. 310.

† p. 305.

‡ p. 313.

§ p. 297.

|| Reid's Works, vol. ii. p. 351, on Intell. Powers, Ess. 3, c. 5.

Duration and space are most difficult to be grasped by the mind,* and seem to resemble each other in some particulars. Both are eternal, immoveable and unchangeable; and the progress which is attributed to time, is confined to ourselves. We are advancing in time as bodies are advancing in space; and the apparent motion of time is the natural consequence of our real progress. To the infinite mind, the whole of duration from eternity to eternity is one unchanging *now*. Time appears to have the same relation to mind as space has to matter: bodies exist in space, but spirits in time: and it is as difficult to conceive how we could have thought without the notion of time, as how bodies could have moved without the previous existence of space.† The mind could not have existed one moment, without knowing that its existence had continued one moment, so that the knowledge of duration must have been possessed by the mind as soon as its existence commenced. So soon as it had existed in time, however short the period, this must have been known.

But to return to our author's theory: Dr. Brown thinks that an experiment which he has proposed, is almost decisive of his correctness in introducing time as an element in our notion of extension. "Let any one, with his eyes shut, move his hand with moderate velocity, along a part of a table, or any other hard smooth surface, the portion over which he passes will appear of a certain length; let him move his hand more rapidly, the portion of the surface pressed will appear *less*; let him move his hand *very slowly*, and the length, according to the degree of slowness, will appear increased in a most wonderful proportion."‡ This experiment would be of considerable moment in the discussion, were it not that time as well as velocity enters into our estimation of the space passed over by a moving body: when we know the time and velocity, we obtain the exact space which has been traversed; when we know but one of the two elements, our estimate of the space must be formed from this alone. Thus, in the case adduced by Dr. Brown, we can form no accurate conception of the velocity because our eyes are shut, and, therefore, we measure the distance over which our hand has passed, by the known element, time: consequently, the distance should seem to be in proportion

* Not that there is any want of clearness in our conceptions of duration and space, but that in proportion as we attempt to view them more closely, they appear to elude our grasp "Si non roges, intelligo."

† The truth is visible under all the technical obscurity of Transcendentalism, which terms space and time forms of cognition, impressed by the mind upon the objects of its knowledge. The nineteenth century is not so favourable to the fame of founders of sects, as the age of Aristotle, in whose footsteps Kant seems desirous of walking, and from whom he has largely borrowed.

‡ Vol. p. 312.

to the time, which is the fact. We conceive then, that this experiment is not even *corroborative* of Dr. Brown's theory.

We must turn, however to the more prominent features of this theory. The muscular motions of the infant cause a series of feelings in his mind : and when his arm is resisted, there can be no other difference to himself than that the former series of feelings will be accomplished in part only, and the place of the remainder will be occupied by new feelings of the mind. The infant may, indeed, know that this change in the mental feelings was not intended by itself ; but it is equally clear that the original series of feelings was not designed. There could be no volition in the case ; since the feelings can be produced only by the muscular motions ; and the infant is supposed to be ignorant of the existence of its muscles.* All then that the mind of the infant can know, is the existence of the feelings in itself ; and it cannot know how these feelings are originated, unless we take it for granted that the mind has power to govern the parts of the body before it knows of their being. We believe that we are defensible in this position : if the mind can control the series of feelings,—commence this series when it pleases, and interrupt it when so disposed, this power cannot be possessed unless the antecedents of the feelings—the muscular motions are under the direction of the will ; and, besides the impossibility of the will regulating organs of the existence of which the mind is uninformed, this is contrary to Dr. Brown's own supposition that the muscular motions are instinctive.† As then the feelings are equally unrestrained by, and independent of the will, there is no reason whatever why the interruption of the usual series should conduct the mind to the knowledge of things exterior to itself, more than its commencement. When any series of feelings is felt by the mind, there is the same reason for their leading it to the external cause as when this first series is replaced by another.

We think it abundantly evident, therefore, that the breaking of any series of mental affections would not lead the mind to the knowledge of things without, nor open its communication with the material world. It is probable that the necessity for some cause of the change would be felt by the mind ; but this is equally true of the first affections which the mind ever experienced, there being then the greatest change possible ;—from the entire absence of all feelings to their presence : and, consequently, Dr. Brown's theory is but a needless complication of what is very plain without it, if there be any foundation for the theory. If then the notion of resistance could not be acquired in the manner

* Vol. i. p. 309.

† Ibid. p. 286.

supposed by Dr. Brown, we need say nothing of extension which is less simple, and must be subsequent. It may be observed, nevertheless, that, granting to Dr. Brown the adequacy of his theory in relation to resistance, it is certainly insufficient to account for our notion of extension. Time, as we have seen, is an element in our estimation of the spaces passed over by bodies in motion; but motion is not extension, nor is time: suppose the body interposed to break off the series of feelings, when half accomplished, and that the regular series occupies a portion of time equal to a minute, the infant will then, according to Dr. Brown, conceive the resisting substance to be half a minute in length.* What then can the infant understand by this conception? That the resisting substance, supposing it to know of its existence, is half as long as its series of feelings? This is the utmost extent to which the interruption of the series could lead him: but Dr. Brown means something very different;—even that the infant would discover that the resisting substance was equal to the space which his hand could pass over in the half minute, thus assuming the knowledge, the origin of which is the object of inquiry.

The account which our author gives of the manner in which we obtain the notion of breadth, involves the same assumption of the thing sought. The infant is said, by discovering that two or three of its fingers were resisted, to have formed the conception of two or three co-existing lengths; and this, says Dr. Brown, is breadth.† Now, besides, that the obstacle opposed to one or two of the fingers could have no effect, but in diminishing the intensity of the mental affections, which before resulted from the motion of all the fingers, as the arresting of all of them would completely break the series, Dr. Brown's assertion is so manifestly a *petitio principii*, that it can deceive no one. Co-existing lengths might form a greater length than any one of them; and this is the only kind of co-existence for which the infant's mind is prepared: but admitting that the infant would conceive of the lengths as lying side by side, like its own little fingers as to position, from which, doubtless, Dr. Brown derived this part of his theory, still the notion of breadth would not be induced in its mind. Each of the co-existing lengths must be without breadth, or we assume the point in question, and therefore we may allow Dr. Brown not two or three co-existing lengths merely, but any number whatever, and he is still as far removed from breadth as when he commenced the investigation.

While on the subject of extension, it may be proper to take notice of an opinion of Dr. Brown, in regard to the sense of

* Vol. i. p. 298.

† Ibid. p. 310.

sight. Most writers agree that sight informs us of extension, though not of the existence of a material world: our author refuses his assent to the doctrines of his predecessors: but though we deem his argumentation in part unanswerable, we believe that his reasoning on another subject* may justify us in questioning his decision here in its full extent. It appears to be a law of mind that we can perceive only one point of things without us at any one instant: we are likely to doubt of this now, when a long familiarity with things without enables us to scan their every part with a glance; and when, by long use, we have acquired such facility in the employment of our powers, that it seems the work of an instant only, to survey every part of a novel object presented to our view. The same reasons, however, would prove that there never was a time when it was necessary to dwell on every letter, since now the meaning of a whole page flashes upon us like light. Even yet, things that are new require some length of time to be properly examined, in order that we may acquire a correct notion of the relative position of the parts; inattention to which is one of the principal sources of our ability to satisfy our curiosity in a very short period. If the mind then can observe a body only in successive points, memory is obviously necessary to our obtaining an idea of the relation of the parts, and of the extent of that body; and, that memory may be exercised, there must be some distinctive marks by which the mind may recognize the points which had previously engaged its attention. When then an object of uniform colouring is before the eye, we think it almost certain that, as there are no varieties of colour to enable the mind to distinguish the sensation caused by any one point from that caused by another, the only thing perceived would be a luminous point. To be perceived, however, this point must have extension: still the relative position of the parts of the object would be unknown. But if the colouring were variegated, this would no longer be the case. In these circumstances there would be different sensations, and the mind could compare them with each other: and, as points could not be perceived without the mind obtaining a knowledge of their direction, and as this could be remembered, the relative position of the points would thus be acquired by the mind. But we have been building on a wider foundation than Dr. Brown will concede; and on the supposition of the mind's entire ignorance as to the existence of its body, we are fully persuaded that it could not arrive at the notion of extension by sight; nor, in our opinion, by any other of the senses. But this demands a more careful investigation.

* Vol. i. pp. 403-411.

The infant must have experienced the feelings of pleasure and pain even before birth ; and must, therefore, have known its own existence ; since it is an absurdity to say that a being can enjoy pleasure and suffer pain, and still does not know the existence of that which enjoys and suffers. The knowledge of its own existence must have preceded feelings of any kind ; for feeling as the affection of any being, presupposes the existence of that being : and, that the being should know the feelings to be affections of itself, it must know the existence of that which is affected. To make this knowledge co-existent with the first feeling of the sentient being ;—that is, to suppose that neither antecedes the other, but that both spring into existence simultaneously* :—the known existence of the being not enabling it to ascertain that it was affected ; nor its having been affected that it existed, is liable to no greater objection than that it is totally incomprehensible : this is to make the known existence and the feeling to unite in what chymists would call the nascent state. As then the mind must have known its own existence prior to all communication from without ; or it would never have known it :—and, since such communication must have taken place at a very early period,—certainly before birth, we are carried back for the origin of the mind's knowledge of its own existence to a time removed without any limit but the commencement of this existence ; and here we must stop : and that this is the point where we should rest, is confirmed by all that we know of the thinking principle : for it is surely very strange language to say that the mind exists, and does not know it. We except, of course, the times when sleep's mysterious influence is exercised over all the faculties of the soul.

As then the mind cannot exist without being conscious of this existence, another question is, whether it could have any knowledge of the body's existence without sensation through the proper organs ? It is a common thing with many writers on mental philosophy to advocate, as a natural consequence of their belief in the mind's ignorance of its own being prior to sensation, its total want of knowledge in relation to its own body. The soul is furnished with a fair and noble habitation of which all the apartments are prepared for its use, and yet is supposed to be the only being ignorant of these preparations ; and is believed never to perceive them, till on its return from the first visit to the external world, when the towers and battlements of this splendid edifice attract her attention, and are recognised as her own.

* ———— ὡς ἡ γένεσις ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ, οὐδέτερον γὰρ τῶν πρώτων ἔστιν, οὐδὲ ὑστερον.

But is this reasonable conduct to send the soul abroad to make the tour of the world ere she has examined that little kingdom in which she is so much more deeply interested? This does not resemble the wisdom of nature in her care for her children; and we are most certainly entitled to require some proof in support of such opinions. So far as reasoning will assist us, the presumption is clearly against this theory: Dr. Brown was not satisfied with the explanation that had been given of the origin of our knowledge of an external world; and attempted to remove the difficulty by proposing a new solution: and this, we flatter ourselves, has been shown to be founded on an assumption of the point in question. Since so many ingenious men, therefore, have utterly failed in their efforts to trace the connecting link between mind and external things, there is some ground for believing this to be impracticable on the principles from which they set out. They seem never to have thought of a previous question, whether the mind was necessarily unacquainted with the existence of its tenement. There is no period in infancy in which we discover in the little innocents, signs of inaccurate information respecting their limbs and other parts of the body: the new born babe will turn its eye towards the light.

Philosophers have, by a very natural re-action, rushed from the absurdity of materialism to the opposite extreme of spiritualizing all the phenomena of the human being. That the soul is not matter requires but a moment's reflection to convince the most sceptical; but it is equally certain that the body is; and as man consists of soul and body, we are not likely to escape error by confining our attention to either exclusively. It is not philosophically correct, therefore, to say, that the mind perceives, remembers and compares: it is the human being that performs these operations: and that the state of the body influences the manner of their performance, is evident from this, that a slight alteration in the condition of the corporeal frame, will incapacitate the man for all intellectual exercises. Even when the body is most healthful, we have no facts from which to draw the conclusion that our mental operations are entirely independent of it. Viewing man then as he is, a being consisting of matter and spirit united in some mysterious manner, so that they mutually influence each other, there is no difficulty in conceiving how this man should become informed of the existence of a material world.

We wish to point out here a mistake into which Dr. Brown has fallen, while endeavouring to show what appears so obvious from the simple statement which has already been given, that taste cannot furnish any information of the existence of matter.

"In the simple sensation," says Dr. Brown, "which precedes the reference (to an external cause)—the mere pleasure of sweetness, or the pain of bitterness—there is nothing which seems to mark, more distinctly, the presence of honey or worm-wood, or any similar external substance than in any of our joys or sorrows."* Things are confounded in this passage which are essentially distinct; and the same error is not unfrequent in Dr. Brown's writings on the senses. The mere pleasure of sweetness or pain of bitterness is not the simple sensation as asserted in the quotation above: the simple sensations must have anteceded the pleasure or pain which they produced, as the cause must be prior to the effect. This remark we consider as of more importance, because obvious as the distinction may appear, it has been frequently lost sight of by our best writers on the mind. Dr. Brown's reasoning in consequence of this, is altogether inconclusive: the pleasure or pain of the sensation would not be referred to an external cause, since its cause is known to be the antecedent feeling; but this does not prove that the sensation itself would not be followed by this reference to something external.

In relation to our knowledge of external things, we will task the patience of our readers with but a single remark more: on the supposition that the mind really perceives external objects, (which is not strictly true, but only that the human being does) we may readily conceive how this knowledge was acquired without the mind having previously known the existence of the organs of sense: for if objects exist without us, and are perceived by the mind, they must be perceived as they exist: otherwise we suppose some imperfection in the perceptive power of the mind. This reasoning, however, has not much force, unless we look upon perception as an act of the mind. Dr. Brown terms perception an affection of the mind: and, indeed, he has made such innovations in the phraseology of mental science, that we think it necessary to examine, more closely, his reasons for this procedure.

We are not so great venerators of things that exist, because they exist, as to object to all changes in the language of any science: but, assuredly, slight inconveniences should be borne rather than make great alterations in what has been established by the use of philosophers; and sweeping innovations are not to be ventured without they can be shown most clearly to be both useful and necessary. We doubt much whether Dr. Brown's conduct admits of this justification in regard to the alterations

* Vol. i. p. 248.

which he has made in the technical language of mental philosophy. But we must not be understood as disapproving of his nomenclature generally: the classification of the mental phenomena, according as their causes or occasions are external or exist in the mind itself, strikes us as very judicious; nor are we at all unwilling that the internal phenomena should be classed, as they are actions or passions:—in the former of which, we are conscious of exerting our minds; in the latter, we feel that the mental affections are beyond our control:—the intellectual states and emotions of Dr. Brown. We are decidedly opposed, however, to phraseology, which conveys the impression that the mind is nothing more than the subject or recipient of changes which follow and must follow the operation of their causes. Affections of the mind, or states of mind are not acts of the mind; and if the mind is susceptible only of affections, the conclusion is inevitable that it is the only substance with which we are acquainted, that is entirely passive; since, as it is admitted that these affections as they are termed, exist, their causes, or the agents which produced them must also exist:—that is, every thing in nature which can affect the mind.

But it may be said that the causes of the internal affections are the external affections; and therefore it does not follow, although the concession be made, that the mind must necessarily be affected in a certain manner by things external, that the thinking being is wholly passive. For the antecedents of the internal affections, as they are themselves states of mind, produce other states of mind. We beg leave to say, that those who reason thus have not entered into the spirit of Dr. Brown's philosophy; and we are pretty confident that our author himself would not have urged a defence of this kind. The mind is so constituted, indeed, that certain states suggest other states; but over these suggestions the mind has no power: from the very nature of mind one state suggests another, and this again its successor, and thus the mind is continually changing from one state to another, without having any control over these changes. Dr. Brown's language, in relation to the mental operations, is decisive as to the fact which we have stated. The internal affections, as we have seen, are subdivided into two orders, intellectual states and emotions. These intellectual states are the consequents of certain antecedents: some external affection exists, and immediately the mind is thrown into a state termed intellectual, of which the external affection is the cause.

If, however, the phraseology of Dr. Brown were altogether unexceptionable in the particulars which have just been the subject of remark, what advantage, we would inquire, are we to

enjoy from this overthrow of the usual mode of expression when speaking of the powers of the mind? Surely we have as clear conceptions of what is meant when it is said that the mind perceives and remembers, as when Dr. Brown informs us that the mind exists in certain states, called perception and memory. Is more known of these mental operations by the multiplying of words, or did Dr. Brown affect novelty of terms for the purpose of inducing the belief that his knowledge respecting them was more extensive than that of his predecessors? If we may trust to our own consciousness, to call the operations of the mind, states of mind, is wholly unauthorized. That the mind perceives, and the mind exists in a state of perception, appear to be different propositions: more especially when we view the phrase, "state of mind" in connexion with what Dr. Brown names its cause, an antecedent state of mind. That our minds are active in their intellectual operations, is as certain as any truth to which we give our assent; and all the forms of language, and we may add of all languages, are adapted to express this action. We do not assert that the mind has power to command the presence of an idea: which, as Dr. Brown has remarked, involves a contradiction; but of which the contradiction is, in part, perhaps apparent only in consequence of the abuse of language in the proposition: * we would be understood as maintaining only that thinking is an act of the mind; and, is the mind exercising a power with which it has been endowed by the Creator. If thought be only a certain state of mind, caused by sensation, we know of no reason why the cause should not invariably produce its effect: but this, we are all aware, is not the fact, there being frequently sensations without the corresponding perceptions:—that is, the organ of sense is affected in the usual way without this being noticed by the mind. It is a gross abuse of language to speak of an impression on the external organ, as causing a state of mind:—a material affection operating on an immaterial substance without extension. All that we can believe to be possible is, that the material affections are interpreted as signs by

* We speak of commanding the presence of thoughts in the mind in the same manner in which we express ourselves in relation to our summoning servants to wait upon our persons; and when we examine more closely, appear surprised that we have spoken very unmeaningly. That the mind has not power to will the existence of a thought in popular language, is very true; but it is equally certain that the mind can think on what subject it pleases; and thus by investigation, perceives relations which were before unknown. When Dr. Brown says that the mind cannot banish a painful thought, if he mean that it is impossible that the mind should remain in vacuity, devoid of all thought, he is certainly correct: such is the nature of the thinking principle, but that we can expel disagreeable thoughts by diverting the attention to something else, is familiar to every one.

the percipient being. The words of a book, cannot in the usual sense of the term, be called the causes of the ideas in our minds, when we read: they are mere arbitrary signs, yet, so soon as they are seen, the mind thinks and reasons, or to use the common language, forms the notions to which it has learned from experience are attached to particular terms. It is the mind then which causes the notions, and the words of the book are no more than the occasions on which the mind exercises its power: and it may be remarked as illustrative of this, that the very same words may be the occasions of ideas differing, both as to their value and number, in minds that are variously stored with knowledge; and hence many may learn more from an author's work than he knows himself, if their previous attainments are more extensive. Sensations then are, to the mind, the occasions of perception, as the words on the perusal of a book are the occasion of thoughts.

Although we protest against the phraseology which terms one state of mind the *cause* of another, we freely admit that the succession of thoughts is not arbitrary,* and that it is a law of mind that ideas should suggest each other; or that every notion of the mind should have some relation to that which preceded it. But it is most undoubtedly a hasty and unwarranted conclusion that therefore the thoughts must necessarily succeed each other in a certain order, and no other: yet, this is the natural consequence of attributing to them the relation of cause and effect. When we are occupied on any subject, and desire to view it in some particular relation abstracted from all others, ideas connected with that view, which we wish to take of the subject, will arise in our minds; related we grant, to the subject and to the ideas which preceded them; but frequently the relation is less close and striking than that of many others, which are not suggested because not connected with the desired views of the subject. An idea, for example, exists in my mind: this idea has a relation to many others, more close to some, less so to others: that which is common, however, to all the ideas, may cause any one of them to suggest another of the series. If the light in which I wish to consider the subject with which my first idea is connected, should require the ideas of the series, of which the relation is less striking, these will be formed by the mind,† and those more closely related to the first will not engage the mind at all. If A, B, C, D, E, F, be a series of thoughts, of which

* We could scarcely be called rational creatures, were this not the case. We see in maniacs a faint exemplification of what we would be under such circumstances.

† It is perhaps not necessary to remark that we here use popular phraseology.

B, C, D, E, F, are all related to A. (but not in the same respect, or they do not express relations of quantity or degree) and the closeness of their relation diminishes in proportion as the distance from A., in the series increases: then, although the relation of F to A be much less striking than that of any which precedes it. yet, if F be connected with the desired view of a subject, and B, C, D, E not, F alone will be suggested by A, so that suggestion is not dependent on the closeness of the relation alone. It is necessary to make the limitation that the thoughts do not express relations of degree; for in this case the mind would run over them in their natural order, A, B, C, D, E, F. It appears then that the mind is active, even in suggestion. Dr. Brown might indeed say that desire is a new antecedent, and hence the new consequent, and that this desire is but the consequent of its antecedent, which caused the desire in the mind; and thus, at last, we discover nothing more than antecedents and consequences; but when a person attempts to show that the desires of the human mind are all regulated by perceived motives as effects by their causes, we think it time to cease argumentation with him.*

Dr. Brown's view of the mental phenomena appears not to differ from that of Hume: indeed we do not know that we do him injustice, when we say that it is not far removed from that theory of ideas or images, existing as objects of the mind when we think, which bewildered mankind for so long a succession of ages. There is this distinction, however, to be marked between Dr. Brown and the idealists,—they operate in a similar manner, but use very unlike materials. The idealists enthroned the soul on the top of the brain, where she was busied in making images, and coiling them up like sausages for future use: Dr. Brown makes use of the soul herself as the material, and in some cases as the operator also. The mind, existing in a certain state, is perception; in a different state, memory: in perception, the operator is without the mind, and puts it into a certain form, which constitutes the power thus named. Dr. Brown's system is more economical of labour than that of the idealists; since one state of mind is perception, whatever organ of sense be affected: whereas, the idealists were necessitated to manufacture images for each sense. But Dr. Brown's opinions resemble those of Mr. Hume still more nearly. "The powers of substances are only the substances themselves:"†—since then we

* We were afraid that we had misrepresented Dr. Brown in this place, and, on a re-examination, we found nothing definite in his remarks on the desires: but from the fourth section of the first part of the "Inquiry," and other passages, we think that our author cannot be misunderstood.

† Inquiry, p. 70.

are conscious of the operations of our minds alone, it is a legitimate inference that these are all that exist ; and that the mind is nothing more than a series of states :—" a bundle of impressions." If the powers of the mind are nothing distinct from the mind, as we know nothing beyond the existence of these powers, the conclusion is unavoidable that the mind is only a series of states : since mind, at any one point of time, is not distinct from its state at that moment, and as these states are continually succeeding each other, the mind still being not different from its states, it follows that the mind is never distinct from its powers, and that a succession of powers constitutes mind. That this coincides with Mr. Hume's speculations, our readers will at once perceive.

We do not insinuate, for a moment, that Dr. Brown favoured the system of Hume : the truth seems to be that he adopted part of Mr. Hume's theory of causation, and in consequence was cast into the very depths of his philosophy, and was the advocate of opinions which the Doctor may have believed to be original, but which scarcely differed from those of Mr. Hume. David Hume was too skilful an architect not to make the prominent parts of his systems unite harmoniously in one whole ; and persons who embrace some of his fundamental principles, will find great difficulty in escaping the consequences which have been deduced by so acute a mind. That Dr. Brown experienced this difficulty, although he may not, perhaps, have been aware that he was walking in almost the very steps of the sceptical philosopher, we think is visible in nearly every part of his metaphysical writings ; and it is therefore fit that we examine, as briefly as possible, his Inquiry into the Relation of Cause and Effect.

That we may commence this disquisition with unbiassed minds, there must be first removed any prejudice which may have been implanted by Dr. Brown's confident appeals to what he names a test of identity : which is this, that as the phrases, the cause has power to produce the effect, and the cause is invariably the antecedent of the effect, are equivalent, power is nothing more than invariableness of antecedence.* Now, we grant that this effect of power, as we are inclined to term it, is all that we perceive ; but is it, therefore, all that we are to believe, or can have any conception of ? Let us apply this rule of reasoning to some admitted truths, and then we may decide how far it is a safe and unerring guide in speculation. To take an example belonging to the subject of our author's Essay, why do we believe that every change in nature must have been, and must always be, produced

* Inquiry, p. 28.

by a cause? or, in Dr. Brown's language, that every consequent must have an antecedent? This, however, we may remark by the way, is a mere abuse of words, and though designed by Dr. Brown to be significant of our belief that every change in nature is dependant, does by no means express this irresistible conviction. That a consequent must have an antecedent, is an identical proposition; since the term consequent has been applied for no other reason than because that to which it has been attached followed an antecedent: otherwise it would not be a consequent. But leaving this; what is the ground of our belief that every change is dependant on some cause? We have not observed this fact: for many of the changes of nature are utterly inexplicable by us: that is, we cannot trace them to their causes. Our experience teaches us, indeed, that to most of the changes which we have seen, there have been causes; but information, from experience, will not explain our irresistible conviction that this must necessarily be the case in time to come; and has been so in time past. There have been many phenomena, of which the cause could not be ascertained; yet no person had the slightest degree of scepticism as to the existence of a cause; no one conjectured that perhaps there had been no cause, although the most persevering efforts of the mightiest minds in search of it, had all been fruitless. Dr. Brown himself, therefore, with other philosophers, acknowledges this belief, that a cause is necessary for every change, to be a part of the constitution of our nature; and as we discover marks of benevolence and love in all the works of the Maker of our being, we cannot harbour, for a moment, the suspicion that he would make us "the herald of a lie" to ourselves. We would ask now whether the belief of a connexion between every cause and its effect be less general or irresistible than that of the existence of a cause in every change.*

But it is desirable to know how far we can advance in the explanation of our belief in necessary connexion, by the most rigorous induction on Dr. Brown's own principles. We observe in certain circumstances, that particular antecedents are followed by particular consequents; and the circumstances remaining the same, we repeat the experiment twenty times, and find that the same antecedents are followed by exactly the same consequents through all the repetitions. Is it possible that the experimenter should not suspect some reason for this uniformity of succession? Would not the mind be irresistibly led to concur that there was something in the nature of the antecedents upon

* They are certainly efficient causes, a belief in the necessary existence of which forms part of our nature. Changes are never referred to any other.

which the observed invariableness depended? Suppose the experiment to be repeated another twenty times with the same results, will not the mind be convinced, without the possibility of doubt, that there is some connexion between those particular antecedents and consequents? This impression would most certainly not be weakened by the circumstance, that from the constitution of our being, we cannot but believe that similar antecedents will always be followed by similar consequents.

If then observation were our only teacher, we must be led to suspect, to say the least, some connexion between invariable antecedents and consequents;—something on which this invariableness depended. Observation would inform us of some other facts. Dr. Brown would have made the acknowledgment, we presume, that our experience must produce in us a conception of the adaptation* of the antecedents to their sequences through which it happens that certain antecedents are always followed by certain consequents; and similar consequents preceded by similar antecedents in the same circumstances. This we think would be an unavoidable inference from observation: otherwise there is no cause why a particular consequent should follow a particular antecedent rather than any other; and thus any one antecedent might be the precursor of all possible sequences. This adaptation, therefore, of the antecedents to the sequences, so that in given circumstances, a certain antecedent is likely to be followed by a certain consequent, and by no other, must form part of Dr. Brown's system, even if every bond between the different links of the chain of sequences be denied, because it is a deduction from observation, and entirely independent of every hypothesis as to the nature of the relation of cause and effect.

We are taught also, by experience, that there is always some proportion between the antecedents and consequents. When the antecedents are fraught with energy, we may expect great changes; and when they are weak and trifling, the consequents are so likewise: or, in common language, the effect is always proportioned to the cause. That there is such a relation of degree between the antecedents and their sequences, is admitted by Dr. Brown himself:—"The beginning of existence is a phenomenon, different from those phenomena which we at present witness; and the cause of it, therefore, if similar antecedents have for their attendants similar consequents, must have been, in like manner, something different from the phenomena that come immediately under our view. It must have been something, however, which was adequate to the production of exist-

* "Aptness to be followed by a certain change." *Inquiry*, p. 79.

ing things.”* This adequacy then of the cause to the effect, would seem strongly to imply the immediate dependance of the effect on the cause ; and such has been the general belief till very recently, and even yet is visible in the very persons who deny it in words. Dr. Brown's theory does not admit, we believe, that the existence of the consequent is produced by the antecedent : but it cannot be pretended that the sequences are independent of their antecedents. Accordingly, Dr. Brown acknowledges that in relation to time, every change must have had a cause : that such is the constitution of nature that nothing takes place unconnectedly, but all events, invariably follow, certain preceding events. This connexion, in regard to time, is confessedly well fitted to induce in our minds the conception of some bond between things that are always conjoined ; and, with the facts already enumerated as the deductions of observation, would be altogether likely to conduct us to the conclusion which Dr. Brown deems so erroneous,—even the vulgar belief as respects the relation of cause and effect. But this conclusion, it appears to us, has a firmer basis upon the original principles of our nature.

Still the question is to be met, whether it be possible to evade or overthrow the direct argument of Dr. Brown, that if we suppose the existence of any thing between the antecedent and consequent, we but increase the length of the series, and now have three terms instead of two. The strength of this reasoning depends on a proposition laid down more than once by Dr. Brown, in relation both to matter and mind, that the powers or properties of a substance are nothing distinct or different from that substance.† It is undoubtedly true that the powers of a substance are not separable from the substance ; and that the extent of our direct knowledge of any substance is bounded by our observation of the manner in which it affects ourselves and other substances, and by our perception : nevertheless, all the properties of a substance are not that substance : any thing which has these properties is the substance : but this *something*‡ in which the properties may subsist, is absolutely and essentially necessary, and it is indisputable that without something more than all the properties of substances, these properties could never have existed. It must be yielded by every one, that neither impenetrability nor mobility, nor inertia can exist independently ; and it is a new kind of logic to assert that their union could enable them to subsist by their mutual support :—that is, the union of several attributes composes a substance. Besides, the very terms of the

* Inquiry, p. 241.

† Ibid, pp. 22-71-91-218-244.

‡ This *something* is, perhaps, the *εἶδος ὅλον* of Aristotle.

proposition prove its absurdity : that the attributes cannot exist individually without a subject, is conceded ; yet, their union is supposed to constitute that subject : therefore they must exist before they possibly can exist. Substances formed in this manner are "like the baseless fabric of a vision."

The clearing up of this fundamental error of Dr. Brown will go far towards removing his objections against the usual expressions as to causes and effects ; and, we hope, will aid in dispelling some of the obscurity which is thought to hang over the relation. In speaking then of the changes which are operated in nature, it is proper and allowable to say, that the powers of substances and not the substances themselves, have caused the phenomena. In chymistry, for example, we combine two substances of very different qualities, and produce a third substance different from both the former : we are not satisfied with the remark, that when an acid and alkali are placed in certain circumstances and proportions, the peculiar properties of each will entirely disappear, and a neutral salt will be the result of their mutual action : this is the enunciation of the fact : we wish to know the reason of this fact : we are told by one experimenter, perhaps, that the attraction between the ultimate particles of these heterogeneous substances, is much more energetic than that between homogeneous particles. This explanation may give some relief to the inquisitive mind : since attraction is a general property of matter ; and since from the substances combining only in definite proportions, we may have already adopted the opinion that the mutual action takes place between their atoms. The inquiry however still recurs, why is the attraction increased in certain circumstances ? Of this, we are perhaps unable to give any account farther than that such is the constitution of the substances. But some may endeavour to go one step onward, and resolve this difficulty into another, the different electrical states of the particles ; or may say that the attraction of the particles is not increased, but only their repulsive power diminished : the attraction between heterogeneous particles remaining the same as between homogeneous, while the repulsion which exists between homogeneous particles may be partly inert in relation to those that are heterogeneous, as is supposed to be the case on the mixture of gases. It is evident that in all these attempted explanations of a given fact, we but exert ourselves to reduce it to some more general fact, which, at last, must rest upon the *ipse dixit* of the Creator. The universal attraction which rules all matter is received as a sufficient explanation of many scattered facts ; and this most general fact, we are willing to refer to the will of the Deity, who commanded matter thus to be with

a mutual tendency of all its parts to each other : since the only mechanical solution of the phenomena of gravitation which appears to be in accordance with observed facts*, is not more ingenious than the eastern fiction, which places our globe on the back of a huge elephant ; and the elephant on the broad shell of a huge tortoise ; and the tortoise on——nothing.

There is a fanciful theory by Boscovich, which however paradoxical the assertion may appear, seems, on one view, to strike at the very ground-work of Dr. Brown's Essay on Causation ; and yet, on another, to confirm and establish it. If matter be nothing more than mathematical points, having certain attractive and repulsive powers, substances do not differ from these powers ; or more correctly, powers are the only substances with which we are acquainted : and all the powers or properties in nature are all that exist ; which is exactly the consequence of Dr. Brown's opinion in regard to the identity of substances and their properties. If, however, we keep in sight the impossibility of properties existing without something in which they may subsist, (which we trust has been shown) and look upon the theory of Boscovich as proving, what it unquestionably does, the smallness of the whole quantity of matter when compared with its bulk, the whole inquiry into the relation of cause and effect vanishes in consequence of the disappearance of the evanescent quantities of which it treats ; and so far from being true that there are no powers in nature different from the substances themselves, it is indubitable that we perceive only powers, which do act at considerable distances from their substances. The position would be more defensible, therefore, that powers alone exist in nature : for, although this can be proved to be absurd, it is not sensibly so.

We are fearful lest our readers should be weary of this discussion, and think its length unreasonable : we would urge in our excuse that it is impracticable to view, even cursorily, an octavo of two hundred and fifty pages in one or two ; and that candour as well as a more full examination of the subject, require of us to present Dr. Brown's theory as exhibited by its author, and to try the strength of its various parts. "A cause," says Dr. Brown, "is that which immediately precedes any change, and which, existing at any time in similar circumstances, has been always, and will be always immediately followed by a similar change.† Power is invariableness of antecedence. Now we hazard the opinion that the novelty of the

* That of Le Sage.

† Inquiry, p. 20.

quotation above, consists rather in the language than in the thought ; but be this as it may, it led Dr. Brown to believe that he had made a most important discovery. A very few words, we have the presumption to think, will expose the fallacy which our ingenious author has practised upon himself. This invariableness of antecedence, observed when we consider two objects in a certain relation, is a very striking phenomenon : we may see antecedents and consequents without number ; but invariable antecedents and consequents are not so frequent. The latter, therefore, are different from the former ; and the difference consists in the invariableness of the relation. This invariableness then is not a necessary condition of antecedence. Consequently, it must be either self-existent in the observed cases of its existence, or dependent. The former supposition will not be maintained by any ; the latter, therefore, is the only conclusion that invariableness of antecedence is dependent. And it may be dependent either upon the antecedents themselves, or upon the author of nature. The Creator of the Universe may either have endowed all things with certain properties or powers, so that in similar circumstances their mutual action should invariably be the same ; or the Almighty may be the sole agent throughout all his works in their minor changes, as he was in that great change when they were called from nothing. We need scarcely add that the former supposition is that which obtains generally ; and the latter agrees with the system of occasional causes, which Dr. Brown labours so ably, and we think so justly, to overthrow.

There is yet another system which harmonizes in every particular with Dr. Brown's speculations ; and which, if we have not mistaken the meaning of his writings, is really that which he embraced :*—we allude to an extremely visionary hypothesis of Leibnitz. If we suppose all the events of nature to take place in a certain order of time, but wholly independent of each other, so that if any one had not existed, the others would, nevertheless, have taken place at their appointed times, according to the order pre-established by God himself, we will thus have invariable antecedents and consequents without any bond of connexion between them. Each change will, on this supposition, be only a succession of events that have no relation whatever to each other except that of contiguity of time. Every event will depend immediately upon the decree of the Almighty, and will com-

* We do not mean that Dr. Brown professedly embraced it ; for against this he has guarded, *Lecture xxxi. vol. i. p. 396.* But we think he has in the *Inquiry*, left himself no other system, we had almost said among those that are possible ; we may say among those of which we can form any conception.

mence existence, and cease to be, at the appointed moments. Whether Dr. Brown intended it or not, the fact is that his reasonings on the relation of cause and effect, are decidedly favourable to a pre-established harmony of the universe. Indeed, we can imagine but three systems: that of real causation; that of occasional causation; and the system of Leibnitz: and as Dr. B. refused his assent to the two first, the last was, perhaps, unavoidable.

We presume that nothing more is necessary here, than to make mention of the pre-established harmony: we may be employed more agreeably and profitably in following Dr. Brown into some of the consequences of his theory of causation. From his account of power, it results that there is no such thing except during causation; or that power has no existence when not exerted.* The absurdity of this must at once be manifest to all who use the term power, in its usual acceptation. That any thing should both produce an effect, and at the same time be dependent upon its producing of that effect for its own existence, is equivalent to the proposition that the same thing may, and may not be at the same instant. Nor will our author's definition of power, if designed to be anything more than a description of an event without offering any cause for its existence, assist him in escaping from this dilemma: the only way of avoiding so glaring an absurdity, is to refer the invariableness of antecedence, the observed fact, to the will of the Deity as its cause; and this Dr. Brown has done. The Eternal is self-existent; and his volitions originate with himself; and, therefore, to make his will the cause of all changes, involves no contradiction, and is perfectly adequate: in this hypothesis, it is the power of the Highest which produces all effects; and to call the mere description of the circumstances of the change,

* The refutation of this same opinion exercised the acumen of Aristotle; and, perhaps, the length of the quotation will be excused in order to satisfy those who may be curious to remark the agreement of thought and words into which Dr. B. has fallen, after the lapse of twenty-two centuries. Εἰς δὲ τινες οἱ φασὶν εἶναι οἷον Μεγαρεῖκοι, ὅταν ἐνεργῇ, μόνον δύνασθαι, ὅταν δὲ μὴ ἐνεργῇ, μὴ δύνασθαι. οἷον, τὸν μὴ οἰκοδομῶντα, μὴ δύνασθαι οἰκοδομῆν. ὡς τὰ συμβαινόντα ἀποτὰ οὐ χάλειπον εἶναι. ὁ γὰρ οὗτος οἰκοδομὸς εἶναι εἰ μὴ οἰκοδομῇ. ἀδύνατον τὰς τοιαύτας εἶναι τεχνᾶς μὴ μανθάνοντα ποιεῖν, καὶ λαμβάνοντα, καὶ μὴ εἶναι μὴ ἀποβαλλόντα ποιεῖν. ἢ γὰρ λήθῃ ἢ παθεῖ τι ἢ χρόνῳ. οὐ γὰρ ὅτι τὸν γὰρ πρᾶγματός φθαζέντος... ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδ' αἰσθῆσιν ἔξει οὐδὲν ἂν μὴ αἰσθάνηται, μὴ δ' ἐνεργῇ. εἰ οὖν τυφλὸν το μὴ εἶναι οὐκ, πεφυκὸς δὲ καὶ ὅτι πεφυκός, καὶ εἰ ὡς οἱ αὐτοὶ τυφλοὶ εἶνόνται πολλὰς τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ κωφοὶ. εἰ οἱ ἀδύνατον το εἰσπρηγμένον δυναμῶς, το μὴ γινόμενον, ἀδύνατον εἶναι γενέσθαι.... αἱ γὰρ το εἶναι εἰσπρηγμένον καὶ το καθήμενον καθεδεύεται.—*Aristotele. Metaphysicorum, lib. vii. Opera, tom. ii. 231. Basilie, 1531.*

(which is the utmost that is expressed by telling us that the relation is invariable) power, by which has always been meant that which causes the change, has stronger claims to the appellation of an abuse of terms, than of anything else.

It may seem, however, that we have not gained much by reducing Dr. Brown's opinions to this—that all changes depend immediately upon him Him who calleth things that are not, as though they were: for “the power of God,” says Dr. Brown, “is nothing different from God.”* If the author mean that the power of Jehovah cannot exist independent of, or separate from himself, a very plain proposition is obscured by language which affects to convey something before unknown. But if that be intended which the language is best adapted to express, that the power of God is the same as God, or is God, the proposition is not only blasphemous, but also ridiculous. If the power of Jehovah be himself, may not his wisdom and his goodness be exalted with equal reason? and thus we will have as many Gods as there are attributes in the divine nature. Should this exaltation be extended no farther than to power, wisdom and goodness must be considered as the attributes of power. But we gladly leave a topic which we were induced to notice from having seen this proposition of Dr. Brown's, commended for its sententious brevity and justness: whereas, it is almost self-evident that a common notion is obscured through an affectation of novelty; or that the proposition is mere nonsense.

We have already noted our author's opinion as respects one of the sources of what he esteems the common error in relation to our idea of necessary connexion; and we have seen that the rejection of the “latency of power,” compels Dr. Brown to attribute all causation to that one Being, to whom even the “Inquiry” gives the titles of Almighty and Omnipotent. Dr. Brown is, if possible, still less successful in tracing the vulgar notions on this subject, to the influence of the arbitrary forms of language. This is to suppose that the forms of language were laid down previously to their being used: the conceptions must have existed before the words which express them, or the words would not have had an origin; and this mistake of Dr. Brown is the more remarkable from his having clearly seen the error of the nominalists. The forms of language then, are corroborative of the correctness of the opinions assailed by Dr. Brown; since they prove the agreement of all nations in ascribing action to some objects, and passion to others. The words “connected,” “conjoined,” “bond of union,” were used as significant of the

* Inquiry, p. 64. Lectures on Phil. Human Mind, vol. i. p. 86,

relation of cause to effect, only in consequence of some preconceived notion ; and, therefore, could not have had any efficiency in giving rise to this notion. Neither is it more true, that "the constant search and frequent detection of causes before unknown, thus found to intervene between the more manifest sequences of phenomena," has any influence in causing us to imagine some secret tie between the parts of every series, since the belief of this "intermediate something" must have originated the "constant search;" and without this persuasion, mankind would never have sought after anything beyond the obvious phenomena.

Dr. Brown's theory appeared so unquestionable to himself, that he has not occupied any of his pages with the refutation of objections to it: in some observations on the opinions of Mr. Hume, however, he takes occasion to discuss the "strange" idea of Dr. Reid, that Mr. Hume's theory of necessary connexion would prove night to be the cause of day, and day the cause of night:* and we must say, that Dr. Brown has not fairly met this argument against the definition of a cause as an invariable antecedent. He has expatiated beautifully on the morning dawn and evening twilight; but has avoided the very point of the objection. Certainly the force of Dr. Reid's example of invariable antecedence without causation, does not rest upon the length of the interval which may elapse between darkness and broad daylight. There is a point of time when the first rays of light diminish the obscurity at any place; and then there is a change:—a certain shade of darkness, if we may be allowed the phrase, is followed by a shade less deep; and this again by one still less gloomy, till the dazzling splendour of light scatters glory and joy throughout the land. If the twilight be thus divided into instants, there will be a change every instant; and these successive states are invariably and immediately antecedents and consequents of each other, and, therefore, causes of each other, according to the theory of Dr. Brown and Mr. Hume. If our earth were of a perfectly regular and smooth surface, and there were no refracting medium between it and the sun, or a medium of uniform density, day and night would succeed each other instantaneously: yet we may safely say that no one would then imagine day to be the cause of night, nor night the cause of day.

With another example of invariable antecedence we are all familiar in the affections of our organs of sense, and the consequent perceptions of the mind. The organic affection, however,

* Inquiry, p. 170.

is not invariably followed by the corresponding perception : nevertheless, Dr. Brown calls the impression upon the organ the cause of the state of mind, which, in his phraseology, is perception. In like manner, certain words are the causes of the ideas of the mind when we peruse any writing. Now it seems to us that both these examples contradict Dr. Brown's theory ; and that to impute causation to the organic affections or the words of a book, is entirely unauthorized. If thoughts be acts of the mind, we may speak of the occasions of our thoughts ; but their cause is the mind itself.

We have wished to shun minute and verbal criticism ; and have endeavoured to collect our author's meaning from a careful comparison of the various passages where it was most pointedly expressed : yet we cannot leave this part of Dr. Brown's speculations without bringing to the test some assertions, of which, we think the correctness to be more than questionable. "When we say of any thing that it has been followed, is followed, and will always be followed by a particular change, and say at another time, that it has the power of producing that change, we do not make the slightest difference of affirmation ; we only alter the words in which our unaltered meaning is conveyed."* Now, whether we speak accurately or not, it is very plain that the phrases quoted above are not equivalent. In the one, we ascribe the change to the antecedent as the cause of its existence ; in the other, we merely affirm that the change is, and always will be subsequent to the antecedent : while it must be admitted that the cause of this subsequence may be an act of the Almighty's will, or a decree which has been from eternity. In the pre-established harmony of Leibnitz, the movements of the body are supposed to be adjusted to the acts of the mind, so as to answer all the phenomena, while the acts of the mind and the motions of the body are completely independent of each other, each series separately depending on the appointment of the Creator. In this hypothesis, it would be very absurd to call the mental desire the cause of the motion of a limb, though perfectly unexceptionable to say that the desire has been, is, and always will be followed by the corporeal movement. It is not to be denied, we assume, that the Creator might have endued objects with certain properties, by the agency of which they may originate changes ; and the only question which can need our attention is, whether this has been done, or whether the fiat of Jehovah himself intervenes in every change ; either immediately, as in the system of occa-

* Inquiry, p. 67.

sional causes ; or once for all time, as in the system of Leibnitz. Dr. Brown's theory, as we have already had occasion to remark, most frequently accords with the last mentioned system, though sometimes it seems to be difficult to make his language conform to any theory. "We speak of effects and causes as truly different, since it is unquestionably not the same thing to *follow* uniformly a certain change, and to *precede* uniformly a certain change."* In this passage we have described, a change, as something between an antecedent and consequent : but how it came there, we are unable to determine. There is no efficiency in the antecedent of the change, and of course none in the consequent : nor does this change appear to be provided for in the system of pre-established antecedents and consequents ; and we can reduce it to order only by an interposition of creative power. Non tali dignus vindice nodus.

We are anxious that the conclusion should not be drawn from the freedom of our criticism on some parts of Dr. Brown's writings, that we lightly esteem what he has done for metaphysical science : we value very highly the Lectures on the Philosophy of the Human Mind, though, as a whole, the work is very incomplete ; and have felt less restraint in our strictures, because that there is greater danger of our being deceived into too favourable an opinion of an *exemplar imitabile vitius*, than of the opposite error. Dr. Brown has introduced analysis into the investigation of mental science, to a greater extent and more successfully than had been done by any of his predecessors ; and if those who read his lectures, should derive from the employment nothing more than that disposition to search every subject to the bottom, and to separate the elements of every compound, which shines so conspicuously in almost every page, they will have made an acquisition of which it is impossible to exaggerate the value.

Dr. Brown's contribution to the science of the human mind, would have been, however, incomparably more deserving of our gratitude, if the excellent author had not been trammelled by a preconceived system ; and had been at liberty to follow truth and exhibit her unadorned loveliness without the factitious garb and attitudes of a theory. The Inquiry into the Relation of Cause and Effect, is at the foundation of Dr. Brown's metaphysical speculations ; and its consequences are followed out with the most fearless confidence in their accuracy. In one of the sections of the Inquiry,† the decision is calmly announced that mind is not more active than matter ; and we are left to draw

* Lectures on the Philosophy of the Human Mind, vol. i. p. 71.

† The fourth of part first.

the obvious inference from this proposition, that neither mind nor matter are or can be possessed of activity; and, that since "the beginning of days," material changes and mental changes have been rolling onward under one invariable necessary law. Indeed, philosophical precision would require of the partisans of this hypothesis to reject the word "change" as meaningless. The same opinions, as we have seen, were carried by our author into the philosophy of the mind; and the phenomena were made to bend to the results of the "Inquiry." The application of its proper object to an organ of sense is immediately followed by perception; and the perception is again followed by another mental phenomenon: here then is invariable antecedence; and the perception is therefore named an affection of the mind: and the notion which follows the perception, a state of the mind.—The organic affection is the cause of the perception, and the perception is the cause of the subsequent state. The term, emotion, found favour with Dr. Brown, because it did not conflict with his previous opinions.

The writings of Dr. Brown very frequently display their author as too ambitious of the reputation of a discoverer; and sometimes, we are persuaded, the credit of originality is claimed when what is original consists chiefly in words.* We are sorry to be obliged to mark a disposition to criticise the errors of preceding authors without an equal willingness to do justice to their merits. It was certainly incumbent on Dr. Brown, in the station which he filled, to point out to his pupils what he esteemed to be erroneous in the writings which had reputation; and this duty was really more imperative in proportion as the fame of any individual was exalted: but Dr. Brown manifestly delighted in showing, by a severe scrutiny of the works of his predecessors, how little had been done for mental science before his own labours; and in the case of Dr. Reid, at least, has been unjust in his strictures. We do not wish to violate the maxim "*De Mortuis*," but it is becoming, and indeed obligatory on all, to vindicate the reputation of departed worthies against the attacks of their survivors, and even against those of each other.

The merit of overthrowing the ideal system is adjudged to Dr. Reid by Mr. Stewart: and the quotations which Dr. Brown has made from authors who wrote before Dr. Reid, are not conclusive against his claim to this honour. Passages may be selected from the writings of almost any author, which, when separated from their connexion, will appear to convey sentiments nearly

* A very remarkable instance may be seen in the note on Miracles, which is appended to the Inquiry. We might make frequent specifications in the Lectures.

the reverse of those which were intended ; and therefore, although a few paragraphs may be culled from the works of Des Cartes and others, apparently consistent with the more enlightened views of the present day in relation to perception, we cannot thence infer that such was the belief of those eminent men. We have never thought that Locke was an idealist, although there are many parts of his *Essay on the Human Understanding* that can be reconciled to no other theory ; perhaps those who reverence the great Locke less than ourselves would say, with some plausibility, that there are many passages consistent with the true theory of perception. If then Locke's vision was not clear on this subject, and we see him wandering, occasionally, from the regions of truth into those of conjecture and hypothesis, there is every reason to believe that his sagacity advanced far before those who preceded him, or even his contemporaries ; and that they were still more bewildered. Besides, it is a singular circumstance, and may seem incredible to some that Dr. Brown's own opinions do not differ extremely from those of the Idealists. We are safe, at least, in the position that they are not so far removed from Idealism as the doctrines of Reid ; and this may partly explain why Dr. Brown is disposed to view, more favourably, Des Cartes and his school. We have no reference, at present, to a resemblance already exhibited, relative to the formation of ideas ; nor do we charge Dr. Brown with the folly of supposing images as objects of the mind when we think : but Dr. Brown indisputably uses language which seems to deny the perception of external objects by the mind ; and thus the mind perceives only the organic affections, whether these be images or agitations of the medullary substance, or any thing else, is comparatively of little import.

There are proofs in abundance of the assertion just made in Dr. Brown's confutation of Dr. Reid's "supposed" improvements in the science of mind, as also in other places. We wish to avoid extracts, except when they are absolutely indispensable ; and shall, therefore, detain our readers with but a single passage :—

" So far, indeed, would the confutation of this hypothesis (the Ideal) as to perception, be from lessening the force of the scepticism as to the existence of matter, that of two sceptics, one believing every thing, with respect to ideas, which Dr. Reid supposed himself to have confuted, and the other believing ideas to be mere states of his mind, there can be no question that the former would be the more easy to be overcome, since his belief would already involve the existence of SOMETHING separate from the mind ; while the other might maintain that all of which he was conscious, was the mere series of affections of his own mind, and

that beyond this consciousness he could know nothing.* All that remains then to supply the place of logical demonstration is the paramount force of universal and irresistible belief. *We are conscious, indeed, only of the feelings that are the momentary states of our own mind : but some of these it is absolutely impossible for us not to ascribe to causes that are external and independent of us.*"†

Dr. Brown here informs us that the mind knows nothing more than its own consciousness, and that we believe in the existence of a material world, because this belief is inseparably linked by the constitution of our nature to certain feelings of the mind ; and, in fact, this necessarily follows from viewing perception as a state of mind. Such is not the doctrine of Reid : the mind believes that there is a material world, because it perceives it ; and, therefore, when Dr. Reid had overthrown the hypothesis of ideas as objects of perception, the evidence of the existence of a material world was as strong as that of the mind's own existence : since we may call the existence of the mind itself into doubt with as much reason as the accuracy of its powers. The mind may, with the same propriety, question whether the mind exists, as whether that exists which the mind perceives to exist. To ask why the mind believes in the existence of that which it perceives, is sheer nonsense : it believes it because it perceives it ; and no more valid reason can be given for our belief of any truth. Dr. Brown's animadversion then on Dr. Reid is entirely groundless ; as it supposes Dr. Reid's views of perception to be coincident with his own ; which is very far from being the fact. Dr. Brown's speculations much more nearly resemble those of the persons whose errors Dr. Reid exposed, than the doctrines of Reid himself.

There is an equally unfounded criticism of Dr. Brown‡ on a distinction made by Dr. Reid, between those properties of bodies which are perceived by the mind, and those, the existence of which is only known from their effects, and this stricture must also be referred to an imperfect acquaintance with Dr. Reid's theory of perception : or perhaps more truly to Dr. Brown's hypothesis, that all properties of matter equally operate upon, or affect the mind : and, consequently, the mind can know nothing more than the impression made upon itself. The primary qualities of bodies cause certain sensations which are felt, and also the secondary ; and, in this particular, primary and secondary qualities of matter are similar : but the primary qualities, the causes of the sensations, are perceived directly by the mind ; the secondary are not ; and in this they are different. " They are distinguished by this," says Dr. Reid, " that of the primary, we

* Lectures, vol. i. p. 356.

† Ib. p. 357.

‡ Ib. pp. 320-323.

have a direct and distinct notion ; but of the secondary, only a relative notion. They (the secondary) are conceived only as the unknown causes or occasions of certain sensations with which we are well acquainted." Dr. Reid labours, at some length, to prove that our notion of primary qualities is also relative to the affections, produced in us, exactly as our notion of secondary qualities. This is in the very spirit of the ideal system, that the mind can be informed only of the impressions received from external objects. There are other groundless strictures on Dr. Reid's opinions to be found in Dr. Brown's works ;* and in one passage, particularly, there is a degree of self-gratulation and triumph on the supposed discovery of a blunder which causes our author to forget himself so far as to use indecorous language, which reminded us of the glorying of the schoolboy when he imagines that he has caught his teacher tripping.†

But we have already been carried farther than was our intention when we commenced this article, and must bring it to a close. From a pretty careful perusal of his metaphysical writings,—the only works of Dr. Brown, with which we are acquainted, we think that he possessed an acute and inquiring mind : we do not believe that he was a profound thinker. Many of the Lectures exhibit traces of hasty composition, and left upon our mind the impression that the subject had not been thoroughly studied nor grasped as a whole before the author commenced the delivery of his thoughts upon it. Hence, we see ingenious solutions of difficulties which have been thrown out in the heat of the moment without having been fully examined ; and sometimes beams of light are scattered through long, rambling disquisitions, in which the author appears not to have had a sufficiently steady view of his subject to give unity to his discussion. We know nothing of Dr. Brown, except so far as knowledge of an author may be deduced from his writings, and we may be in error in our estimation of his attainments ; but we cannot profess ourselves among those who consider either his talents or acquisitions of the first order : his station in the latter respect is not so high with us as in the former. There appears to be a want of ripeness in Dr. Brown's speculations ; and we look in vain for the thorough scholarship of Dugald Stewart. We have remarked in the former part of this article, an instance or two of actual deficiency ; and we remember, at present, another which occurs in the "Inquiry into the Relation of Cause and Effect." "It may be proved unanswerably, as far as mere logic is concerned, that no portion of the earth's surface, however small in appearance, can ever be traversed by a moving body, however rapid its mo-

* Lectures, vol. i. pp. 142-350.

† Inquiry, pp. 85-86.

tion may be : for to pass from one point to another, some time, however small, is requisite ; and therefore, since the space supposed is infinitely divisible, to pass over an infinite number of parts must require an infinite number of times."* Dr. Brown did not perceive that granting his premises, the conclusion is not founded ; for the time required to traverse one of the infinitely small divisions, would also be infinitely small ; and the sum of an infinite series of infinitely small quantities is a finite quantity. These errors, it is true, are in a science which is not very intimately connected with that which was peculiarly the object of Dr. Brown's pursuits ; yet, a person who assumes the province of correcting mathematicians in the metaphysics of their studies, (and we consider the section,† of which this is the design, as one of the ablest of the "Inquiry,") should beware of stumbling on the very threshold of that science. In the philosophy of the mind, however, Dr. Brown does not display that familiarity and grasp of power which distinguish the master spirits ; and which would, perhaps, have been more visible in himself at a more mature age. We are under the impression,—whence received, we know not, unless from his works—that Dr. Brown was called at a comparatively early period of life, to fill the high station which he occupied with so much eclat ; and this may account for the resemblance which his Lectures bear to the prize essays of an aspiring and ingenious mind. But we must have done : we do not know that we could express our opinion of Dr. Brown's scholarship more precisely, though we might less fancifully, than by saying that he appears only to have snatched glances of the Penetralia of the temple of science, while the gates were swinging to and fro in the wind.

ART. V.—*Dictionnaire des Rimes*. Par P. RICHELET. à Paris. 1762.

"Quoi ! encore des Racans !" was the exclamation of the lady of Gournay, when the marquis made his appearance. We trust, however, that none of our readers will betray the like impatience at beholding a second article on the origin of rhyme. But if any one should, we have at least the satisfaction of smiling *incognito*, at the thoughts of that discipline of the slipper, so liberally bestowed by our Gascon lady on the real Marquis de Ra-

* Inquiry, p. 209.

† Sec. 4, part 3.

can. We take leave, however, by way of prolegomena, to this our second disquisition, to say, that we covet not the "*jus trium liberorum*."

Perhaps we ought not to regret having dedicated our first article entirely to the claims of Arabic literature ; for we have been ever since upon a voyage of discovery, and have certainly satisfied ourselves more completely than before, that an hypothesis adopted more than twenty years ago, is, in the main, correct. We proceed, therefore, at once to develop our views, which are contained in the following proposition. The modern world is no more indebted to the Moors of Spain, for the invention and use of rhyme, than to the Phœnicians ; but it is due, both in the south and north of Europe, to the northern nations in connection, more especially in the south, with the Christian Latin poets of the fourth century, and to their successors.

Is it not singular that many distinguished writers should have devoted much time and attention to this inquiry, and should still have left the question in uncertainty ? With the privilege of access to all the requisite authors in the original languages, and with the advantages of a correspondence all over Europe, her scholars do not seem to have done more, than might have been expected from us in America. Even Ginguéné does little more than repeat what had been said by previous writers, especially by Andrès. He adopts the Abbé's opinion in favour of a Moorish origin, founded upon the same reasons, with the addition of the "envoi." To the views presented in our third number, we have nothing to add ; except, that as we have there, at least to our own satisfaction, disproved *negatively*, this claim to a Saracen parentage, so we trust that we shall now be able to disprove it *positively*, by tracing this foundling to the home of her parents, the ancient, *unwritten* poetry of Pagan Northern Europe, and the *written* verse of the *Christian Latin* writers of the fourth century.

The Barbaric origin of rhyme is sanctioned by the opinion of many highly respectable writers. Lord Roscommon, in his *Essay on Translated Verse*, writes thus :—

" For rhyme in Greece or Rome, was never known,
 'Till by barbarian deluges o'erflown :
 Subdued, undone, they did at last obey,
 And change their own for their invader's way.
 I grant that from some mossy, idol oak,
 In double rhymes our Thor and Woden spoke."*

* Rhyme is found in the British poetry, at the earliest period, in those Druidical triplets, called *Englyn Mihw*, or the Warrior's Song, in which every verse is closed with a consonant syllable. 1 *Wart.* 1 *Dis. Note i.*

Dryden, in his fourteenth Epistle, addressed to Kneller, says :

"Rome raised not art, but barely kept alive,
And with old Greece unequally did strive :
Till Goths and Vandals, a new Northern race,
Did all the matchless monuments deface :
Then all the muses in one ruin lie,
And rhyme began t' enervate poetry."

"La Rime, ainsi que les fiefs et les duels, doit son origine à la Barbarie de nos ancêtres. Les peuples dont descendent les nations modernes, et qui envahirent l'empire Romain, avoient déjà leurs poètes, quoique barbares, lorsqu'ils s'établirent dans les Gaules, et dans d'autres provinces de l'empire. Comme les langues dans lesquelles ces poètes sans étude composaient, n'étoient point assez cultivées pour être manœuvrées suivant les règles du mètre, comme elles ne donnoient pas lieu à tenter de le faire, ils trouvèrent qu'il y auroit de la grâce à terminer par le même son deux parties du discours, qui fussent consécutives ou relatives et d'une égale étendue."^a

In the Dict. des Sc.^b we have the following passage—"Runes (Poes. Goth.) Ou nommoit ainsi les poètes Goths, qui s'étoient établis dans les Gaules. Ce sont ces Poètes qui introduisirent dans les vers la consonance : et leurs ouvrages en vers s'appellèrent runes, ensuite rimes. Cette nouveauté fut si bien reçue dans la poésie vulgaire, qu'on voulut ridiculement y assujettir la poésie Latine." The author of the Literary History of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries^c says, on this subject, "the Gothic Runes are generally admitted to afford a nearer and simpler origin," than Moorish literature.

In the Glossary of Du Cange,^d is the following curious passage, which, it seems to us, can only be understood of those *rhyming* poets, who had settled in Gaul. "Rimarius. S. Columbanus, Epist. 5 & S. Hieronymus in suo hoc idem de Pascha opus collaudavit catalogo de hæc Lunæ ætate vituperando disputat, qui contra *Gallicanos Rimarios* de Paschâ ut ait, errantes horrendam intulit sententiam, dicens, &c. Nostri *Rimeurs* vulgò vocant Poetastros. Sed an ea hîc sit notio, non definio."

Fauchet, says Andrès, claims^e the invention of rhyme for the French (Francesi); but without the adduction of any reason for the opinion, if our Abbé is to be implicitly credited. Now, if

^a Du Bos. tom. i. P. 1. c. xxxvi

^c p. 118.

^b Tom. xiv. p. 436.

^d Du Cange, tom. iv. p. 1448.

^e Tom. ii. p. 196.

Fauchet meant, what must be presumed, viz. that the Gothic Runers, who had settled in France, were the authors, we are more disposed to credit him than the Arabic theory. Andress, if it is true, quotes Fauchet as admitting, that the oldest French poetry (i. e. *still remaining and in writing*) is only of the middle of the twelfth century. But Ginguenè's obviously explains what Fauchet means, when he says,—“Fauchet fait remonter l'usage de la rime, jusqu' à la langue thioise ou théotisque, qui est la source de la nôtre. Il rapporte un long passage d'Otfrid, moine de Wissembourg écrivain du neuvieme siecle, qui avait traduit en vers thiois les Evangiles.”

Pasquier, in his “Recherches de la France” (l. viii. c. 3), relies on the same proof to show that rhyme was then known in Germany, whence it passed into France. Levêque de la Ravalliere, la Borde, and the Abbé le Bœuf deny the position of Andres.

“Les uns,” says Ginguenè,⁴ attribuent l'invention aux Goths, d'autres aux Scandinaves.” It is really curious to read the positive and explicit authorities collected by Andres himself, in favour of the Gothic origin of rhyme, which he admits to be more probable than the claims of Latin verse. As a sound critic, setting a right value on the testimony of men, far better acquainted with northern antiquities than himself, he ought to have preferred their judgment to all his speculations on the alleged similarity between Arabic and Provençal poetry. Even according to his own account,⁵ Wotton, Hickes, Junius, Stephens, and others, (ed altri) as well as Muratori, Sarmiento and Sanchez, have held the opinion, that rhyme has a Gothic origin, and have given their facts to support their opinions. We may remember with what goût the Abbe exclaimed, at the prospect of a Saracen derivation through Sicily, “ed i Siciliani appunto erano dominati dagli Arabi;” but here we find Muratori, a far

f Tom ii. p. 151.

g Hist. Lit. d'Ital. tom. i. p. 239.

A Hist. Lit. d'Italie, tom. i. p. 237.

i “Vuolsi comunemente che i popoli del Settentrione usassero da tempi antichi la rima ne loro versi. Il Sarmiento cita e Guglielmo Wotton, il quale nell' estratto, che fece del tesoro delle lingue settentrionali de' Giorgio Hickes dà notizia di varii poemi rimati ne' dialetti della Gotica lingua; e il Giunio, il quale al principio del suo Glossario Gotico, da parimente ragguaglio de molti altri poemi rimati; e lo Stefania, ed altri, che parecchie rime in lingua Gotica ci presentano. A tutti noti sono i poemi rimati in lingua Teutonica del Monaco Otfrido, tanto citati à parlarsi della volgare poesia. Da quali esempi conchiude el Muratori che la rima, oltre i ritmi Latini, pote' introdursi altresì nella Italia pel mezzo di Normanni, i quali lungo tempo dominarono nella Sicilia è però facilmente ebbero campo di colà recare quest' ornamento della settentrionale poesia; è il Sarmiento ed il Sanchez fanno derivare da Goti la rima ne' versi Latini e negli Spagnuoli singolarmente delle provincie più boreali.”

higher authority on such a question, admitting a northern derivation through the Normans, who held Sicily from 1072 to 1298. Of such writers, Andrès cannot say, in the language of Burke, "they must take it for granted, that we attend much to their reasons, but not at all to their authority;" for their authority consists of facts.

Andrès^k relies much on the remark of Dalin, that the Scalds of Norway and Sweden composed in sapphic verse without rhymes: and that *these* were introduced into the north by Einar Scowluson, poet of Swerker Rolson, King of Sweden, about the year 1150. We may admit this to be true: yet still the question remains, whence did Scowluson himself derive the knowledge of rhyme, which was familiarly known in Germany several centuries before. Shall we concede that he received it from the Arabians, through the Spaniards and Troubadours, when the derivation from Germany is so obvious and probable? The earliest Scald lived after the year 750.^l Egill's ransom, the oldest Runic ode extant, is after 870.^m The extract from the Voluspa, in Cottle's Edda,ⁿ certainly is not in rhyme; yet Egill's ransom is.^o This supports Dalin's opinion; for the Edda received its present form, between the ninth and the eleventh century.^o

We have said that rhyme was well known in Germany, before the time of Scowluson. We give the proofs. The Abbé Masiéu says, that the oldest rhymed poetry of all Europe is by Otfrid or Afrid,^p "religieux de Vissembourg; c'est du Franc

^k Tom. ii. p. 199.

^l 1 Wart. 1 Diss.

^m 1 Ell. p. 35. It must have been between 924 and 941. 1 Wart. 1 Diss. a 1, T. A. S. 340. 365.

ⁿ p. 31.

^o 1 Schleg. 265.

^o 1 Wart. H. E. P. 22:

^p "Quatre vers que Fauchet cite de la préface de cette traduction d'Otfrid dont il a parlé, sont en langue thiosise et rimés deux à deux.

"Nu vull ih scriban unser heil
Evangeliono deil,
Sa vuir nu hiar Bigunnun
In Frankisga Zungun."

C'est à dire, selon Fauchet,

"Je veux maintenant écrire notre salut,
Qui consiste dans l'Evangile;
Ce que nous avons commencé
En langage Français."

Warton remarks, vol. i. p. 8, N. g. that Otfrid's dedication consists of four-lined stanzas in rhyming couplets; but the first line of every stanza begins, and the last line ends with the same letter. Flaccus Illyrius published Otfrid's work at Basil, 1571: Schilterus, afterwards, more correctly as our Professor thinks.

tout pur,"^q and Schlegel^r in speaking of the same work, (Otfrid's translation or rather abridgment of the Gospels in verse,^s made about 870^t) remarks, "that this and other like performances are valuable, because these Christian poets did not *invent a form of writing* for themselves; but were content with copying and adopting *that* of the *heroic* poems of the preceding ages." The war-song of Lewis, King of the East Franks, (written A. D. 883^u) proves that such a form of versification was familiar to the *common people*. This fact could not have been fairly gathered from the production of a monk, though agreeing in all circumstances with the form of the war-song.^v Below, are two couplets from this song.^w

Schlegel^x mentions also, that the love songs of the different countries of Europe agreed in one thing, that *they were all in rhyme*: and he says that as early as the reign of Lewis the Pious, (814 to 840) it was found necessary to address an edict to the Nuns of the German cloisters, admonishing them to restrain their inordinate passion for singing love-songs (myne-lieder.)^y Now, it is obvious, as rhyme was at that early day, the form of the war-song and of the love-song in Germany, and had even become the amusement of the cloister, it must have had a far more ancient date, than the beginning of the ninth century. But if we grant these mynelieders, the war-song and the verse of Otfrid to have been written at the *same* time, it is still more plain, that the use of rhyme in three compositions of *such different* character, at the *same* time, is a conclusive proof that the form was familiarly known to the people, the soldiery and the cloister. It is no argument against these views, that the Nibelungen in its elder form, of the ninth or tenth century, is in prose. The most ancient compositions, in all ages and countries, are *poetical in spirit*, but it is equally true that they have the *form of prose*. The poem of the Nibelungen is believed by Sismondi to have existed immediately after Attila;^z and

q Dict. des Sc. tom. xiv. p. 294.

r Vol. i. 268.

s 4 Hall. 237.

w Blut schien en wangen
Kampf lustigen Franken."

"There were red cheeks in the ranks
Of the war delighting Franks."

"We can see from this, that the same old German custom, which is described by Tacitus, of inspiring the soldiers for action by a heroic song, was still preserved, after the lapse of many centuries, among the armies of the Teutonic people."

x 1 Schleg. p. 269.

z Tom. i. p. 30, and see 1 Wart. 1 Diss. N. b.

t Rees. Title Versific.

u 1 Wart. 1 Diss.

v 1 Schleg. p. 268.

"Lied war gesungen
Schlacht ward begonnen."

"Now the song was sung,
And the battle was begun."

y Id. ibid.

what may have been its primitive form, we know not. 'Pisano, in his epic, "La Italia Liberata da' Goti," preferred blank verse to rhyme; though the latter had been previously used by the Troubadours, and by Dante, Petrarch and Boccaccio. And why may not the author of the Nibelungen, in the ninth or tenth century, have preferred prose to rhyme, seeing that the latter had been degraded, as he might have thought, by the employment of it in religious poetry and in love-songs? The use of prose does not imply that rhyme did not previously exist; whilst the common, general use of this, necessarily implies the pre-existence of more ancient versification of the same character. And this opinion is justified by the fact, that when we find any settled custom among rude nations, we shall seldom err in assigning to it, an almost indefinite antiquity.

But whence could the rhyme thus previously existing, have been derived? Let us hear Monsieur Ginguené.^a "Otfrid dit dans le prologue Latin de sa traduction, que la langue thioise affecte *continuellement* la figure *omoiototeleuton*, c'est à dire, finissant de même; et que dans ces sortes de compositions, les mots cherchent toujours une consonance agréable." "Les Germains et les Francs écrivaient leurs guerres et leurs victoires, en rhytmes ou rimes. Charlemagne ordonna d'en faire un recueil. Eginhart nous apprend qu'il se plaisait singulièrement à les entendre, et ce n'étaient pour la plupart, que des vers thiois ou thiotiques rimés."^b Now Charlemagne died in 814; so that

^a Tom. i. p. 239.

^b We have not been able to find any relics of the "Cantilena Rollandi," though we had hoped that Du Cange would have furnished some. This was the war-song of the Normans at the battle of Hastings, (1 Hume, p. 193) and was sung by Taillefer, a celebrated knight, who, leading at once the song and the vanguard, perished in the action. Dr. Burney, in his History of Music, vol. ii. p. 276, has copied the French version of the "Chanson de Roland," by the Marquis de Paulmey, who has combined in his poem, all the fragments, which he had found in the ancient Romances. Whether the fragments found by Paulmey were in rhyme, we know not; they probably were, as in that form, the song would be doubly acceptable to Charlemagne, on account of his passion for the rhymed war-song of Germany. Fabyan, in his Cronicle, 1583, fo. xciii. speaks also of this song as sung at the battle of Fountanet, in 941. "When the shote was spent, and the speres to shatteryd, then both hostes ranne togyther wyth *Rowlande's Songe*." This is the same song, of which an account is given in *Maistre Wace*, or *Gace's metrical romance Le Brut* (a free but excellent translation of Geoffrey of Monmouth's British History). The lines quoted by Du Cange (Gloss. tom. ii. p. 196) from the *Roman de Rou*, (from the "Histoire ou Roman des Ducs de Normandie," says Ritson on the authority of the Abbe de la Rue) differed little from those of *Wace*. We prefer the former.

"Taillefer qui moult chantoit,
Sus un cheval, qui tost alloit,
Devant eus alloit chantant
De l'Allemagne et de Rollant,
Et d'Olivie, et de Vassaux,
Qui moururent en Rainschevaux."

beyond doubt, as the heroic poems collected by him, were in rhyme, they establish a far higher antiquity for this species of verse, than his own age. Indeed, when we remember that these were the popular heroic tales, handed down by tradition, and collected by Charlemagne, (who was to the German bards, what Solon was to Homer and the Homeridæ,^c) we cannot doubt that rhyme must have been, to use Sismondi's expression as to Arabic rhyme, "dès la plus haute antiquité," familiar to the Germanic nations.

Traditionary rhyme having then so ancient a source, as we have already seen, let us now follow the invaders, and trace the connection between the Gothic rhyme and that of modern Italy. From the manner, in which the Latin historian Jornandes acknowledges his obligations to the heroic poems of the Goths, there is great reason to believe that he, or rather the authors, whom he transcribed, had not barely heard these poems recited, but saw them committed to writing at the court of Theodoric. Jornandes was himself of Gothic descent, and wrote his history in 552. Now, it is true, that the Goths were in turn conquered by Roman arts and manners; but it is very certain that multitudes of them settled in Italy, and that chiefly, through their influence, Latin ceased to be the spoken language. It was undergoing changes long before the coming of the Goths, for the corruption of the language had commenced several centuries earlier.* The new language arose from the intermixture of the Barbarian and Roman tongues, just as the new population sprang from the domestic and social intercourse of the old inhabitants and the new comers. The majority, that is the natives, contributed, of course, the greatest *number of words*; but the emigrant influence was predominant in forming the *character* of the new language, by keeping out of it, effectually, the peculiarities of the Latin tongue. That the Goths would still have preserved, for some time at least, their traditionary poems, seems unquestionable. But during the changes in the vulgar tongue of Italy, all vestiges of Latin poetry, such at least as it is known to us, must have disappeared among the people. We question, indeed, whether the vulgar of Italy ever had any poetry, traditionary or otherwise, in common use, constructed on the principles of clas-

c 1 Schleg. p. 256.

d 1 Schleg. p. 254.

* Sulpicius Apollinaris, who lived in the middle of the second century, boasts that he was the only person who could then understand the History of Sallust: (*Gin-guené* tom. i. p. 7.) and Aulus Gellius, who lived at the same time, abounds with lamentations over the decay and corruption of letters.

sic verse. And we think so more especially, because the States of Italy were not allowed to speak the Latin tongue publicly.^f

It seems to us then, that the songs of the Goths must have given a character to the popular poetry of the newly formed language of Italy; since this must have resembled Latin, in the elements of versification, much less than the Gothic dialect. We could not expect any of the vulgar verse, thus arising, to be perpetuated in writing, not only because the common people could neither read nor write, but because the state of confusion, in which Italy lay for centuries, is a sufficient reason. Hence also the written copies of the Gothic poems soon ceased to exist in that form, in any condition or rank of society; and no influence of Theodoric or of Amalasonta could have preserved them much beyond their own day. But though the poems may have perished, the principle of rhymed versification would have been easily preserved in the vulgar songs of the people—especially if they were unacquainted with the classic forms of versification.. These, in turn, must have experienced a variety of changes in successive centuries; but they could scarcely after the fifth have exhibited any national characteristics; for Italy had nothing national left, being little more than the battle-field of neighbouring States. Hence we conclude that rhyme would be retained only in the rustic verse of the peasant: and this, we readily perceive, would not be preserved in the works of authors. Yet still the principle of rhyme, as well as the familiar verse, in which it was first known to them as children, could not but preoccupy the minds of the earliest poets, when composing, whether orally or in written verse, in their vernacular language. Hence also rhyme, when it first appeared in writing would not be claimed as an invention of the writer, but would be used, as a matter of course, like the hexameter in the earliest Grecian poetry. Our inference then is, that we can more readily conceive how the rhymed poetry of Christian Europe arose from the rhymes of the Goths, than from those of the Arabians. We are in favour of a native growth; but as Europe has neglected their poetry, Andr  s would have the Arabians exclaim, in imitation of Dennis against the stage-players—"That's my thunder—! how these rascals use me! they will not have my play, yet steal my thunder."

On similar principles, we think the earliest Spanish and Provençal rhyme may be traced to similar sources, much more naturally, than to Moorish poetry. Indeed, if we did not know that rhyme was familiar to the Arabians, before they entered

^f Cumanis eo anno potentibus permissum, ut public   Latine loquerentur, et pr  conibus Latine vendendi jus esset. Liv. lib. xl. c. 42.

Spain, we believe that Andrès himself, and all his fellow-labourers, could not have hesitated one moment in ascribing Arabic rhyme to the very fountains, to which we are tracing our own versification. Nor can we omit here the remark, that none of the champions of the Arabians, have shown us the time, when the supposed resemblances* came into vogue in Saracen poetry: and it is obvious that something, perhaps much, would depend upon that. But to return. The Goths in Spain and Southern France, were blended in language, institutions and manners with the Latin population, just as they were in Italy. New languages arose in each country: and as might have been expected, the heroic poems of the emigrant conquerors perished at periods far beyond the memory of man, in both peninsulas, leaving behind them in each, the principle of rhymed versification, to arise centuries after, as from a charnel-house, to a life of beauty, variety and glory, unimagined in the forests of Germany.

We shall close this review of the northern origin of rhyme with an extract from our author's *Histoire De la Rime*, prefixed to his rhyming Dictionary. "Les Gots, quit ont toujours été de grands rimeurs se répandirent dans les Gaules. Ils y corrompirent le Latin, ils y firent force vers rimés, & obligèrent insensiblement les Gaulois de rimer à l'envi, & avec une ardeur toute nouvelle. La rime des lors fut plus en usage & elle s'introduisit dans les Hymnes de l'Eglise. Après, sitot que les Franks, qui estoient des peuples d'Allemagne se furent entièrement emparés des Gaules, ils leur donnèrent le nom de France. Ils mêlèrent pluseurs mots Franks au langage Gaulois et la rime s'y continua, parce que les Franks rimoient eux mêmes. On fit au sixieme siècle en faveur de l'un de nos Rois‡ quelques, vers qui se chantoient et se dansoient par tout, et qui, apparemment, estoient rimés. Il est très croyable qu'on rima aussi en langue vulgaire sous les autres Rois, & principalement sous Charlemagne, qui aimoit les vers avec passion. Le langage qui avoit cours etoit mêlé de Gaulois, de Franc & de Latin corrompu. Ce langage fut nommé Langage Romain, et l'on y composa de la poesie jusques vers l'an 1050. La langue venant alors à se defaire peu à peu de son air barbare, le siècle eut des poetes, qu'on appella, *Chantères & Trouvères*, & qui par la gentillesse de leurs rimes, portèrent les Espagnoles & les Italiens à les

* See third Number p. 50.

† Fauchet de la langue et poesie Française. Lib. i. c. 7.

‡ De quâ victoriâ carmen publicum juxta rusticitatem per omnium volitabat ora & femine canendo & plaudendo choro componebant. *Duchene Hist. de France*, Tom. i.

imiter. Le langage & la poesie, environ cent ans après, se polirent encore."

The conclusions, which we draw from what has been thus far said, on the subject of rhyme among the northern nations are these. (1) The use of rhyme, was known to them, before the arrival of the Moors in Spain. (2) If not known to them, at so early a date, yet it was certainly in use, before any possible communication could have taken place, between them and the Arabians, so as to account for its origin from this source. (3) It is very probable, the Goths laid the foundations of modern rhyme, in the vernacular languages of France, Spain and Italy; though the latin rhymed versification to be next examined, doubtless acted concurrently in producing the same effect. (4) If the northern nations did not send rhyme with their armies into the south and west of Europe, yet they could not have thence derived it, as mere channels for the transmission of Arabian rhyme; because there were no obvious means of communication at so early a day: above all, because the emigrants from the north to the south settled or perished there, and never returning, the inhabitants of their native woods could never have received from them any knowledge or improvement, acquired in Italy or the Roman provinces.* (5) If the northern people, neither had rhyme themselves, nor yet borrowed it from their southern neighbours, as links between them and the Moors; they must have received it from the latin poets, who are to be next considered.

We shall open this part of our subject with some preliminary observations. Although it is impossible to trace with historical accuracy, the rise and progress of this species of versification; yet we may gather many interesting particulars respecting it, some of which have not been noticed at all, or not in connection with our present inquiry, as far as we know.

That there was a *time when*, and a *person by whom*, rhyme was first used *designedly* in the Latin language, as a *distinct* species of versification, cannot be doubted. We can never know what person acted the like part, in Arabic or Persian literature, in the

* Muratori, Sarmiento & Sanchez (2 Andès, p. 199.) and the Dict. des Sciences (Tom. xiv. p. 436) suppose that the Latin rhymes were derived from the Goths.—This, however, is incredible. Latin rhyme is evidently the offspring of the fourth century, and the Goths did not invade Italy until the fifth: besides, the Goths had much to do with ecclesiastics, who must have known their language, in order to promote their conversion. Now, the Priests were already acquainted with rhyme, through the Christian poets and church hymns: and through them, therefore, rhyme might have passed to the Goths, settled in Italy, &c. but not for several centuries after to the Gothic people in their native wilds. If, however, the Goths had carried rhyme with them, each would assist the other in extending and perpetuating it, both in tradition and in writing. And this we believe to have been the true state of the case.

poetry of Northern Europe or in that of Provençal France. But, considering the series of Latin writers, who have come down to us, it does not seem a difficult task to determine the question, as to Latin rhyme. Let us then prepare the way for ascertaining the author of this invention, by some considerations intended to show, how rhyme may have been eventually adopted, as a peculiar species of versification.

"The first verses, of which we have any knowledge," says Bielsfeld, "are not written in distinct lines, but in continuance like ordinary prose,"^y of which a very curious specimen occurs in Aldhelm "de Laud. Virgin" where eighteen short rhyming lines occur, written as prose, and the Abbé Batteux^z tells us, in a note to his translation of the work of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, on the arrangement of words, that his author not only finds numerous instances of poetical rhythm in prose; but even of verses in disguise. "Nihil est in prosâ scriptum," says Quintilian, "quod non redigi possit in quadam versiculorum genera, vel in membra." And this, among the classics, seems to be pretty much what Andrès^a remarks of the Arabians, unless, indeed, he means to refer to such works, as the "Voyage de Chapelle et Bachaumont," or the "Voyage d'Eponne."—"La rima era talmente in uso, presso gli Arabi, fino da piu antichi tempi, che anche negli scritti prosaici si vede frequentemente adoperata." We are so little accustomed to attend to prose, except as such, that we do not notice numerous instances, which exist in all prose. That such sentences must occur in every language, is obvious, and more or less frequently, according to the greater or less facility, afforded by each language. Swift has written some odd verses (if verse they may be called), Mrs. Francis Harris's petition,^b consisting of entire prose sentences, of two, three or four lines, and rhyming only at the end of the sentence, and there is a very curious instance of the same kind, comprising twenty lines, in the Latin poetry of Alcuin. If these, instead of being separate, were printed as prose, we believe that not more than one out of hundreds of readers would notice the rhymes. Something similar to this were probably the rhyming periods of the ancients, referred to by Howard,^c and an account of which, extracted from Rees, will be found below.* The very term omoi-

^y Univ. Erud. vol. i. p. 184.

^z Tom. ii. p. 201.

^a Princ. de Literat. tom. vi. p. 195.

^b Vol. xiv. Wks. (Ed. of Scott) p. 52.

^c Vol. iii. Cyclop. p. 1092.

* Some authors will have it, that the English, French, &c. borrowed their rhyme from the Greeks and Latins. The Greek orators, they say, who endeavoured to tickle the ears of the people, affected a certain cadence of periods, which ended alike and called them, *ομοιοκαταληκτα*. The Latins, who imitated them, called these chiming terminations, *similiter desinentia*. This affectation increased, as the Latin

oteleuta is used by Ottfrid, as we have seen, for rhymes; and Fabricius^d evidently refers to correspondence of sounds, when he says, "omoioteleuta improbata et vitata a bonis poetis, probatur Aul. Gell. xviii. 8. & Juven. sat. 10, v. cxxii. & Casaub. Pers. p. 135. Scaliger^f gives us in his Poetics, some curious instances: as the *ἰσπεύουσιν εἰσέουσιν* of Homer, the *σάπια μῖα* of Thucydides, the *ilicibus sus* of Virgil, the *pares res* of Horace, the *malis lis* of Ausonius, and all remember the *ridiculus mus* in the Art of Poetry. The repetition of the identical sound, so immediately and remarkably, cannot be expected to occur very often; but the recurrence of *two* corresponding sounds, in the same line, is, we should say, not uncommon, of three more rare, and of four very seldom found, though occasionally met with, as in the following line of Aratus:—

"Τῖνονταί, χορυφαί τε βόλῳμαι πρὸς ἀκραί."

Such instances must be considered as purely accidental; but it is difficult to believe that they were not sometimes observed, though never designed by the writer. We are not surprised at the *lis lis* of Ausonius; but who would not have doubted whether it were possible to find in Virgil and Horace, the "*bus sus*" and the "*res res*" already mentioned. Doubtless, many of the instances, which we have referred to, were altogether accidental, and perhaps unnoticed: others, equally casual, were yet observed by the writer: and others again designed. When Cicero repeated his "*esse videatur*" so often, as to be condemned by good taste, he must have *chosen* to repeat: and when Martial wrote—

"Nullam dixerit esse nequiores,
Nullam dixerit esse Sanctiores,"

he must have been sensible of the iteration of the same words, and, of course, of the same sounds. The repetition then of the same or of similar sounds, immediately after or adjacent the one to the other, seems to have existed, and to have been, at times, matter of choice, at other times, of accident, among the Greek and Roman writers. The admission of the practice into their literature, as a matter of taste, seems hardly credible; yet Scaliger, adducing the examples of Terence, Horace and Homer, of

tongue declined; so that in the later Latin writers, scarcely any thing is more common than rhyming periods." This is undoubtedly connected with what the author of the Dialogue de causis corruptæ eloquentiæ tells us, "*Laudis, & gloriæ, & ingenii loco perique jactant cantari saltarique commentarios suos.*"

^d Bibl. Med. & Infim. Latine Leo. Note a.

^f Lib. ii. ch. 29 p. 165. & Lib. iv. ch. 41. p. 470.

Thucydides and Aristotle, against the judgment of Erasmus, concludes by the expression, "quorum auctoritate figura illa commendari possit.^g" And a modern writer of Latin or Greek might well justify himself by such examples, in the spirit of Budgell's sentiment,—

"What Cato did, and Addison approved,
Cannot be wrong."

Still, however, whether recommendable or not, we must expect to find repeated instances in the Greek and Latin writers.

Let us then turn to the classics, and we shall meet with as perfect rhymes, as in modern poets. Thus in the *Æneid* are these lines:—

"Ducere dona jube. Cuncti simul ore premebant
Dardanidæ, reddique viro promissa jubebant."^h

So in the Art of Poetry—

"Non satis est pulchra esse poemata, dulcia *sunt*,
Et quocunque volent, animum auditoris *agunt*."ⁱ

These lines occur in Lucretius—

"Nunc age, res quoniam docui non posse creari
De nihilo, neque item genitas ad nil revocari."^j

And the following in Lucans' *Pharsalia*—

"Crimen erit superis, et me fecisse nocentem;
Sidera quis mundumque velit spectare cadentem."^k

Nor are these rhyming terminations confined to the best authors, for we meet with the following curious instances among the minor poets, who do not certainly abound with more frequent instances of the *ὁμοιοτελέυτα* than Virgil and Homer.

In the *Diræ* of Valerius Cato,^l are these lines:—

"Hæc Veneris vario florentia sarta *decore*
Purpureos campos quæ pingit avena *colore*."

^g Bufalmaco, being asked by Bruno, how he might improve the expression of his paintings, advised him to represent his figures speaking by the aid of labels. This plesantry, intended as a quip, was adopted in good earnest by Bruno, and after him, by other painters. In like manner, these instances of carelessness or of sportive disregard of euphony, seem to have been so much admired by Ausonius, that he has written entire poems ending with monosyllables, in one of which every successive line begins with the monosyllable, that closes the preceding.—5 Coll. Pis. p. 134, 5.

^A Lib. 5, v. 368.

ⁱ v. 99.

^j lib. 1, v. 266.

^k lib. 2, v. 268.

^l Wernsdorf, Poet. Lat. Min. tom. 3, p. 4.

In Columella^m de cultu hortorum, are the following :—

“Sidereoque polo cedit lyra mersa profundo,
Veris ad adventum nidis cantaret hirundo.”

And in Martialⁿ is this epigram, rhyming by hemistichs, besides the final sounds, and all the rhymes being the same :—

‘Pugio quem curvis signat brevis orbita remis,
Stridentem gelidis hunc salo tinxit aquis.’

Nor is this singularity of occasional rhymes unknown in the Greek poets. In Theocritus, we find the following :—

Ἡνὸς γε μὲν ἀδεία καὶ ἡ Κυπρίσ γελαίσα
Λάδρη μὲν γελάισα, βαρὺν δ’ ἀνὰ θυμὸν ἔκκοισα. ^o

And in Anacreon’s Ode on Gold, are these verses :—

“Ἴν, ἀν Θανεῖν ἐπέλθῃ,
Λάβῃ τι, καὶ παρελθῇ.” ^p

In Homer also are these—

Αἰ δ’ ὅτ’ Ἀλεξανδροιο δόμον περικαλλὶ ἱκνῶτο,
Ἀμφίπολοι μὲν εἰσιῖτα δοῶς ἐπὶ ἔργα τραπονίῳ. ^q

In the life of Homer, ascribed to Herodotus, are the following lines, said there to be the first ever composed by Homer.

Ἄλδειςθες ξενίων κεχρημένον ἧδὲ δόμοιο,
Οἳ πάλιν αἰσινὴν Κυμὴν Ἐριώπιδα κοῦρη
Ναῖστε, Σαρδῆνης πόδα νείαπον ὑψικόμοιο
Ἀμβρόσιον πίνοντες ὕδωρ Δείου ποταμοῖο
Ἔρμον δινήεντος, ὃν ἀθάνατος τέκετο ζεύς.

In the epitaph of Moschus^r on Bion, we find three out of six lines rhyming together by hemistichs :

“Αἴτ’ Αἴ, ται μαλάχαι μὲν ἐπ’ ἀν κατὰ κῆπον ὄλωνται
Ἵς ἔρον αὖ ζῶντι, καὶ εἰς ἕτος ἄλλο φύονται.
Ἐυδομος εὖ μάλα μακρὸν ἀνέμμενα νήγρετον ἕπον.”

The modern English poets seldom admit as rhymes single unaccented or double syllables. But most of the rhymes in the classics, consist either of double syllables, like the second line quoted from Moschus, or of unaccented syllables, like the third from the same author. According to English rules, therefore,

^m Id. tom. 6, p. 50
^q Il. lib. 3, v. 421.

ⁿ Lib. 14, Ep. 33. ^o Id. 1, v. 94. ^p Od. 23, v. 4.
^r Herod. (Schwughaeuser’s Edit.) tom 4. p. 307.
^s Id. 3, v. 104, 106, 109.

we should find comparatively little rhyme, that would be admissible in grave and dignified composition. But if we go to the French school for precedent, we shall find abundance of good rhyme in the classics. Take for example, where the stress is not laid on the rhyming syllable, as in these lines from the *Lutrin*,

“ Dans le réduit obscur d’une alcove enfoncée,
S’élève un lit de plume, à grands frais amassée.”*

Or where the accent is so divided, between the last and the penult, or antepenult syllables of the line, that it is difficult to say which, if any one, is particularly accented, as in Boileau’s *Art of Poetry*;

“ Voulez vous sur la scène étaler des ouvrages,
Ou tout Paris, en foule, apporte ses suffrages.”†

It is obvious from the rhymes in Chaucer’s poetry, that the same practice prevailed in his day. Thus, in the Prologue to the *Canterbury Tales*, we read “*pilgrimage, corage—reson, conditoun—heathenesse, worthinesse—Palatie, Turkie—visage, usage—reverence, conscience—maistrie, venerie—langage, mariage—confession, absolution—penance, pitance—pouraille, vitalle.*” We doubt not that the pronunciation of English was still, in Chaucer’s day, deeply affected by the Norman pronunciation, as we see from the above, that the French orthography was very prevalent. If, in addition to this species of rhyme, we admit another poetical license, not uncommon with the French poets, viz. the use of the same word or syllable as a rhyme to itself, provided the meaning be different, (as though rhyme, as a species of versification, had any concern with the sense,‡) we shall find another class of instances among the ancient poets. Perhaps, also, if we knew the pronunciation of their languages, we should meet with many more, just as a person unacquainted with French, would be at a loss to conceive how *embrassements, soldats, corps, secrets, tresors*, could be rhymes to *vents, trepas, ressorts, frais, morts*. None of these, certainly, would an English ear suspect to be intended as rhymes. Even in English, there are terminations called half or imperfect rhymes, which, we are told, “the delicate ears of a Pope or an Addison, would

* Chant. 1, v. 57.

† Chant. 1, v. 11.

‡ “Rhyme,” says Bielield, “is made for the ear, and not for the eye: therefore, in all doubtful cases, that is to decide.” Vol. ii. *Univ. Erud.* p. 196. And yet Boileau and Racine, “les deux meilleurs versificateurs François,” as La Harpe calls them, acted on the received principle of their day, that a rhyme to the eye was admissible. Voltaire, says La Harpe, “qui rime bien moins richement que ces deux poëtes, est pourtant celui qui a insisté le premier, sur la nécessité de rimer, principalement pour l’oreille.”—*Cours de Lit.* tom v. p. 114.

scarcely have acquiesced in, if such rhymes were really a blemish;" but we certainly never feel the want of such, though hundreds of lines should be composed without them. We believe that the majority of readers would rather not have their company. When scattered at distant intervals, they are tolerable; but they become a nuisance, when fourteen lie together, in solid phalanx, as at the beginning of Congreve's translation of the eleventh satire of Juvenal: the rhymes of which are, "*feasts, guests—treat, state—worth, forth—jest, feasts—groan, town—blood, good—advice, choice.*" On such principles of poetical license, in English and French verse, we may then expect to find a far greater number of rhymes, in the Greek and Latin poetry, than we should have believed possible, as any one may easily discover, who will make the experiment.

Still, however, numerous as may be perfect and imperfect, double and single rhymes, in the Latin and Greek writers, we do not believe that they were designed. Ginguené,* citing two passages of three lines each, from Ennius, says, "Ciceron dans sa première Tusculane, cite deux passages du vieil Ennius, chacun de trois vers: les vers du premier finissant par trois verbes, terminés en *escere*, ceux du second par trois verbes, terminés en *ari*.† Ce ne peut avoir été une distraction du poëte, Il regardoit donc cette consonance comme un moyen de plaire, ou produire un effet quelconque."

We are very willing to believe, Ennius may have *noticed* these rhymes, after he had written them; but we should as soon believe, that the author of the Century of Triplet ænigmat‡ (sometimes ascribed to Lactantius) intended the twentieth and twenty-sixth to be in rhyme, as to admit the correctness of Ginguené's opinion. The truth is, nothing more readily escapes our notice, than adventitious circumstances, when we are looking at an object, "*diverso intuitu.*" We believe, that Heald, the translator of Casimir's beautiful Ode to his lyre, (his noblest ode in the opinion of Heron—*Let. on Lit. p. 293*) did not observe, nor do we believe, that one out of twenty readers of Drake's Literary Hours§ ever observed, that the second and fourth lines of the last

* Tom 1, p. 328.

† "*Cælum mitescere, arbores frondescere,
Vites lætificæ pampinis pubescere,
Rami baccarum ubertate incurvescere.*"

"*Hæc omnia vidi inflammari,
Priamo vi vitam evitari,
Jovis aram sanguine turpari.*"

Ennius in describing his birth-place, has a curious line rhyming by hemistichs:

"*Non sumus Romæci, qui fuimus ante Rudinei.*"

‡ Coll. Pisaur. tom. 5, p. 32.

§ Vol. ii. No. 25, p. 104.

stanza, end with the same word *away*. In like manner, not one out of hundreds of those, who have read or sung the hymn, beginning,—“Father of Mercies in thy word,” &c. has ever noticed that the rhyme of the second and third lines of the stanza are the same syllables, *delight, light*. We can readily believe that the Latin writers, who introduced rhymes, in the way heretofore mentioned, rarely noticed them, but may have been sometimes conscious of their presence : and possibly may not have rejected them, in one or two singular instances, though observed before they were actually written down. But we think the better opinion to be, that they were as little the result of design, as the irregular rhymes, which are found, in some instances, scattered profusely, yet obviously, without premeditation, as in Seneca’s obituary poem of sixty-one lines,* and in the *Adoneum vetus de Æneâ* preserved by Terentianus Maurus.† Some may perhaps suppose, that the occasional rhymes in the classics, may be referred to choice, in the same manner as we meet with two Spondees at the end of a hexameter, in the Ancient Poets ; and in our own, with an occasional triplet or Alexandrine. That rhyme may have been originally used, merely as an occasional ornament, either in parts of an entire poem, or in one small poem, as distinguished from others of a similar class, we readily admit. “Rhyme,” says Mr. Turner,‡ speaking of the poem of Judith, “seems to have been *occasionally* in the contemplation of the author.” He had just before quoted a passage of twenty-seven lines, of which the eight first are in rhyme, and he then cites five more from the same description, and many rhyming lines may be traced in the poem. But, it is clear, that the rhyme used, was only an occasional ornament, and quite distinct from the general metre or rhythm of the poem. “Layamon’s versification,” says Ellis,§ is no less remarkable than his language. Sometimes, he seems anxious to imitate the rhymes and to adopt the regular number of syllables, which he had observed in his original : at other times, he disregards both, either because he did not consider the laws of metre, or the consonance of final sounds, as essential to the gratification of his readers, or because he was unable to adopt them, throughout so long a work, from the want of models in his native language, on which to form his style. In the “Greco-Barbarous” translation of the story of Florius and Platzflora, Warton§ has given us three stanzas of eight lines each, the first of which is rhymed : that is the first four lines rhyme alternately, and the last four in couplets ; while

* Matt. Corp. Poet. Lat.

† P. Burm. § i. Catal. Poet. Latin. tom. i. p. 724.

‡ 2 T. A. S. 328.

x 1 vol. Specimen. p. 74.

§ 1 vol. p. 356.

the two last lines of the second and third stanzas rhyme also in couplets. To the same cause, that is the idea of occasional ornament, we ascribe the eight lines of rhyme, the four first alternately and the four last in couplets, with which Aldhelm closes his poem of two thousand four hundred and forty-three lines—"de laude Virginum*." We should as soon judge these to be matter of accident, as the rhymes, which occur at the end of the scenes and acts of many English plays. If any such specimens of rhyme could be found in the classics, as the Greek stanza, the lines of Aldhelm, or the extract from the Poem of Judith, we should concede to Greece and Rome the invention of rhyme. But against this, we are sure, the classical scholars would protest.

Our conclusion then from all the preceding facts and remarks, is, that rhyme was purely accidental in the classics; sometimes, though very seldom observed, either by the writer or the reader;—but if we look forward to the school of Salernum, (in the twelfth century) with their medical doctrines in more than one thousand two hundred lines of Latin rhyme, we are convinced, that there must have been a progress from the scattered, unintentional rhymes of Homer and Virgil, to that period, when Latin rhymes were so common and so numerous, that it seemed less a privilege to be, than not to be a poet. Let us see if we cannot trace this progress naturally from the elements already furnished.

"Prima pauci cernunt, postrema plerique," says Cicero, and this we think precisely what might have been expected, from the corruption of taste, which beginning soon after the Augustan age, passed from the twilight of that day, to the midnight of the dark ages. Let us review some of those poetical triflers (prior to the date, which we shall fix to the intentional use of rhyme, as a determinate species of versification), to whom might have been addressed, in good earnest, the memorable pleasantry of Cardinal d'Esté to Ariosto, on perusing the Orlando Furioso, "Dove Diavolo, Messer Ludovico, avete pigliate tante coglionerie?" We have seen, that, as early as the fifth century before the Christian Æra, Pindar had commenced the affectation of a Lipogrammatic Ode † and Sotades in the third century, had introduced the practice of writing that species of verse, in which the lines are the same, whether read backwards or forwards.‡

* 2 T. A. S. p. 336.

† 3d No. So. Rev. p. 33.

‡ Sidonius Apollinaris has left some Latin specimens in his 14th Epis. 9th Bk. and Father Pompery of Vienna, as though emulating the example and motive of Petrarch in writing his Africa, has erected a monument in honour of the inventor of Sotadical verse, in a poem of five hundred lines, each of which is the same, whether read from left to right, or from right to left. See also 6 Batt. Princ. de Lit. p. 61.

Such a poem would doubtless be esteemed in the days of corrupt taste, in very deed, as Petronius saith, "*fasciculus munditiarum*;" though we should be disposed to class such writers, not as *artists*, but as *tradesmen*: and worthy of those days only, when poetry was one of the *incorporate trades* of German cities; and the burghers obtained the freedom of that, as of any other corporation. There have been almost always persons, whose writings, exemplify literally and scrupulously the sentiment of Horace, "*labor ipse voluptas*:" persons, who are a practical confutation of Master Gildon's thoughts on Mrs. Aphara Behn, "that poetry is begot and born in pleasure, but oppressed and killed by pain." Such writings were the egg, the altar, &c. of Symmias Rhodius, the *versus anacyclici* of Rufinus, the *centones Homerici* of Pelagius and Eudocia, the Alphabet poems of the Anthology, and the perfect divan of the Arabians,* the *bouts-rimés* of Dulot, and the ridiculous rhymes of Marot, called *La Fraternisée*, *L'enchainée*, &c. The history of literature in every age, shows a tendency of the mind to such trifles. And surely, if Homer condescended to write "The Battle of the Frogs and Mice," the solemn Goff,—"*Cupid's Whirligig*," and Cowper—"Johnny Gilpin," we have not much reason to be surprised, that ordinary minds should take a pleasure in the anagram and acrostic, the charade and enigma. If Malebranche could not read the most sublime verses without disgust, we may well imagine that thousands would be pleased with John Gilpin, who could not enjoy the Task. How many, in like manner, would admire the fantastic tomb of Sir Julius Cæsar, (sculptured in the form of a deed of ruffled parchment, in allusion to his office as Master of the Rolls), more than Girardon's noble monument to Cardinal Richelieu.

To retrace then our steps, we are not surprised, on the decline of Roman literature, that any thing should have been courted as a beauty, which possessed the attraction of novelty, especially of singularity. Rhyme, indeed, if taste be the arbiter, is as inconsistent with the genius of Latin and Greek versification, as the hexameters of Passerat and Southey, are with the French and English languages. If then, in the ages which followed that of Augustus, a false and corrupt taste prevailed so extensively, in sentiment as well as in style, we are ready to believe, that in the anxiety for the curious and the strange, the

* "Un divan parfait à leurs yeux est celui où le poëte a régulièrement suivi dans ses vers toutes les lettres de l'Alphabet; car ils ont le goût de la gène sans harmonie." 1 Blam. 61.

occasional rhyme in the classics could not have escaped notice. Nor is this at all improbable, when we consider how purely accidental have been many of the most ingenious and valuable inventions and discoveries, such as Glass, the Peruvian Bark, Coffee, Mezzotinto, the Spy-Glass, and the Corinthian Capital. Thousands had doubtless heard the succession of sounds from the anvil, had seen the wounded murex on the shore, the winnowing of wheat, and the curvature of the beach, and yet not one of all the multitudes, who had witnessed those things, before Pythagoras, Melcartus, Kepler, and James Moore, ever took from them the hint of musical notes, of the Tyrian dye, of the centripetal and centrifugal forces, and of the appropriate contour of the breakwater. The instant that any one was struck by the casual rhymes in the classics, if he were a writer of no taste, we might venture to pronounce, with absolute certainty, that he would regard the discovery as a prize. Now, it so happens, that the *two earliest* writers, in whom we have found *distinct, unquestionable* traces of rhyme, *undoubtedly intentional*, are both pre-eminent sinners against good taste. The first, is Commodianus Afer, who lived at the end of the third, or beginning of the fourth century.* “He has left us a philological curiosity, in a series of attacks on the Pagan superstitions, composed in what are meant to be verses, regulated by *accent*, instead of by *quantity*.” The second, is Publilius Optatianus Porphyrius, the author of the Altar, Acrostic, Pipe, and Organ in Verse, and of those odd, ridiculous compositions, so checkered with lines of red letters, across those of black letters, that we might almost suppose the poet had employed a surveyor, to lay out his ground-plan, from field-notes of angles and triangles, courses and distances. Commodianus lived at the end of the third, or beginning of the fourth century, and Porphyrius wrote A. D. 326. The work of Commodianus consists of eighty parts, called Instructions, all but the last, being acrostical. The eightieth is entitled “Gazæi Nomen,” containing twenty-six lines, *all in rhyme*: and what is more remarkable, we have here the supposed *Arabic* model of *one pre-*

* 4 Hall, M. A. p. 168. We are rather disposed, however, to believe with the learned Dodwell, in his *Dissert. de Commod. Ætate*, Oxon. 1698, that Commodianus lived at the end of the second, or beginning of the third century, because Commodianus only counts two hundred years from the Saviour, and speaks of the persecutions against the Christian Church as still raging (Vid. *Frb. Bib. Lat.* tom. ii. pp. 244-5.) The tenth and last persecution ceased 311, so that he must have written, at least four hundred years, before the invasion of Spain by the Moors:

vailing rhyme; for the vowel *o* ends every line. We insert the poem below, as in every respect a curiosity.*

No one, after reading these lines, can readily believe such a specimen of rhyme to be accidental. We have heard of extraordinary coincidences, of Muncer and the Rainbow, of Peutman and the Earthquake, of Protogenes and the Sponge, of the two Johnsons and Father Paul's History; but such a series of accidental coincidences, as these twenty-six lines exhibit, would be altogether incredible. The imperfect character of these

* GAZÆI NOMEN.

Incolæ Cælorum futuri cum Deo Christo
Tenente principium, vidente cuncta de cælo.
Simplicitas, bonitas habitat in corpore vestro
Irasci nolite sine causâ fratri devoto.
Recipietis enim quidquid feceritis ab illo.
Hoc placuit Christo resurgere mortuos imo
Cum suis corporibus, et quos ignis ussit in ævo.
Sex millibus annis completis mundo finito
Vertitur interea cælum tenore mutato.
Comburantur enim impii tunc igni divino
Ira Dei summi ardet creatura gemendo.
Digniores, stemmate et generati præclaro,
Nobilesque viri sub Antichristo devicto,
Ex præcepto Dei rursus viventis in ævo,
Mille quidem annis ut serviant sanctis et alto,
Sub jugo servilli. ut portent victualia collo
Ut iterum autem judicentur regno finito.
Nullificantes Deum, completo millesimo anno,
Ab igne peribunt, cum montibus ipsi loquendo.
In bustis, et tumultis omnis caro redditur acto,
Demerguntur inferno. trahunt pœnas in ævo.
Ostenduntur illis et legunt gesta de cælo,
Memoria prisca debito, et merita digno,
• Merces in perpetuo secundum facta tyranno.
Omnia non possum comprehendere parvo libello,
Curiositas docti conveniet nomen in isto.

We are so accustomed to take our notions of rhyme from the *single accented* rhymes of English, or from the double rhymes of Italian poetry, having the accent on the penult, that we hardly seem willing to admit these lines of Commodianus, to be rhyme. But if we consider that *every one* of these final syllables is *long*, and must have been therefore pronounced with a fulness and distinctness, fully equivalent to the accent on our final syllables, we must admit that a Roman ear would acknowledge them as excellent rhymes, although we should deny them that character. Besides, a great proportion of French and Provençal rhyme must be rejected, on the same principle, and all the admitted rhymes of Hilary, Damasus, Ambrose, of Ambrose's imitators, of Aldhelm, Boniface, Ethilwald, Bede, &c. &c. must be equally rejected. We cannot regard this poem, as merely an instance of that affectation, which seeks to terminate every line with the same letter. That is strictly true of consonants; but the instant you adopt a vowel termination, unless every last syllable consist merely of that vowel, the poet passes at once from the affectation of an *identity of literal* terminations, to the *similarity of syllabic* final sounds; and *these are rhyme*. In these lines of Commodianus, every line ends in a long syllable, composed of a consonant and a vowel, whereas, in the Latin song for the Modenese soldiery, (Sism. tom. i. p. 27, N.) admitted as an unquestionable instance of *assonant rhyme*, the terminations are constantly changing from the simple vowel to the consonant and vowel-end from the long to the short vowel.

rhymes, being neither the accented rhyming syllables of English, nor the double rhymes of Spanish and Italian poetry, nor even the peculiar rhymes of French verse (already spoken of), does certainly indicate this specimen, *as the original of modern rhyme*.* It has seemed to us very probable, that Commodianus being a Christian, and writing sacred poetry against the Pagans, might have desired to find out a mode of versification, which should distinguish sacred from profane poetry. Does it not indeed appear to be a very remarkable fact, that the rhyme found in the Latin writers, after the decline of letters, makes its appearance co-existently with the establishment of Christianity, and in Christian writers: and this too, at a time when classic versification and pronunciation had undoubtedly disappeared extensively, throughout the Roman empire. Pliny, in his memorable Epistle to Trajan, and Justin Martyr, in his first Apology, inform us, that the Christians assembled to sing sacred songs; and the Epistles in the New Testament, show that the practice prevailed in the earliest times of the Church. Doubtless, the first hymns of the Christians were either the Psalms of David, or imitations of them. That the versification of the heathen poets would not be adopted, in the composition of Christian hymns, seems obvious; at all events, not until after the accession of Constantine. But we might well expect an earlier effort at a species of composition totally different from the forms of Greek and Roman verse. Accordingly, we find that Commodianus, in his forty-ninth and fifty-eighth Instructions, has prepared the way for the complete rhymed poem, No. 80. May he not have executed the two former, in such a manner as to insure the merit of the discovery, without disclosing the plan so obviously, as is done in the last Instruction; just as Leibnitz published in the *Acta Eruditorum* of Leipsic, his scheme of differential calculation, so as to disclose neither the method nor

* We have not had the pleasure of seeing several writers, who have treated the subject of rhyme. T. Swift, who has an elaborate dissertation, in the ninth volume of the *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*, says little or nothing, as we have been informed, of Latin rhymes. Muratori, it seems from Ginguen , tom. i. p. 244, goes no farther back, than St. Columbanus, in the sixth century. Sharon Turner, in his vindication of the Welsh Bards, (4 *Edinb. Rev.* 205) has enumerated eleven authors, between the sixth and ninth centuries, in whom rhyme occurs, and has even traced it into the fourth century to St. Augustine, who died A. D. 430. See also 2, T. A. S. p. 349. Hallam also notices the rhymes of Austin, (vol. iv. p. 169) but though he quotes Commodianus, p. 168, he is silent as to his rhymes. Tyrwhitt appears to have gone no farther back, than Ambrose and Damasus, (1 *Rits. Metric. Rom. Diss.* xviii.); and Pelloutier, in his memoirs of the Celtic language, does not ascend higher than the seventh century, (1 *Wart. 2 Diss. N. r.*) As far, therefore, as we have been able to ascertain, it appears that the specimens offered are not of an earlier date than Damasus, who died 384. There are some essays in the *Arch ologia*, (vol. xiv. pp. 168, 204), which we have not had an opportunity of consulting.

the object.* Leibnitz, it is true, was detected by the consummate mathematical science of the brothers, James and John Bernouilli: and if Commodianus had not left the eightieth poem, we might have considered the nineteenth of Porphyry, as proof that he had discovered the contrivance of his predecessor.

The next specimen of Latin rhyme, which we shall offer, is from Publilius Optatianus Porphyrius, who wrote his pieces about A. D. 326, a little before the murder of Crispus by Constantine. His fourth and twenty-sixth poems,† leave on the mind a doubt, whether rhyme was contemplated; because the intention seems to be the repetition of the same *words*, not of the same *sounds*. But the nineteenth poem of seven lines, cannot possibly be mistaken, not only on account of the obvious rhyme, but because the poet, faithful to his own taste, has not only ended, but has commenced every line with the letter *a*; and the first halves of six out of the seven lines rhyme with each other in *as*. But if any one should be such a sceptic as still to doubt, he has only to examine the Carmen Quadratum (as Aldhelm calls his address to the Abbess Maxima, which the reader will find on the same page, (51) and, in this specimen of "the loves of the triangles," he will see, from the excessive attention paid to every letter of every line, that the author must have designed the similar terminations of his lines. Indeed, that the same letter at the beginning and end of his lines was indispensable, is obvious from an inspection of this "tesselated pavement," this "pavement of square within square," to use Mr. Burke's phrases. It is possible that our Philoponus (labor-lover) may not have designed the rhyme, because he had his eye on a different object; but we think it much more likely that he had both in view. When, however, we call to mind the Sortes Virgilianæ of Charles I. and Falkland; the singular fate of the Somnium Astronomicum of Kepler; and the very odd coincidence of Ariosto's father scolding him accidentally, just as he had stopped in the composition of a comedy, at a similar scene, we are disposed to admit it to be possible. Our readers, however, may judge for themselves.‡

* Newton, in like manner. (vol. viii. Biog. Dy. in 12 vols. 8vo. p. 586) in 1676, explained his invention of infinite series, and yet concealed it by a transposition of the letters, that make up the two fundamental propositions, into an alphabetical order. So also, Algebra, as far as the Arabians knew it, extending to quadratic equations, was in the hands of some Italians, and was preserved nearly 800 years as a secret, though without any conception of its importance.—4 Hall, 395.

† Coll. Pis. tom. v. pp. 39, 57.

‡ Alme tuas laurus ætas sustollet in astra,
Aurea lux vatum silvæ mihi præmia serva,
Aucta Deo virtus musas magis ornat aperta,
Aurea victorem pietas sonat ubere lingua,
Aonios latices pietas juvat, armaque diva,
Augusti florem pietas juvat arma tropæa,
Aonii frutice pietas juvat ubere gleba.

Commodianus is the second Christian Latin Poet, and Porphyrius the fourth, (for it is very doubtful, whether we have any poetry of Lactantius): and it is singular how the succession of rhymers is kept up, especially in the fourth century. Hilary, who died 367 or 368, follows Porphyrius: and in him we find such remarkable specimens of rhyme, that it would be useless to go farther, were it not desirable to establish such a series of rhymers in the fourth century, as to leave no doubt that Christian Latin Europe was perfectly familiar with rhyme, three hundred years before the invasion of Spain. Hilary has left us three hymns, "De Epiphaniâ," "Jejunantium," and in "Dies Pentecostes:"* the first and third of six quatrains, and the second of five. The first is not only complete in all its rhymes, but eight end in *um*, and as many in *e*, counting *æ* as one. The second is not at all remarkable, compared to the first, though its rhymes are all perfect except, one couplet. The third has only two rhymes in each quatrain. We copy the first hymn below, for the satisfaction of our readers.† Damasus, who died 383, and who is said to have introduced into the Church service, the chanting of the Hallelujah, furnishes our next specimen. He has left us a hymn,‡ "De Sanctâ Agathâ Martyre," containing six quatrains of rhymed couplets, except the first in the fifth verse; which may have rhymed according to the pronunciation of that day. Our readers will find it in the note.§

* Coll. Pis. tom. vi. p. 275.

† Jesus refulget omnium
Pius redemptor gentium,
Totum genus fidelium
Laudes celebret dramatum.
Quem stella natum fulgida
Monstrat micans per æthera,
Magosque duxit prævia
Ipsius ad cunabula.
Illi cadentes parvulum
Pannis adorant obitum,
Verum fatentur et deum
Munus ferendo mysticum.
Denis ter annorum cyclis
Jam partes vivens temporis,
Lympham petit baptismatis
Cunctis carens contagia.
Felix Johannes mergere
Illum tremescit flumine,
Põtest suo qui sanguine
Peccata mundi tergere.
Nos, Christe, subnixâ prece
Omnes precamur, protege,
Qui præcipis rubescere
Aque potenter hydrizæ.

‡ Coll. Pis. tom. v. v. 94.

§ Martyris ecce dies Agathæ
Virginis emicat eximie.
Christus eam sibi qua sociat,
Et diadema duplex decorat.
Stirpe decens, elegans specie,
Sed magis actibus, atque fide,
Terrea prospera nil reputans,
Jussa Dei sibi corde ligans.
Fortior hæc trucibusque viris
Exposuit sua membra flagris:
Pectore quam fuerit valido,
Torta mamilla docet patulo.
Deliciæ cui carcer erat,
Pastor ovem Petrus recreat.
Lætior inde, magisque flagrans,
Cuncta flagella concurrît ovans.
Ethnica turba rogum fugiens,
Hujus et ipsa meretur opem,
Quos fidei titulus decorat,
His Venerem magis ipsa premat.
Jam renidens quasi sponsa Pole
Pro misero rogita Damaso.
Sic tua festa coli faciat,
Se celebrantibus ut faveat.

The next poet is Ausonius, who died about 392, after fulfilling Juvenal's prediction, that, if fortune favoured, the Rhetorician might become Consul. He was certainly a Christian, though L'Advocat denies that he could have been a Bishop, because of his indecent centos; as though the same mode of argument would not prove, that Alexander VI. and Leo X. were never Popes; Swift, not a Dean; and Sterne, not a Clergyman. We consider these lines as a specimen of intentional, not of accidental rhyme; because there are so many instances in his poems of three or four lines, in which, according to Malcolm Laing,* a poet, who did not desire to avoid rhyme, could hardly have missed it from the correspondences of genders and numbers. We copy below the rhymes of Ausonius, being the thirtieth Epigram.†

We shall now cite the rhymes of another author—Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, who shares in common with Minos, Pindar, Plato, Lucan, and Gregory Nazianzen, the fabled homage of the bees. Cave pronounces all the hymns, ascribed to Ambrose, to be doubtful: while Harles in his "Notitia," Fabricius in his "Bibliotheca," and Schoell, in his "Histoire de la Literature Romaine," reject some as spurious, while they acknowledge others (without particularising all) to be genuine. Mattaire, whom Dibdin calls "a sound scholar and careful editor," gives all the hymns as genuine: and the Collectio Pisarenensis does the same: following, it would seem, the examples of George Cassander, of Ehinger, and of George Fabricius. But the Benedictines of St. Maur, in the second volume of their edition, of the works of Ambrose, Paris, 1691, (the best ever published) have admitted only twelve hymns as genuine, confining themselves, says I. M. Schroeckh, in his Ecclesiastical History,‡ to those, which are ascribed to him by Augustin, Cassiodorus, and other distinguished writers, as early as the ninth century, and we learn from Fabricius§ that the seven on the seven days of creation, are admitted as part of the twelve genuine hymns. From our imperfect means of reference, we have been able to identify only eleven; but these establish conclusively the Bishop of Milan's familiarity

* 3d No. South. Rev. p. 58.

† Myobartum Liberi patris signo marmoreo in villâ nostrâ omnium deorum argumenta habentis.

Ogygia me Bacchum vocat.
Osirin Egyptus putat.
Mysi Phanacen nominant.
Dionysos Indi existimant.
Romana sacra Liberum.
Arabica gens Adoneum.
Lucaniacus Pantheonum.

‡ Tom. xiv. p. 314.

§ Biblioth. Latin. tom. ii. p. 233

with rhyme. Indeed, if we were to grant *that all but the seven were spurious, the forgeries themselves would prove our position*: for the obvious rhymes in parts of several and the entire hymn* "*tempore paschali dicendus*," of twenty-four lines, in six quatrains of rhyming couplets, show that the contriver of the forgeries was aware of the rhyme in Ambrose, and knew that his imitation of them, in *this* particular, would be a mark of genuine, not of spurious compositions. Ambrose, says Pelagius, "*Scriptorum inter Latinos, flos quidem speciosus enituit*:" and no doubt, according to the taste of those days, the rhymes of Ambrose were esteemed as admirable, as the Euphuism of John Lily in his age. If Ambrose himself had had a classic taste, when he found the vulgar admiring his gingling terminations, he would have laid them aside, as Bruschius, when his fine suit of new clothes attracted the vulgar homage, cast them off, "as slaves, that had usurped their masters honors."

But let us examine these seven hymns on the seven days of creation, in proof of our position. The seventh hymn, on the Sabbath, consists of *eight* quatrains, and only one couplet rhymes.† But the other six hymns have such remarkable resemblances as to show, that they are all constructed with a view to rhyme. Each of the six contains only *four* quatrains, as though the poet felt, that a Sabbath day's journey, in *poetry at least*, ought to be double of that of any week day. The six first poems contain ninety-six lines, of which fifty rhyme in couplets, and forty not at all: nor are the rhyming lines for the most part scattered. Thus, in the first and second, eight are together; in the third, ten; in the fourth, seven; in the fifth, eight; and in the sixth, six. The rhymes are chiefly found in the latter half of each hymn. We content ourselves with quoting below only the two

* Coll. Pis. tom. v. p. 156.

† This hymn is quoted by St. Augustine, (Confess. L. 9, c. 12, § 5), who speaks in the 6th c. of the same book of his weeping at hearing hymns and canticles, being exceedingly moved by the voices of the harmonious church. And in ch. 7, he mentions that at this time (the persecution of Ambrose by the Arian Empress—Mother Justina) it was appointed that hymns and psalms should be sung, after the manner of the East, that the people might not languish with weariness and sorrow; which practice, says he, was retained there, and was followed by many or most of the congregations in the rest of the world. It seems to us somewhat singular, that no European scholar, as far as we are acquainted, has connected with the inquiry into the origin of rhyme, the state of sacred poetry in the Greek and Eastern churches, both ancient and modern. In the Preliminary Memoir to Pinkerton's translation of Platon's State of the Greek Church in Russia, we are told, that Christianity was introduced in 988; that the faith of the Greek church, with all its ordinances, rites and ceremonies has been preserved, nearly in their original state; and that the greater part of the service consists of psalms and hymns. The modern Greek has its rhymes, as we see by the specimens cited in the appendix to Byron's notes to the second Canto of his *Childe Harold*. He has also given us specimens of Albanian or Arnaout rhyme in the thirtieth note to the second Canto.

last stanzas of the first and fourth hymns, as containing satisfactory proofs of intentional rhyme.* Grotius argued against chance, by throwing down repeatedly the letters of his name, to see whether they would fall in the order of "Hugo Grotius." To believe, that fifty-two of these ninety-six final words, could have been selected and arranged, as they now stand, except with a view to rhyme, is impossible. If it be asked, why do not all the lines rhyme, and why is the series sometimes broken by adjacent couplets,† that do not rhyme, we reply, that the terminations, *teneat, compriment,—ordinem, homini—*and *tuis, immunditiam*—may very well have been tolerated in the infancy of rhyme, when we find, in Sternhold and Hopkins, *caterpillar* and *grasshopper*; in Oldham, *I* and *thee, tree* and *by*; in Dryden, *form* and *man, wish* and *bliss*; in Addison, *views* and *boughs*, and in Pope, *vice* and *destroys*.

After this examination of the hymns, it is almost superfluous to say more; yet, we cannot resist the claim, which the hymn to the Trinity has upon us, this being one of the number admitted by the Benedictines to be genuine. We accordingly place it below, for the inspection of our readers.‡ It seems a little remarkable, that each of the poets (Commodianus, Porphyrius, Hilary, Damasus, Ausonius and Ambrose), should have left but *one poem complete* in all its rhymes. Some of them, as Ambrose and Hilary, in the hymns already mentioned, and Commodianus,

" Ne mens gravata crimine,
Vitæ sit exul munere:
Dum nil perenne cogitat,
Seseque culpis illigat."

" Cælorum pulset intimum,
Vitale tollat præmium:
Vitemus omne noxium,
Purgemus omne pessimum."

" Ut noctibus, vePlumini,
Diremptoris terminum,
Primordiis et mensium
Signum daret notissimum."

" Illumina cor omnium,
Absterge sordes mentium,
Resolve culpæ vinculum,
Everte moles criminum."

† To show that occasional departure from rhyme is not to be regarded as proof, that the author considered himself as not writing in rhyme, we need only refer to the Moallakat, where we shall find in Amriolkais, nineteen deviations in seventy-five lines; in Tarafa, fifteen in one hundred and three; in Amru, sixteen in one hundred and seven, &c.

‡ HYMNUS.

O Lux beata Trinitas!
Et principalis unitas,
Jam sol recedit igneus,
Infunde lumen cordibus.

Te mane laudum carmine,
Te deprecamur vespere,
Te nostra supplex gloria
Per cuncta laudet secula.

in his forty-ninth and sixty-eighth Instructions (the first containing thirteen lines, of which eleven end in e, the second nine, of which seven end in i) have given sufficient proofs, if they had not left complete poems, that they understood what rhyme was; yet chose to employ it only in part.* It is worthy also of notice, that the first of these rhymers gives us, in each of the three poems above mentioned, specimens not only of rhyme but of the *monorhyme*, triumphantly referred to as *exclusively Arabic*. What then can our learned Orientalists say for their favourite theory, when we have such proof, that *even the monorhyme* was known in Italy, four hundred years before the invasion of Spain by the Arabians? Can these advocates of a Moorish origin insist, that Commodianus wrote after the Saracens had conquered Spain; when it has been settled, without a view to the controversy about rhyme, that he lived four centuries before? But Andrès seems to have thought, that he enshrined in himself all the authority ascribed by his followers, to the great "ipse dixit" "of Magna Græcia, whilst he penned the following (supposed) unanswerable argument." Certo egli è, che i versi Leonini e le rime per fette de due sillabe in uno Spondèo, e di trè in uno dattilo *quali soltanto servir potevano di modello alla volgare poesia*, non si trovano con tale frequenza ne' secoli anteriori all' undecimo,† che

* If we were certain that the verses, "de Gloria & Gaudiis Paradisi," ascribed by George Fabricius, (Coll. Pisaur. tom. vi. p. 275) to St. Augustine, (who died A. D. 430) were written in the fourth century, we should close our specimens with them. When, however, we consider the relation, in which Augustine stood to Ambrose, we should expect to find rhyme as a matter of course in his poetry. This poem contains nineteen stanzas, consisting chiefly of six lines each, the second, fourth and sixth of which generally rhyme, while the first, third and fifth do not.—Here again is another remarkable instance of such a beginning, as might, when coupled with the monorhyme of Commodianus, give rise to that very species of versification (3d No. p. 33.) hitherto claimed as exclusively Arabian.

† These dissyllable rhymes are of frequent occurrence in the classics. The lines of Ennius are specimens both of the dactyl and trochee (not spondee, as Andrès says; for this is much more rare). Roscommon speaks of the *double* rhymes of Thor and Woden; the war-song of Clotaire is in double rhymes: the verses of Gotescale (1 Ritson. Diss. p. xix.) have rhymes both in dissyllables and trissyllables: those of Augustin are in trochaic rhyme; those in Ethelwald's poems are dactyl rhymes (2 T. A. S. 358): in the Latin lines on Athelstan, probably by a cotemporary, are both spondee and trochee rhymes: (2 T. A. S. 358). In the Latin poem, written at Constantinople, A. D. 707, the two first lines are spondee rhymes:—

"Alme Deus, rector qui mundi regna gubernas,
Nec sinis absque modo sedes fluitare supernas."

So also are those of the Epitaph on Ethelbert, who died 616:—

"Rex Ethelbertus hic clauditur in Poliandro,
Fana plans certus Christo meat absque Meandro."

Those on Dagobert, King of France, who died 715:—

"Fingitur hæc specie bonitatis odore refertus,
Istius ecclesiæ fundator, rex Dagobertus."

It is worthy of remark, that the form adopted in Epitaphs is scarcely if ever original, perhaps with the single exception of that species so common with us, which is really nothing but prose sentences, divided into unequal parts. These rhyming Epitaphs indicate then a much higher antiquity than their respective dates.

si possa ragionevolmente opinare gli Spagnuoli ed i Francesi poeti essere stati da quelle indotti a terminare con grata consonanza i lor versi." But after rhyme had been once introduced, though in its most simple and irregular form, who can doubt, that *double* and *treble* rhymes might very well grow up in time, not only as an improvement on but as an addition to single rhymes, just as all the varieties to be found in poetry, have originated from the progressive developement and application of the primitive, simple principle of rhyme. And why should we be anxious with Andrès and many of his fellow-worshippers of Arabic literature, to ascribe the *second* and the *third* step in the progress of rhyme, to the Moors, when we must deny, on the proofs already offered, that they taught Christian Europe the *first* step, viz:—rhyme in its original form, as found in these Latin writers of the fourth century? It is to be remarked also, that the use of double and treble rhymes in the poetry of Southern Europe, arose naturally from the peculiarity of its languages, in accenting very rarely (compared to English for instance) the last syllable of words.* When, therefore, versification came to be cultivated by writers, and not merely by the travelling harper or minstrel, the resort to the double or the treble rhyme would follow as a matter of course, in the languages of the South of Europe, just as in English, the rhyme would be chiefly confined to the single, accented, last syllable of each line.

But Andrès, not content with the argument, which seems to us of such easy refutation, treats with incredulity and ridicule the idea, that the rhymes of the vulgar dialects could have arisen from the Latin rhymes (alcuni epitaffii; alcune iscrizioni, alcuni componimenti oscuri e nascosti, la maggior parte nelle chiese e ne' cimeteri ed appena lette dalle persone ecclesiastiche) whose previous existence he is compelled to admit. Ginguené is not so confident as Andrès, though he seems to us more willing to be as incredulous,† for he states the claims of Latin

* This singularity as to double and treble rhymes appears to us a great advantage, in English poetry over that of France, Italy, Spain and Portugal. In the three last especially, the perfect double rhyme belongs to dignified composition, and in French the imperfect double rhyme, as *faiblesse*, *mélasse*, *enfouée*, *amassée*, is appropriated in like manner. But in English, except occasionally in the Spenserian stanza, double rhymes are scarcely admissible in any other than light poetry: "Witness the double rhymes of Hudibras, which contribute no small share to its drollery." Keimes' *Elem. Crit.* ch. xviii. § 4. vol. ii. p. 169. Indeed the compound double and treble rhymes of ludicrous verse, in the English poets, have all the effect of caricature. This they could not have; if we admitted as a general rule, double rhymes in grave poetry.

† We have been pleased to find that Mr. Ritson (though somewhat extravagant and we think incorrect), is as incredulous of this Arabic origin, as ourselves. In his dissertation on Romance and Minstrelsy, (1 vol. Met. Rom. Diss. p. xi), he writes as follows, "neither is any thing known concerning the literature of the Moors, who

rhymes more distinctly and strongly than *Andrès*. We shall extract the whole passage from *Ginguené's* work : * as our argument to show the connection between our modern and the Latin rhymes, has reference to several of his views.

" *Muratori* cite un rythme de *S. Colomban*, qui date du sixieme siècle, et qui procede par distiques rimés ; un autre de *S. Boniface* en petits vers, aussi rimés de deux en deux ; plusieurs autres tirés d'un vieil antiphonaire du septieme ou huitieme siècle : et enfin un grand nombre d'exemples tirés d'ancienes inscriptions, epitaphes et autres monuments du moyen âge, tous antérieurs de plusieurs siècles à celui de *Léon*. Ces exemples deviennent plus fréquents, à mesure qu'on approche du douzième siècle. C'est alors, que l'usage de ces rimes, tant du milieu du vers avec la fin, que des vers entre eux, devient presque general. On ne voit presque plus d'épitaphes, d'inscriptions, d'hymnes, ni de poèmes, dont la rime ne fasse le principal ornement. C'est dans ce temps la même, que naquit la poesie Provençale, et peu après, la poesie Italienne. Il serait possible que ces vers latins rimés, qu'on entendait dans les hymnes de l'église, eussent donné l'idée de rimer aussi les vers Provençaux et les vers Italiens. Mais la communication entre les Arabes et les Provençaux est evidente et immediate : les premiers offraient aux seconds des objets d'imitation plus attrayants : ce fut certainement des

came over from *Barhary*, and settled in *Spain* in 711 ; nor is it at all probable or capable of proof, that even the *Spaniards*, much less any of the other nations of *Europe* had an opportunity of adopting any literary information, or did so, in fact, from a people, with whom they had no connection, but as enemies, whose language they never understood, and whose manners they detested : or would even have condescended or permitted themselves, to make such an adoption, from a set of infidel *Barbarians*, who had invaded, ravaged, and possessed themselves of some of the best and richest provinces of *Spain* ; with whom they had continual wars, till they at last drove them out of the country ; whom in fact they always avoided, abhorred and despised. There is doubtless a prodigious number of Arabic poems in the library of the *Escorial*, which has been plundered from the *Moors*, but which no Spanish poet ever made use of, or in short, had ever access to." *Mons. Ginguené* remarks, (*Tom. i* p. 208), that the Arabs require at the end of their lines several syllables (i. e. at least three) and sometimes even five. Now *Sismondi* says, (*Tom. i* p. 106) that the *Troubadours* varied their rhymes in a thousand ways, crossing and interweaving them in such a manner, that the return of the same consonance regulates an entire strophe—and yet, notwithstanding this painstaking and love of variety, we find in the four hundred and fifty-one lines of *Troubadour* verse cited by him, only ten lines of trisyllable rhymes ; and none of four and five syllables. The true reason seems to be the admission of *Andrès*, " nelle composizioni de' *Provenzali*, non si scorge vestigio d'Arabica erudizione, ni v'è segno alcuno d'essersi formati i *Provenzali* poeti, su le poesie degli *Arabi* " (*Tom. ii* p. 183.) We are the more disposed to doubt the Moorish claim, because if we except the debatable land of *Troubadour* poetry, we find no vestige of Hispano-Arabian influence in any of the departments of fiction, through the whole of European Literature. Can this be accounted for, if *Andrès*, *Sismondi*, *Ginguené*, &c. &c. be right ?

* *Tom. i* pp. 241-242.

Arabes que les Provençaux prirent leur gout pour la poesie accompagnée de chant et d'instruments : et il est probable que, frappés surtout de la rime dont ils n'avaient jusque-là connu l'emploi que dans les chants sévères de l'église, ils l'admirent aussi dans leurs vers*."

As the language and poetry of Provençal France came first to perfection,† let us bestow a few reflections on them. The Greek colony at Marseilles (the Athens of the Gauls, as Cicero styles it) doubtless exercised a happy influence over the whole of Southern Gaul (or Gallia Provincia†); especially after its conquest by the Romans. Gallia Aquitania was the choicest of the four Roman divisions of Gaul, in civilization and improvement, as numberless monuments of art abundantly testify. Its Mediterranean commerce is alone sufficient to account for a vast superiority in wealth, intelligence, and general improvement. The genial climate and fertile soil were additional causes: and its exemption from many of the disadvantages, attending frontier or reinter provinces, had a large share of influence over its destinies.§ The Latin language also must have been more generally diffused and better spoken there, than elsewhere in Gaul.|| When, therefore, the Visigoths settled in the South of France, they must have soon experienced the benign influence of all these causes. Accordingly, when the kingdom of Arles was founded by Bozon, A. D. 879, an æra of great comparative

* We have taken no notice any where of Leonine verses, although a subject, replete with curious and entertaining matter, as to their origin and varieties. Warton considers them (1 vol. 1 Diss. N. r.) as rhymed hexameters and pentameters:—and Eberhardus Bethuniensis in his Treatise de Versificatione gives us five different kinds. Fab. Bib. Med. & Inf. Lat. Leo. In this point of view then, we can only regard them as one modification of Latin rhyme, so well known in the fourth century, and as actually employed in the epitaphs on Ethelbert and Dagobert, long before the age of Leonius. viz. the twelfth century. The specimens of Walter Mapes, Archdeacon of Oxford, distinguished by the honorary title of the Anacreon of the twelfth century, are among the best; though his celebrated drinking ode, (*Mibi est propositum in tabernâ mori*) is neither hexameter nor pentameter.

† En rapportant la naissance de chaque langue au premier regne, où chaque nation sembla acquérir de la consistance, nous rangerons les langues romanes dans l'ordre suivant. Provençal à la cour de Bozon, roi d'Arles 877, 887. Langue D'Oïl, d'Oï, Roman Wallon ou Français à celle de Guillaume Longue Epée fils de Rollo, duc de Normandie, 917-943. Castillan, sous le regne de Ferdinand le Grand 1037, 1065. Portugais sous Henri fondateur de la Monarchie 1095-1112. Italien sous Roger 1, roi de Sicile 1129-1154. 1 Sism. 37.

‡ Doubtless this is the origin of the name Provence, afterwards so celebrated in the literature of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Though confined, eventually, to a small portion of Southern Gaul, it gives a name to the literature of the whole; for the Provençal poetry (after the death of Gillibert 1092, and the marriage of his daughters, Faydide with Alphonso, Count of Thoulouse, and Douce with Raymond Berenger, Count of Barcelona, (1 Sism. 84) was more cultivated in Languedoc, Dauphiny and Aquitain than in Provence, only eight or nine of one hundred and ten poets, being of Provence. 2 Burney on Mus. p. 246.

peace, happiness and prosperity, commenced its career, preparing the way, in modes then unimagined and even now but imperfectly comprehended by men, for the brilliant, transitory glories of Troubadour literature. "Major rerum—nascitur ordo."

Latin (we do not mean the classical dialect) was the language of Northern France, even for the people, in 622 and in 841, as appears from the songs on the victory of Clothaire and on the battle of Fontenai; so was it likewise of Northern Italy, as we have seen by the Latin song of thirty-six lines, written for the Modenese soldiery. In like manner, it continued the popular language of Provence; though it experienced, in common with that of the northern emigrants, a more rapid decomposition, while the new dialect was forming more speedily than in other parts of the empire.* During this period, can it be doubted, that Religion also grew and flourished among this people, and that the hymns of the church must have been familiarly known to them, even after they had ceased to use exactly the language of the church service? Can it be possible, that a people, obviously fast improving, and possessed of all the advantages we have mentioned, incapable of enjoying the classic ode, yet alive to poetical impressions, and predisposed to relish the simple verse of the church service, aided and adorned by rhyme, should not notice that rhyme, or should not be deeply impressed by its singular recurrences? We believe, on the contrary, that their universal love of song and verse, is to be ascribed, partly to their emigrant conquerors from the North, proverbially devoted to both, and partly to the influence of those despised religious poems, which every week at least engaged their attention, and must have had an effect, in forming the vulgar taste for rhyme in verse and song. Is it, indeed, at all improbable, that during their long life of comparative enjoyment and tranquillity, this people, so simple-hearted and contented, so happy and susceptible, a stranger to wars, and no longer the martial population of former years, should exchange the rhyming *war* songs of an elder age, for the *more congenial rhymes of amatory poetry and of Christian hymns*? And although the hymns themselves, when the popular language had become entirely different, as it did in the two hundred and thirteen years, which followed the reign of Bozon,† had doubtless ceased to be sung; yet it is no improbable supposition, that their successors among the common people retained the same characteristic of rhyme,‡ the same quality of

* Sism. tom. i. p. 37, N.

† Sism. tom. i. p. 85.

‡ The singular conformity of the Romance dialects to the Latin, (their common basis), as to the regularity of terminations, is a strong argument in favour of the

love-poetry and some share of the same religious spirit. Indeed, who can say, but that the combination of religion with chivalry, and the early developement of improved religious opinions and feelings, in the South of France, may have proceeded, in some measure, from the causes we have been considering ?

We have already said, that rhyme was well known among the Northern nations, that it could not have been derived from Arabian Spain, and that it must have been carried with them into the South of Europe, in the form of popular songs and heroic verse. Now, as no rude people, especially those in a constant state of warfare, ever were without such poetry : and as the conquerors, and the conquered became one people, it is much more likely, that in this union, the common people retained both species of poetry, (viz. the unrhymed of ancient Italy, and the rhymed of the North) than that they discarded either entirely. We must not overlook one remarkable difference between Latin and Northern rhymes, viz. that we cannot expect equal evidence of the existence of the latter, as of the former ; nor the same succession in the case of these, as of those ; because the Latin originated, and were preserved, multiplied and extended by *writers* ; whereas the Northern had no other than *oral* existence, till reduced to writing, as they occasionally were, for example, at the Court of Theodoric, and by Charlemagne. Yet this very difference strengthens our opinion, that rhyme in the South of Europe, was partly of Barbarous and partly of Latin origin. For, in the struggle between the two languages, while undergoing the succession of changes, that ended in the formation of new dialects, it seems obvious, that the early Latin rhymes we have noticed, would exercise their influence on the *written* poetry of the country, whilst it continued *Latin*, and subsequently, through this succession of Latin verse on the *vernacular* poetry, when reduced

transmission of rhyme from Latin into the earliest vernacular poetry of Provence, Spain and Italy. This is remarkably the fact, and a little observation will satisfy any one that the very words, which rhyme together in a Latin poem, will when turned into Provencal, Italian or Spanish, furnish equally good rhymes. It is the same with the Portuguese, and though the principle is not as applicable to French, yet our author Richelet has shown (*Avia. p. x.*) that the same rule of conversion from Latin into French, prevails also extensively. He indeed, thinks more so in French, than either in Spanish or Italian ; but this certainly is not so. Hence we gather an additional argument in favour of the reasons assigned why Latin rhymes would not be transferred into English ; for no such conformity of termination in the new dialect to those of the old language, existed in England : Latin not being the basis, that was changed into English, in the progress of the popular transmutation into this of the preceding language. The natural tendency of the Southern dialects to rhyme, as already explained (No. 3, p. 57, &c.), and the opposite quality of the Northern, arise very much out of the state of things here noticed : coupled with the fact that *these* are *consonant*, and *these* *vowel* languages.

to writing,* whilst the Barbarian rhymes would give their own character, during the same progress, to the *vulgar, popular* poetry, that subsisted *only* in *memory*, and was handed down, *only* by *tradition*. We have already seen (3d No. p. 35. N.) that the *derivation* of the word rhyme (which ought to be spelt rime) is purely and properly Northern. Hence, we are prepared to find the earliest rhymed poetry in the Southern vulgar dialects, distinguished by its appropriate title "rhyme," and appearing not as a new discovery, but as an old acquaintance of the language, to whose national poetry it gave character. The singular manner also, in which *this word* has established itself, not only in the languages purely Northern, but also in the Romanic dialects, is, in our judgment, a strong proof, that it could not have grown up with them, (in the *vulgar*, and not in the *written* tongue, in that of the *populace*, not of the *literati*) unless rhyme itself, along with its descriptive term, had been introduced by the Northern invaders, and had thus become an element, in the earliest character of the new languages.

It is a remarkable circumstance also, that Latin rhymes were *extensively* known before the invasion of Spain by the Arabians,

* Some of our readers may perhaps suspect the soundness of these views, on account of the fact, that the Latin rhymes of the church hymns, and those of Aldhelm, Bede, Boniface and Ethilwald, produced no effect (as far as we know) on the vulgar poetry of England. The reason is very obvious. Latin was the popular language in Italy, Gaul and Spain; and became the broad basis of the new dialects. But we had no doubt, before we saw Hallam's opinion (4 Midd. Ages, p. 159, N.) that Latin never was generally spoken by the people in England, as in France and Spain, notwithstanding what Gibbon says (1 vol. D. and F. of R. E. p. 60). Although, however, it should be granted that Latin had been generally spoken before 426, when the Romans left Britain, yet it must have disappeared almost entirely with the British population, which afterwards falling a victim to the inhabitants of North Britain and to the Saxons, retired into Wales. Hence, that transformation of Latin itself into a new language, which took place in Gaul, Italy and Spain, never occurred in England. The medium of communication, therefore, which existed between the rhymes of the Latin, and of the new dialect, viz. the various intermediate stages in the transmutation of the former into the latter, never existed in England; because, in fact, they never could have existed there. That Aldhelm, "*egregius auceps antiquarum vocum*," as Salmasius calls him, did not rhyme more, is perhaps attributable to the fact, that he wrote Latin Hexameters so exceedingly well. We feel ourselves constrained to confess, that the absence of rhyme in the Saxon poem of Cædmon, and in those on Beowulf, on Judith, and on the battle of Brunanburgh, is a phenomenon of very difficult explanation. Did the Saxons carry rhyme with them, and was it afterwards forgotten in England, or were they ignorant of it in the time of Hengist, and Horsa? If the former, how was it revived? If the latter, through what channel did the English people derive a knowledge of this species of verse? As the Saxons left Germany in 455, it is possible that rhyme may have been introduced, after their emigration. And as it must have arisen according to our views, long before 833, why should we not assign the three preceding centuries, as the period, within which it did arise? We cannot doubt, after the derivation of the word, and the testimonies already adduced, that rhyme existed in the North, independently of Arabic influence, or the immediate agency of the Latin rhymes of the fourth century. May not Boniface and the other ecclesiastics, who followed him in the conversion of the Germans, have confirmed by the introduction of the church hymns, a species of versification, already known, though in its rudest state, to the woods of Germany?

A. D. 711.* This wide and early diffusion of them is precisely what might have been expected. They spread with religion, they entered into the church-service every where, and formed a part of the recreations and employments of ecclesiastics. Thus had they, in conjunction with the traditionary rhymes of the North, prepared the way for a successive and very extensive use of rhyme, in all the dialects of Southern Christian Europe. Hence, as might have been anticipated, when the vulgar poetry appeared in writing, it came forth every where in the dress of rhyme, as its native, its national costume.†

* Witness those of Sedulius (Coll. Pisaur. tom. v. p. 346) of Ireland, who wrote A. D. 430; those of Augustin, who died A. D. 430, (Id. p. 275, and 4 Hall, p. 169); of Hilary of France, (Coll. Pis. tom. v. p. 275) who died 368; of Gregory of Italy, (Id. p. 253) who died 604; of Fortunatus, Bishop of Poitou, (Ritson's *Metr. Rom.* vol. i. Diss. p. 18) who died 609; of Columbanus of Ireland, (Ginguené, tom. i. p. 241) but chiefly a resident of France, who died 615; of the war-song written upon the victory gained in 632, by Clotaire II. over the Saxons, and sung all over France, (1 Wart. H. E. Py. Diss. 2, note 1); of Aldhelm of England, who died 709, (2 Turn. Anglo Sax. p. 236; of the Latin poem of 400 lines, written at Constantinople, A. D. 707, (1 Wart. H. E. P. 2 Diss. N. r.); of Bede of England, who died A. D. 735, (2 Turn. A. S. p. 349); of the Church Hymns, (1 Wart. H. E. P. 2 Diss. N. r.) of which rhyme was a common ornament in Bede's time. (Warton remarks, vol. i. H. E. P. 2 Diss. N. r. that Bede does not seem to have known, that rhyme was a common ornament of the Church Hymns of his time. This seems not very likely, for Bede was a rhymist himself, 2 T. A. S. p. 349.) To these let us add the rhymes of Boniface, the Anglo-Saxon, who died 756, (2 T. A. S. p. 350); of Leobgitha, an Anglo-Saxon lady, his correspondent, (2 T. A. S. p. 351); of Ethilwald, the pupil and friend of Aldhelm; of Alcuin, the teacher and friend of Charlemagne, (2 T. A. S. p. 354); of the song on the battle of Fontenay in 841, (1 Rits. *Metr. Rom.* Diss. p. 28, N.); of Gotescalc about the same time, (Id. *ibid.* p. 19); of the Latin song for the Modenese soldiery in 905, (Sism. tom. i. p. 26, Murat. *Annal.* tom. v. p. 257) and of the "grand nombre d'exemples tirées d'anciennes inscriptions, epitaphes, et autres monuments du moyen âge, tous antérieurs de plusieurs siècles à celui de Léon," that is several centuries prior to 1135.

† This costume is destined, we apprehend, to survive the very languages. In whose sanctuaries it had taken refuge, to escape the swift destruction that befel the ancient tongue of the rude Goth, and the modern dialect of the Troubadour, comparatively elegant and refined. Had this species of verse never been known, who can say, what would have been the character of modern poetry: or whether we should have had aught but hexameters, blank verse and measured prose? Who can say, whether French verse, so dependent upon rhyme for its distinctive character, would have existed at all? Who can tell us, what forms would have supplied the mighty void that modern literature would exhibit, if the rhymed poetry of Europe had never been known? Doubtless, some fortunate genius, the flower that has wasted its sweetness on the desert air, the gem that has glistened in dark unfathomed caves, would have arisen, if called forth by the occasion. and have moulded the vulgar languages of Europe, into forms of versification, which even the accomplished critic and poet cannot now hope to conceive. Or, perhaps, the early origin of rhyme, co-existently with our modern dialects, may have insensibly, yet irresistibly imparted, by a mysterious agency, a species of structure and mode of pronunciation, the nature of whose origin and progress are, and must ever remain incomprehensible. And, if such were the fact, shall we not believe, that the absence of rhyme in the very beginnings of modern languages, would have left them free to assume, by a natural growth and gradual developement, a style of construction and pronunciation, that would have insured to them a poetical literature, not inferior in its forms to those, which enshrine the genius and taste of Tasso, Ercilla and Camoens, of Corneille and Racine, of Pope, Gray and Byron.

We cannot but think Ginguen  must have had some strange aversion to Church poetry and Church music, when he will only say, it is *possible* that Latin rhyme may have given rise to the same form in Proven al and Italian verse. But the communication of the Proven al people with the Arabians was, in his judgment, more immediate and correct: though they lived in different countries, spoke languages totally different, had no interchange of literature, and no intercourse, except through the sailor and the merchant; for that by Troubadours and Jongleurs could not have existed, until after these orders of men had become known, and this of course must have been after the dialect and poetry of Provence had been already formed. On some similar principle, overlooking the history of nations, none of whom have ever been without instruments of music, and that of the Northern nations especially, among whom the union of poetry, with vocal and instrumental music, was a kind of law of their very being, Ginguen  will not believe, but that the Proven als derived from the Arabians, their taste for poetry, accompanied by song and instruments; whereas, the rude poetry and music of the forest and the valley, of the mountain and the plain, in every age and in every clime, bear testimony with one accord, against him.

ART. VI.—*Travels through North-America, during the years 1825 and 1826.* By his Highness, BERNHARD, Duke of Saxe-Weimar Eisenach. 2 vols. 8vo. Philadelphia.

It is impossible to read this book without being charmed with the *bonhomie* and simplicity of "His Highness, Bernhard, Duke of Saxe-Weimar Eisenach." At the first glance, indeed, we were so much struck with these qualities, as to be forcibly reminded of the inimitable epistles of Mrs. Letitia Ramsbottom to Mr. Bull. We shall, perhaps, have occasion to exemplify this resemblance in the course of our subsequent remarks; indeed, we were at first disposed to make a collection of the most notable things in this kind under the title of "Weimariana,"

which we are persuaded, would have been quite equal as a specimen of gossiping *naïveté* to any thing the language affords. Whatever inclination, however, to raillery or ridicule this extreme simplicity may occasionally have excited in us, has been repressed or mitigated by the esteem, we might even say, the affectionate regard with which the native amiableness and candour, the truly Catholic charity, that pervade the whole work, have inspired us.

The form which the Duke has adopted, is the simple one of a journal or diary. He assures us in his preface, doubtless, with more truth than is usual in such cases, that "it was by no means originally designed for publication. I wrote it (he continues) during my travels, partly to recal past incidents at a future period, partly to give with more ease and certainty, information to my much honoured parents, my relatives and friends, on any subject on which inquiry might be made. After his return, the book was read by several persons," whom the reader may be sure insisted upon its publication so strenuously, that His Highness found it quite impossible to resist their solicitations, especially after he had had the good fortune to meet with a certain counsellor Luden, a person, in every respect well qualified to be the editor of the precious manuscript. Great exceptions, as we perceive from some of our daily journals, have been taken to this simplicity in the form of the work—but we are by no means sure that they are well-founded. This is the age of dissertation; every thing runs out into prosing common-place, and takes the shape of a scholastic diatribe. A history, written after the manner of Thucydides or Xenophon, does not suit us; we must have, not a mere narrative of facts, with such a developement of their causes as may be necessary to a proper understanding of the events recorded, but withal ponderous disquisitions about political economy and national wealth, excursions on the march of intellect, and the state of letters and science, &c. And this confounding of two things, or rather of many things, as distinct as possible in their nature, is what we call "philosophical history." So it is with biography. The life of an individual of any consequence, is sure to present a succinct view, in two or three volumes, at least, of every thing connected with the history of the period during which he flourished, and, perhaps, of some centuries before his birth. Books of travels, too, have followed the same fashion—nothing will do but "Classical Tours," and we are disappointed if our itinerant philosophers do not take occasion, in the course of their peregrinations, to empty their common-place books of the

hoarded results of years of study and research. Certainly, if our ideas are formed upon such models, the modest journal of His Highness, Duke Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar, by no means comes up to them. He indulges very little in speculation. He favours his readers with no fine-spun theories and no high-flown rhetoric. He gives his evidence with all possible simplicity, brevity and caution. He tells just what he saw and heard himself—very rarely what he heard of—and then, generally, puts us upon our guard by apprising us that it is hearsay. If all this wariness and moderation have not saved him from many blunders, we may judge how little confidence is to be reposed in the more specious and elaborate works of those who substitute their own random speculations for facts, and build their conclusions upon the loosest *on dits*, as confidently as if they were demonstrative evidence. It is true, a traveller passing rapidly through a country may, and must often be deceived by first appearances—but such errors can seldom be so gross and extravagant as those into which fancy or rumour so often betray less cautious tourists—especially where, as in the present instance, the writer has the candour to advertise us that he pretends to do nothing more than to cast a hasty glance over the surface of things.

We confess it was with no little curiosity that we took up this book. It was enough to excite our interest in it, that the writer was a German, and a man of very high rank. We were anxious to see what impression our young country, our republican institutions and simple manners had made upon a mind accustomed to a state of society, in every point of view so different. To such a man, a visit to this new world, of which so little that can be depended on has been heard in Europe, must reveal almost as strange things, as Voltaire's inhabitant of Saturn saw, when he came down to our little planet. The *naïveté* with which, as we have already remarked, Duke Bernhard lets his wonder escape him on all occasions, enhances very much the interest excited by such a situation. The other circumstance, however, of his being a German, was still more important. The Germans are, of all nations that ever existed, the fairest in their criticisms upon others. Their studies are too enlarged for bigotry, and excessive nationality has never, we believe, been numbered among their faults. This remark is strikingly exemplified in their literary opinions. The glowing admiration, the profoundness and originality, with which they have studied and illustrated the beauties of Greek literature, and defended those immortal master-pieces against the flippant ignorance of the Parisian wits, will at once occur to every one versed in such

subjects. If any other instance were necessary, it would be found in their intimate knowledge and just appreciation of the English and Spanish classics, and, especially in the homage, they were the first among strangers to offer up to the genius of Shakspeare and of Calderon. To us, peculiarly situated as we are, to be by a foreigner looked at with any thing like impartiality, seemed rather to be desired than expected. In the very nature of things, no country needs so many allowances to be made for any imperfections in its manners and institutions, as one actually engaged in felling its forests, laying out towns, and providing itself with the necessities of life—yet none has been treated with less indulgence. Our visitors have distanced Smelfungus in absurd petulance and garulosity. Nothing but absolute impossibility could satisfy them. They have exacted of youth, the maturity of age; of poverty, the splendour and magnificence of hereditary wealth. They have been offended with the spirit of equality under a democratic government, and (*negubitis posteri*) have lost all patience with the constitution of a great nation, because the servants of New-York and Boston insist upon being treated and addressed as “helps!” The majority, it is true, of these illuminati, have been vulgar city and adventurers of no character; travellers of the Cockney school! It must be admitted that the things published of us by the Faux’s and the Fearon’s, were precisely such as might have been expected from writers of that stamp, and we have been sometimes amused at the wrath which condescended to break such insects upon the wheel. But we have had some, and even much reason to complain of the treatment we have received from other and higher quarters. Things appear to have lately taken a different turn; still it will be a long time before we can expect perfect justice—not to speak of favour and indulgence—from British writers of any class. Naturally regarding the standard set up in England, as the only right one for all the forms and institutions of society—where society is, in its general character, English—they can scarcely fail to condemn every deviation from it, as *ipso facto* an imperfection, without giving themselves the trouble of inquiring how far it is rendered necessary or fitting by the circumstances of the country, or other the like causes. A striking instance of this proneness to consider every thing on this side of the Atlantic, which is not in vogue with the other, is furnished by what are called “*Americanisms*” in language. The fact is, that most of the peculiarities noted as such, are to be found in the older English authors, and even in common use at this day among certain classes of society in England, but as they have been generally disused there by literary men, it is

hastily taken for granted, that they had no place in the vocabulary which the first settlers brought hither with them, but are arbitrary and uncalled for innovations of a later period.

But to our story. On the 4th of April, 1825, Duke Bernard of Saxe Weimar set out from Ghent to Antwerp, on his way to Hellevoetsluis, where he was to embark in the corvette *Pallas*, for the United States. Our readers will be happy to learn that this vessel was furnished him by his government, and provided with every thing necessary to the comfort of his Highness, who was established in the captain's cabin, and had a cot suspended at night for his sleeping place." After a short "sojourn" at Hellevoetsluis, this distinguished traveller crossed the channel, and having visited in England, Portsmouth, Plymouth, Falmouth, &c. was again at sea on the 18th of June, on his way to Boston, where he arrived on the 26th of July. Nothing, it seems, of any great importance occurred during this voyage, except it were the loss of a midshipman overboard, and the administering of relief to the American ship *Schuykill*, in distress for water and provisions. But its consummation was hailed with all the rapture befitting so memorable an event, and perhaps since the first arrival of Columbus, the shores of the western world have never been approached with equal joy. The following very circumstantial and glowing description can scarcely fail to be interesting to the sentimental reader.

"It was ten o'clock on the morning of the 26th July, when I first placed my foot in America—*upon a broad piece of granite!* It is impossible to describe what I felt at that instant. Heretofore, but two moments of my life had left a delightful remembrance—the first was, when at seventeen years of age, I received the cross of the Legion of Honour after the battle of Wagram—the second, when my son William was born. My landing in America, that country, which, from my earliest youth, had been the object of my warmest wishes, will, throughout life, *remain* a subject of pleasing recollection!"

The thrilling effects of the broad piece of granite were not yet over, before his Highness established himself at the Exchange Coffee-house, kept, we are informed, by a man who had been "a volunteer colonel in the last war, and who, according to the custom of the country, still retained his old title, without feeling himself above his present business. Here he found himself in excellent quarters, and soon began to experience those polite and hospitable attentions for which our good friends in Boston are so justly renowned. "He had imagined that no one could take the least notice of him in America." We are not informed how he came to conceive this extravagant notion, but it gives

us great pleasure to state in his own error, that "he soon found himself agreeably disappointed." In the truly refined, because enlightened and literary society of Boston, he could not fail to pass his time very pleasantly, and we are favored with a sufficiently minute account of the principal objects of curiosity in and about that capital.* We must not omit some things that seem to have made a particular impression upon the mind of the Duke. Thus, he gave the attendant, who conducted him, two dollars, and he was so much gratified by this surpassing generosity, that when they were in the chapel, the cunning fellow "whispered to the organist, who immediately played God save the King"—at the which, his Highness "was much surprised"—though we own we are not. With Mr. Quincy, the Mayor, he visited the public schools, and thus expressed his approbation of them; it is a fair specimen of that philanthropic spirit which breathes through the whole work, and imparts to it a secret charm in the midst of many blemishes and defects.

"I was pleased both with the kind manners of the teachers and the modest, correct and easy deportment of the scholars. The boys generally had handsome faces, and were all of an animated physiognomy. With this they combine, as I was *frequently* convinced, the greatest respect for their parents and teachers. It appears to me impossible that young people who receive so liberal an education, can grow up to be bad or malicious men. I was indeed affected when I left the schools, and could not but congratulate Mr. Quincy from the bottom of my heart, on such a rising generation. Captain Ryk, who accompanied us, participated in my views and feelings."

The Duke and his companion, Mr. Tromp, left the "hospitable city of Boston with grateful hearts" on the ninth of August in the mail-coach (of which he does not fail to give an accurate description) for Albany by way of Worcester and Northampton. This journey was not without its perils. They "crossed several *small* rivers and rivulets, on wooden bridges, which are very slight, though they are built with a great waste of timber. The planks [*horresco referens*] are not even nailed upon the beams, so that his Highness began to be somewhat fearful, especially

"* The society, especially *when ladies are not* [*?*] *present*, is uncommonly fine and lively; both sexes are very well educated and accomplished. So much care is bestowed upon the education of the female sex, that it would perhaps be considered in other countries as superfluous. Young ladies even learn Latin and Greek, but then they can also speak of other things besides fashions and tea table subjects: thus, for instance, I was at a party of Mrs. General Humphreys, which was entirely in the European style, without cards, dancing, or music, and yet it was lively and agreeable. Many of those gentlemen who are met with in such society, have travelled in Europe, sometimes accompanied by their ladies; Europeans are frequently present, and thus there is no want of materials for conversation. The generality of the houses, moreover, offer something attractive in the fine arts," &c. p. 50.

as the carriage drove rapidly over." This was not all; for they were overtaken by a "*considerable* thunder storm"—and about a mile from Northampton they had to pass the Connecticut river, five hundred yards wide, in a small ferry boat, "which as the night had already set in, was not very agreeable." And what was, if possible, worse than all this, they left Northampton to visit the government armory at Springfield, "under the most oppressive heat, with *five* ladies and two gentlemen in the stage-coach, into which they were crowded *somewhat* like those that were shut up in the Trojan horse." He would fain have deviated from his route fourteen miles for the purpose of visiting New Lebanon, but a person from whom he wished to hire a carriage being "so extortionate as to ask ten dollars," he determined, as he expresses it, "in order to avoid a new Yankee trick, to prosecute his journey in the stage-coach directly for Albany," where, in due season, he arrived and took lodgings at Crutenden's.

From Albany the Duke went to the Falls of Niagara, and down the St. Lawrence as far as Quebec. A part of the journey to the Falls was performed in a canal packet-boat. The following description shows that his Highness was not perfectly at his ease in that new situation."

"The day was intolerably warm, and our company was very numerous. I confined myself to writing the whole day as much as possible, but in consequence of the heat, I could not avoid sleeping. In the evening, we fortunately had a thunder storm, which cooled the air. During the night, as there was a want of births, the beds were placed upon benches, and as I was the tallest person, mine was put in the centre upon the longest bench, with a chair as a supplement. It had the appearance of a hereditary sepulchre, in the centre of which I lay as father of the family. I spent an uncomfortable night on account of my constrained posture, the insects which annoyed me, and the steersman, who always played an agreeable tune upon his bugle, whenever he approached a lock."

We are next favoured with an account of their manner of living on board these boats, the behaviour of the guests at table, the furniture, &c. "Every one must help himself as he can—there are no napkins—and except the spoons, no silver on the table. The forks, it seems, have two prongs, and their handles, like those of the knives, are of buck's horn. His Highness thinks it, as it no doubt is, an excellent rule that no one on departing, is bound to give money to the servants." p. 66.

In the further prosecution of this journey, we need scarcely say that many very remarkable things, besides the most stu-

pendous of cataracts presented themselves to our curious traveller. At a village called Manlius, for instance, he met with a farmer, the descendant of a German emigrant, who spoke the language used in Germany about a hundred years ago, and who thought the Duke's German too high. (p. 68.) At Waterloo, he saw at the tavern "a large, beautiful young eagle which had been caught in his nest and tamed." (p. 69.) He also witnessed an amusing, military spectacle. "It consisted of a militia parade consisting of thirty men, including seven officers and two cornets. They were formed like a battalion, into six divisions, and performed a number of manœuvres. The members were not all provided with muskets, but had ramrods instead. Only the officers and the rifle company, four men strong, were in uniform. The band consisted of sixteen men, and was commanded by an officer with a colonel's epaulettes and a drawn sword!" Nor must we forget to mention a circumstance of so rare a character that we doubt very much whether it be possible to find a parallel to it, except in the well-known adventure of the fulling-mill in *Don Quixotte*. The Tonnawanta creek runs through a dense and beautiful forest, which had never been violated by the axe, until a few trees were cut down on its borders to make place for a tow-path. The Duke sat in the bow of the boat during the whole of the passage. Every thing inclines the traveller to pensiveness and meditation. "Nothing interrupted the solemn silence—except—the *chattering of the boatmen's teeth*, who are often severely affected in this unhealthy part of the country, with intermittent fevers."

The passage down the St. Lawrence appears to have been one of the most interesting parts of this tour. The Rapids are descended in batteaux or Durham-boats, which are small, flat vessels of about forty tons, have but a half deck, and draw eighteen inches of water. The Duke embarked in one of these, which, by a very singular coincidence, happened to be called, "the Flying Dutchman." His fellow passengers are worthy of notice. "They were, principally, of the lower class of comedians, who spoke bad French, somewhat like the Walloon."—There was also a personage of a more remarkable description; to-wit—"a lively, young, black bear, three months old, on board." p. 85.

The following description of a scene on the St. Lawrence, is executed in a more ambitious style than is usual with the Duke.

"Our captain had business at the custom-house: he stopped, therefore, for an hour, during which I had time to look at the fort; after which, we continued our course in a strong wind, which was brought on by a thunder storm. The shores and islands of the river are gene-

rally covered with cedar trees, and amongst them we discovered some neat houses and churches, with bright tin roofs. At the village of Coteau des Cèdres, we were obliged to encounter the last and most dangerous rapid, called the Cascades. The waves were uncommonly high, and our vessel passed over the dangerous parts with incredible velocity. Along these rapids, there is also a canal, provided with locks, and intended to facilitate the ascent of vessels. If these rapids are viewed from the shore, it appears incredible that a canoe should venture in without being swallowed up. Such a misfortune, however, does not happen, as we had just proved. Below this rapid, the river, where it receives the Ottawa, again spreads out so as to form another lake called Lac St. Louis. North of this lake, and at the place where the Ottawa unites with the St. Lawrence, it forms another lake, Lac des deux Montagnes, which is separated from Lac St. Louis by three islands, called Jesus, Perrot and Montreal. The thunder storm passed close by us; the wind blew *heavy*, but favourably. We met a steam-boat, having a corpse on board, and her flag at half-mast! this was a bad omen!!—Another steam-boat got ahead of us as we were passing towards La Chine, and excited our desire to sail faster; but suddenly we saw a terrible storm approaching. In an instant, every hand was endeavouring to take down the sails, and the small one was fortunately drawn in before the *arrival* of the squall, but the large one, in consequence of its bad cordage, was only half way down when it struck us. Near us we observed a sound, with a dangerous cliff, which it was necessary to avoid by steering to the left; but we were driven directly towards it. Six men could scarcely manage the helm. Half of the sail floated in the water, and our destruction appeared inevitable. No one knew who commanded; the sailors thought themselves better qualified than the captain, and every thing was hurry and confusion. I deemed it best to remain silent, and commit myself to Providence, who guides the destinies of man. At length, a sailor climbed the mast and cut the cord, so that the sail could be taken down, by which time we had fortunately passed the sound. The storm also, which altogether did not last more than *five* minutes, began to abate, &c. Immediately after the storm, during which it had rained, we observed a remarkable phenomenon, viz. a fall of white-winged insects, of which a great quantity fell upon our boat. It continued during five minutes. These insects had, in all probability, been driven from the neighbouring forests," &c. p. 87.

Notwithstanding the dreadful omen of the corpse, and the dangers which followed it so speedily, our traveller arrived safe and sound, and was rewarded for his courage and perseverance, by the many curious things he saw at Montreal and in its vicinity. Among others, as a military man, he was particularly struck at the parade, with a new mode of making ready. "At the command 'ready,' the soldiers levelled their muskets, cocked them in this position; at the command 'fire,' they brought them slowly to their cheeks." p. 89. The following remark is quite just, and cannot but be acceptable to Americans:

"Generally speaking, the towns in Canada bear a very poor comparison with those of the United States, and will never arrive at the same point, because the settlers in Canada are mostly poor Scotchmen and Irishmen, who come out at the expense of the government; they receive land, and are oppressed by the feudal system, which opposes all prosperity: emigrants, however, who possess some property and have an ambitious spirit, settle themselves in the United States, where nobody is oppressed; on the contrary, where all laws are in their favour." p. 96.

We extract the following account of "The Shakers," for the benefit of such of our readers as may not be acquainted with the history and principles of that singular sect:

"The Shakers are a religious sect originally from England: it was founded by Anne Lee, the daughter of a Manchester blacksmith, and wife of the blacksmith Stanley, of the same place. Her chief doctrines are community of goods, a perfect continence with regard to the sexes, and adoration of the Deity by dancing. Anne Lee pretended to higher inspiration, performed miracles, announced the speedy re-appearance of Christ on earth, spoke of the Millennium, and of similar glories. She commenced in England by making proselytes among the lowest classes, who followed her when she preached in public, held noisy prayer, or rather dancing meetings, and thus disturbed the public peace. This worthy prophetess was, therefore, with her friends, at different times imprisoned; the impatient and unbelieving public even began once to stone her. The good soul, whose convulsions were said by the wicked world to be the effect of ardent spirits, wandered, therefore, in 1774, with her family and several of her friends to New-York, where she settled. But her husband was wearied with the sisterly connexion in which he lived with her, and resolved to divorce his sisterly wife and marry another. Whereupon, the repudiated wife wandered towards Albany, settled first at Watervliet, and held meetings. These meetings, however, appeared to the Americans so suspicious, (it was during the time of the Revolution) that the good lady was arrested at Albany, with several of her friends, and transported to the neighbourhood of New-York, in order to give her in charge to the English, who then held the city. But she soon returned again to Watervliet, and her faithful adherents bought land near Niskayuna, between Albany and Shenectady, and settled there. A large part of this people, those particularly who had joined the sect in America, founded the colony of New-Lebanon. Anne Lee died in Niskayuna in 1784. The colony numbers about six hundred members, who are divided into families, some of which contain about one hundred individuals of both sexes. Each lives in a groupe of houses, with an elder at its head. The elders of all the families form a council, which watches for the public good. They have for divine service, a sort of preachers, two of each sect, who hold forth on Sundays. The greatest cleanliness prevails in the houses, equalled perhaps, only by the hospital of Boston; the brethren live on one side, and the sisters on the other.

They have a common eating-room, in which again, each sect has its own side, but different working places. Both the brethren and the sisters live, generally, two individuals in a room, and two also sleep in the same bed. Many of the sisters, however, notwithstanding their good food, were pale and wan.

"When a family wishes to join the Shakers, the relation of brother and sister must immediately take place between husband and wife. The children are then brought up on Shaker principles. Orphans also find a home with them; still, however, unfavourable reports are circulated about the origin of these orphans. Of course, if the principles of these people should prevail, which, however, may Heaven prevent! the world would soon be depopulated. In countries, however, with too great a population, it might, perhaps, be of service to receive missionaries of this sect and promote proselytism." [We hope Mr. Malthus will profit by this hint.] * * *

"They pay also much attention to the breeding of cattle; make good butter, and particularly good cheese, great quantities of which they sell. Their hogs are remarkably handsome, and cleanliness is also extended to them. It is a rare pleasure to walk about in a Shaker pig-stye." pp. 107-108.

Of the servants in the city of New-York, the Duke remarks that—

"They are generally negroes and mulattoes; most of the white servants are Irish: the Americans have a great abhorrence of servitude. Liveries are not to be seen; the male servants wear frock-coats. All the families complain of bad servants and their impudence, because the latter consider themselves on an equality with their employers. Of this insolence of servants, I saw daily examples. Negroes and mulattoes are abundant here, but they generally rank low and are labourers. There are but a few slaves in the State of New-York, and even these are to be freed in the year 1827, according to a law passed by the Senate [?] of the State. There are public schools established for the instruction of coloured children, and I was told that these little ape-like creatures do sometimes learn very well. In the city there are several churches belonging to the coloured population; most of them are Methodists, some Episcopalians. A black minister, who was educated in an Episcopalian seminary, is said to be a good preacher. But there is in this country, a great abhorrence of this class of people, who are obliged to live almost like the Indian Pariahs." p. 126.

With Philadelphia, and other towns in Pennsylvania, especially Bethlehem, the Duke seems to have been particularly pleased. He was received with the greatest kindness and civility by the literary society of the metropolis, and mentions with high commendation, the "Wistar Party," a small circle of Savans, which owes its existence to the late Dr. Wistar. His translator, however, is exceedingly dissatisfied with the Duke's taste in painting, and sets him down for but an indifferent vir-

those, because he does not fall into ecstasies at Mr. West's "Christ healing the Sick." It must be admitted, that if his not admiring our American collections, is to be taken as conclusive against the judgment of his Highness, he is any thing but a connoisseur, for his opinion of them is not at all flattering. (pp. 122-140-146-177, v. i. and 179, v. ii.) But without pretending to much skill in such matters ourselves—although we have surveyed, and attentively too, the master-pieces of some of the greatest artists—we may be allowed to "hesitate" assent to the Duke's estimate of our pretensions to virtù. We are as ready as other people, to boast of the talent of some of our native artists, and South-Carolina has produced more than one painter, who wanted only the opportunities and encouragement of a great European capital, to have been as celebrated as her Allston. But certainly as a nation, we have made scarcely any progress in such things. More ought not to be expected of us by others—we ought not to pretend to it ourselves. We have hitherto had neither the time, nor the money, nor the taste necessary to the cultivation of the Fine Arts with success—at least, to any considerable extent.

On the subject of prison discipline, to which the people of Philadelphia have paid so much attention, the Duke makes some sensible observations. We submit the following to our readers :

"I do not now wish to enter upon the question whether it is advisable to abolish capital punishment altogether or not, but I maintain that this solitary confinement, in which the prisoner is prohibited from all human converse, without work, exercise, and almost without air, is even worse than punishment by death. From want of exercise, they will certainly become sickly; from the want of work, they will become unaccustomed to labour, and, perhaps, lose what skill they may have possessed heretofore in their trade, so that when restored to the world, they will be useless for any kind of business, and merely drag out a miserable existence. No book is allowed them but the bible. It appears therefore to me perfectly possible, that this insulation of the prisoner will be injurious to his mind, and drive him to fanaticism, enthusiasm, and even derangement. When Mr. Vaux asked my opinion of this prison, I could not refrain from answering him that it reminded me of the Spanish Inquisition, as is described by Llorente. Mr. Vaux answered, that it was only an experiment to ascertain whether capital punishment can be abolished, but notwithstanding this philanthropic view, the experiment appears to me to be an expensive one, because the building has already cost three hundred and fifty thousand dollars, and the State of Pennsylvania will have to expend annually for its support, an immense sum. The first great object of a government ought to be to provide for the welfare of its good citizens, and not to oppress them with taxes: on the contrary,

to relieve them as much as possible, as it is hard for the good citizens to have to maintain vagabonds for the sake of deterring others by example, or to render convicts harmless. In this view, it ought to be the object of governments, to arrange the prisons, so that convicts can maintain themselves," &c. p. 145.

In Washington, the Duke attended a ball given by General Brown, on which occasion, he pays the following high tribute to the officers of our little army:

"There is scarcely an army in Europe in which the corps of officers is better composed, than in the small American army; since, in the United States no one can on any account be an officer, if he is not well-educated. The officers are exclusively taken from the Military Academy at West-Point: no subaltern officer is promoted. The greater part of the inferior officers who were advanced during the late war, have been dismissed. Such a measure is in this country unavoidably necessary, where none but people of the lowest class enlist as soldiers in the army; without such an interval between the officers and the rank and file, discipline could not be maintained. Therefore, if a young man is seen in the uniform of an American officer, it may with confidence be inferred, that he is in every respect fit to maintain his place in the best society." p. 180.

In his journey through Virginia, our traveller visited Mr. Jefferson, with whom, however, he does not appear to have been as much struck as he had been with the late Mr. Adams. The Natural Bridge he pronounces "one of the greatest wonders of nature he ever beheld"—albeit he had seen "Vesuvius and the Phlegrean Fields, the Giant's Causeway in Ireland, the Island of Staffa, and the Falls of Niagara." "Finally," (to use a favourite mode of expression of his own) he is amazed at the profusion of militia titles in Virginia, which almost persuaded him that he was at the head-quarters of a grand army, and at the aristocratic notions of some of the gentlemen in the same state, who make no secret of their taste for primogeniture laws and hereditary nobility.

He passed through North-Carolina too rapidly to do any thing like justice to the many remarkable things which that respectable state has to boast of. Accordingly, his observations are principally confined to the inns where he stopped, the roads over which he travelled, and the mere exterior of the towns and villages which the stage-coach traverses in its route. He is of opinion from what he saw in that region, that "it would be a good speculation to establish a glass manufactory in a country, where there is such a want of glass, and a superabundance of pine trees and sand." It had almost escaped us, that he here for the first time made the acquaintance of a "great many large

vultures, called buzzards, the shooting of which is prohibited, as they feed upon carrion, and contribute in this manner to the salubrity of the country." This "parlous wild-fowl" has the honour to attract the attention of his Highness again at Charleston, where he informs us that its life is, in like manner, protected by law, and where it is called, from its resemblance to another bird, the Turkey-buzzard !

He at length arrives at Columbia, *viâ* Camden, and takes lodgings at our friend Clarke's, whose style of entertainment he pronounces "merely tolerable." We venture to predict, that if he ever revisit "mine host" in his new establishment, he will make him the *amende honorable*, and suppress this offensive passage in all his future editions. In Columbia, he became acquainted with most of the distinguished inhabitants, of whose very kind attentions to him, he speaks in high terms. The following good-natured hint too may not be altogether useless : "At Professor Henry's a very agreeable society assembled at dinner. At that party I observed a singular manner which is practised ; the ladies sit down by themselves at one of the corners of the table. But I broke the old custom, and glided between them ; and no one's appetite was injured thereby." Perhaps, a traveller so remarkable for the precision and circumstantiality of his narratives, may consider it not unimportant in us to notice several minute errors into which he has fallen, in his account of things in South-Carolina. 1. Columbia—It contains instead of four hundred inhabitants, almost as many thousands. 2. Judge De Saussure's father was not a native of Lausanne, nor uncle of the celebrated naturalist. It was his grandfather, we believe, who emigrated to this country from Geneva. 3. Colonel Blanding is not his step-son, but his son-in-law. 4. The name of the President of the Senate is not Johns, but P'On. The two last errors, we suspect, ought to be imputed to the translator. 5. Mr. Herbemont never was Professor of Botany in the South-Carolina College, nor is any such professorship known there. 6. The mill of Mr. Lucas, in one of the suburbs of Charleston, was not by any means, the first ever built in Carolina. His Highness also, does great injustice to the motives of the Professor of Astronomy, who neglected to introduce him into the Observatory, as well as the College Library, which contains (for this country) a very good and choice collection of books, particularly, a very complete series of Greek and Roman classics of the very best editions.

The Duke visited Charleston in December, and staid here but a short time. His observations upon our city are few and general.

The second volume, which contains the tour from Charleston to New-Orleans, and thence up the Mississippi and the Ohio, back to New-York, is, we think, more interesting than the first. It is characterized by the same amusing simplicity of style, and the same benevolent and amiable temper. We must except, however, out of this remark, his opinions concerning Georgia, which appear to us as extraordinary as they are unjust. We suspect he had imbibed these notions in more northern latitudes, where, for certain reasons, the name of our southern sister was then becoming particularly odious to those who exercised a control over public opinion. Governor Troup, who is alluded to in no very respectful terms by his Highness, has no reason to regret the part which he acted in that memorable controversy. We believe, if ever a *questio vexata* of some difficulty and most disagreeable character was settled by the concurrence of all candid minds, in favour of the injured party, that controversy was such a one; and just in proportion to the calumny and dishonour which were heaped upon the meritorious individual referred to, during the contest, ought to be the glory of his triumph, and the gratitude of those whom he served so faithfully and firmly.*

Nothing, in truth, can be a stronger exemplification of the difficulties under which a stranger labours, in his efforts to acquire a knowledge of a country new to him, than the perpetual mistakes which our distinguished traveller commits in his brief notices of Georgia. With the best intentions, he appears to labour under constant error, often the result of previous misinformation or misapprehension. Hence, Savannah, one of the most beautifully laid out, and one of the best built cities for its size in the United States, one increasing, and destined to increase in commerce, wealth, and all their concomitant advantages, was considered not worthy of his notice. Even the complexion of the people of Georgia displeased him, and coming from a Court where French was not only the fashionable but the common language of social intercourse, he considers the education of women neglected, because they are not taught that language in situations where they might never have occasion to use it.

We shall not pursue his narrative any further, we have given extracts and remarks sufficient to indicate the general merits of the work.

Upon the whole, with all its twaddle and occasional *marserie*, this book will convey some knowledge to Europeans, and should

* The Duke would, probably, apply to Governor Troup a maxim, which he elsewhere quotes, "*Fortuna audacibus juvat.*" Latin, we apprehend, that would scarcely pass muster at Gottingen or Weimar. v. ii. p. 47.

give some pleasure to Americans. For the author himself, it is impossible to entertain any other sentiments but those of the highest esteem.

Upon the general merits of the translation, we have no opinion to give. But we suggest to the publisher that it would be just as well in a future edition to use "drunk" instead of "drank," for the participle of "drink"—to distinguish between "sit" and "set" and "lie" and "lay"—to omit "on" before "next day," and not to speak of persons "assembled to a ball." p. 209, &c.

ART. VII.—*The Celtic Druids*. By GODFREY HIGGINS, Esq. of Skellow Grange, near Doncaster, Yorkshire. 4to. London. 316 pages, and an Introduction of 96 pages; with 52 Lithographic Prints, and 7 Vignettes, engraved on wood.

BEFORE we enter on a review of this elaborate and splendid publication, we desire to offer to the reader a short preliminary dissertation, founded on our own former researches, concerning a question of great and encresing literary interest, and as yet involved in no common obscurity. Having very laboriously travelled over the ground ourselves, we shall trace the course we have pursued, and the books we have been compelled to peruse or diligently consult, while engaged in the present investigation. So that they who feel interested in this very curious subject may be saved some trouble if they desire to pursue it for their own satisfaction.

We wish it to be understood, that we pretend to nothing like demonstration in the case. Probability is all that can be expected; but in how many other cases does this happen? How seldom is it, except in the exact sciences, that absolute demonstration can reasonably be required or supplied! the actual conduct through life of the wisest among us, must submit to be directed by the balance of argument, by probabilities of various values. In a question of mere literary curiosity, it suffices if we can proceed thus far, though we should be unable to promise or perform more. *Est quoddam prodire tenus, si non datur ultra.*

M. Bailly, the astronomer, who was murdered by an infuriated mob at Paris, in 1793, was the first who advanced the

opinion, that much of ancient and of modern knowledge has been transmitted to their descendants by a race of men, whose existence, whose origin, whose duration, on the face of the earth, whose place of abode, whose history, whose memory, have all been but lost to their successors ; a race of men, who lived and flourished in times of the most remote antiquity.

The controversy to which this paradoxical notion gave rise, is likely to be renewed. The objections of Messrs. Davis and Bentley, at Calcutta, and of M. Delambre, at Paris, seemed for a time, to prostrate the theory of M. Bailly : but it has risen like Antæus, with renewed strength, and has again taken the field. We shall present a brief view of the argument as it now stands.

We apprehend that among learned men there will be no dispute at the present day, but that the high land of Asia, from the northern Caspian Caucasus, eastward toward Inaus or the Himalaya mountains, comprise the region of country that may be considered as the cradle of the human race. Probably, few who have examined the question, will be inclined to place its southern boundary more south than lat. 45°. Were we to locate our first ancestors, we should hardly assign them a country south of 60°. Notwithstanding the grossly ignorant, not to say wilful misrepresentations which Sir Wm. Jones is pleased to make of M. Bailly's theory, in his fifth Discourse before the Asiatic Society, on the Tartars. The suggestions of Buffon and Bailly as to the former temperature of the earth—the tropical animals and vegetables so abundant formerly in Siberia, as appears from their abundant remains—the well known facts of the increase of ice at the poles—the gradual cooling of the earth's surface—the increased temperature observed in upwards of three hundred experiments of descent into deep mines—the views taken by Humboldt, Cordier and Scrope, dependant on the present state of geological knowledge—will furnish a sufficient reply to the unfair sarcasms of Sir Wm. Jones, and fully justify the opinion here advanced. But Sir. Wm. Jones had an hypothesis of his own to advance, and Bailly was suspected of greater latitude in his religious opinions than was consistent with the established doctrines of the English church. But in fact, we see nothing in Bailly's theory that does not confirm, or may not be well reconciled to the facts and doctrines of the Bible. This fear, however, will account for the general tone of the papers of Sir Wm. Jones, Mr. Davis, and Mr. Bentley in the Asiatic researches : nor do we hesitate to suggest the same motive of obsequious conformity to the ruling powers, as influencing the tone of criticism adopted by that laborious but dull writer, Delambre. Bailly, though murdered by the mob, was

an early friend to the French revolution. Nor is that likely to be forgotten under a Bourbon dynasty.

M. Bailly, following up the scattered accounts to be found in the historians and philosophers of Greece and Rome, places the earliest known, and the earliest civilized people, the Atlantides, and the island Atlantis or Ogygia, somewhere about lat. 70°. From whence, as he supposes, these ancient people extended themselves southward and eastward during a long succession of ages, till they finally became the ancestors of the Hindoos, Chinese, Persians, Scythians, Goths, Huns, as well as the Pelasgi, Egyptians, Phenicians, Greeks and Romans; that they were the original inventors of much scientific knowledge, of which only the remnants and the practice, not the reasons and demonstrations, were known to the Hindoos and Orientals generally, and from them derived to the Greeks. The general nature of his argument we shall presently offer to the reader.

Professor Miners of Gottingen, in his Syllabus of Lectures on History, derives mankind from two distinct races or stems; the *Mongul* to the north of Caspian Caucasus and that continued chain, and the *Caucasian* to the south of that chain. The former characterised by small eyes, high cheek bones, low foreheads, flat faces, and inferior intellect—the latter, exhibiting the finest specimens of the human family. Sir Wm. Jones supposes that mankind were very early divided into three distinct families, branching out from the original stem: a division that he adopts, from a consideration of a radical difference in the languages at first spoken by each of these families. The first being the *Persian* or *Indian* race; giving origin to the Ethiopians, Egyptians, Goths, Greeks and Romans. The second, the *Arabian* or second Persian race, including the Syrians, Assyrians, Abyssinians, Arabians, and Jews. The third, being the *Tartarian*, who might have been the ancestors of the Chinese, Japanese and Hindoos, but of which there is no certainty. The first known location or point of departure of these families, and of the original stem that produced them, he designates as the northern part of *Iran*, or ancient Persia.

Mr. Pinkerton, without citing Sir Wm. Jones, agrees with him in this location, for his favourites the Scythians or Goths. Whether the Celts were, as Pinkerton supposes, a different and inferior race to the Goths, who chased them away, may admit of some doubt. Pezron, Huddleston, and the author under review, do not countenance this opinion of Pinkerton's, who is a very positive and prejudiced writer.

We now proceed to Bailly's arguments:

Among the ancient nations, from the very earliest records of traditional history, there were *customs*, arbitrary in their character, common to all known nations, whose origin none of those nations appear to have known, nor have they been able to assign any plausible reason for the observance of them ; customs and circumstances, observed by nations, who do not appear to have had any such intercourse with each other, as to suggest the probability, that they borrowed the practices in question from one another.

There are to this day *languages* entire, and fragments or remnants of languages, as perfectly constructed, as any modern tongue—exhibiting, in their formation, as much thought, as much skill, as much grammatical knowledge in theory and in practice, and implying, at least, an equal length of civilization, as any known modern language. These ancient languages and remnants, appear to be connected together, and to have had no small share in the formation of every known ancient and every known modern language. But of the people who spake them, who they were, where they lived, when they came into or went out of existence, not a trace or vestige remains. All has passed away : we must assign their time and place from the plausible conclusions of circumstantial evidence and hints and gleanings of ancient history.

The *letters of the alphabet* have nothing in them as phonetic representatives that should necessarily restrict the list to any particular number (nay, some nations use sounds which others do not, as the French reject the *dth*) more especially if that number should require every where additional letters. The great majority of ancient nations, however, have adopted an alphabet of sixteen letters. In most of them, their rank or order of succession is the same, their powers of notation are the same : so as to set at utter defiance all supposition of accidental coincidence, and to put the doctrine of chances *hors de combat*.—But from whence the oldest of these alphabets came, or from what people they were derived, is beyond the date even of traditional history.

There are some points problematical and contested, and others incontrovertible in the history of *astronomic* knowledge, which appear to have given rise to practises and calculations in use for more than two thousand years, by people who know them only by rote ; who know not the reasons or the ground-work of the knowledge they put in practice ; who are utterly ignorant from what place and from what more profound and superior people they derive this traditionary practical knowledge. The Brahmins know and employ the rules prescribed in the *Surya*

siddhanta, but the theory of them is unknown in India. There are evidences of the existence of astronomical knowledge long previously to Hipparchus and Ptolemy, far more accurate than these great men were acquainted with. Knowledge, too accurate for their adoption, and which they did not know: knowledge, approaching to modern and recent accuracy. But we know not what nation acquired it before us; or to whom it is to be ascribed; or from what region of the earth it has been traditionally delivered, and become known to the people who, comparatively within these few years only, have discovered its accuracy.

There are among the most ancient people known, the Scythians, the Orientals, the Egyptians, the Ethiopians, the Phenicians, the Pelasgi, the Etruscans, not to mention the Greeks, *mythological* coincidences that point to a common stock, to a common form of worship, the parent of all succeeding ones; on which, figurative, poetic, and popular personifications and superstitions have from time to time been every where engrafted, as to whose origin history is silent.

There are probable traces of *chemical* knowledge, particularly in metallurgy, that point beyond the earliest period of traditional history.

There are evidences of people beyond the memory of all history, who measured a *degree of the meridian* approximating to the modern calculation of 57,008 toises so near as 57066 toises, implying a common measure, and an accuracy and a length of observation, that sets modern conjecture at defiance.

Finally, the traditional benefactors of the human race, the men of science who taught what was known, and who, in all parts of the world, have received the traditional homage of the people who knew them only by name—differ in name only: for, at present, no learned man entertains any doubt, but 'Thaut or Thoth of the Egyptians, Butta or Buddha of the Orientals, Somonocodam of Siam, Fo of the Chinese, and Hermes Trismegistus of the Greeks, are one and the same person. Among all these people, the fourth day of the week is dedicated to Mercury, the great object of worship also with the Gauls.*

And *first* as to the alphabets and languages. The names given to mere sounds, and the order of arrangement in which these names or letters succeed each other—and when they are used to signify numbers, the numbers to which they are applied—are all circumstances, in themselves, perfectly arbitrary.

* Boch. Chanaan. L. i. c. xlii. Cæs. Com. l. 6.

The Pelasgic, Attic, or Arcadian letters, the Ionian, Phœnician, Cadmean, Eolian, those of the old Latins, of the old Germans, of the British and Irish bards, amount to sixteen. To these, in Greek, was added the Digamma, then four others by Palamedes, and four by Simonides. The Runic alphabet consists, properly, of sixteen letters, which are Phœnician in their origin. The traditions and chronicles of the North attribute their introduction to Odin.*

According to Dr. Burgess, the old Irish had seventeen primary letters, which are the same with the Arabic. When the seventeenth was added we do not know.

The Welsh (Celts) have thirty-six letters, of which, sixteen only are radical.

The powers of notation of the Samaritan, Hebrew, Greek and Arabic, are the same. How all this happens, none can tell.—Accidental coincidence of circumstances so numerous, is out of the question. These coincidences can arise only from a common source: that source must be the system formed by the nation or people who first adopted them. But who are they? What is known concerning them? They have left some brief memorials of their existence, but no more!

The Sanscrit language (says Sir Wm. Jones, third discourse on the Hindûs) whatever be its antiquity, is of a wonderful structure, more perfect than the Greek, more copious than the Latin, and more exquisitely refined than either, yet bearing to both of them a stronger affinity both in the roots of verbs, and in the forms of grammar than could possibly have been produced by accident; so strong, indeed, that no philologist could examine them all three, without believing them to have sprung from some common source, which perhaps no longer exists. There is a similar reason, though not quite so forcible, for supposing that both the Gothic and the Celtic, though blended with a very different idiom, had the same origin with the Sanscrit. The old Persian might be added to the same family.

Lieut. Wilkins, in the Asiatic researches, has shewn that the words used at the close of the Eleusinian mysteries, were pure Sanscrit. That the Sanscrit can be traced in the Irish, and therefore in the Hebrew and Phœnician, is now settled. That we find it insinuated in the German, and with the Greek, in the Welsh or Celtic, is also out of dispute. Who spake the Sanscrit language? What people constructed, arranged and employed, for their common use, this tongue, so exquisite and refined? That people whose profound knowledge and astronomic

* Nor. Amer. Rev. Jan. 1829, p. 24.

skill, enabled the compiler of the *Surya Siddyanta*, to collect together that system of astronomical rules and practices, of which, excellent as they are, and different as the Hindoo is for the most part from the Greek astronomy, no Brahmin, known to history or tradition, ever understood the source, or the demonstration. Who were that people, where did they live, what is their history? We leave this puzzling question to be answered by the opponents of M. Bailly.

The ancient Zend and Pahlivi, perhaps dialects of the Sanscrit, exist as a written language in Persia; when were they spoken? who spake them? Sir Wm. Jones assumes, that they were the ancient language of Iran. Perhaps it was so; but who brought these dialects into Iran? Were they confined to Iran? When did they come into, when did they go out of use? Time has placed oblivion as a guard over these objects of curious inquiry: prohibiting approach, there he stands!

Major Vallancey has shewn, as we think conclusively, that the Ogham and Persepolitan characters relate to a language far beyond the limits of known history; the language known perhaps to the Hercules Ogmios of Lucian. This has met the fate of his Irish translation of the scene in Plautus; derided, but never refuted. It is dangerous to stride so far that the feeble powers of contemporaries cannot enable them to follow us. But Vallancey's day is coming on: *Renascuntur quæ jam cecidère*.—We think our readers in this country will be obliged to us for a tabular view of Bochart's and Vallancey's explanation of that curious specimen of Carthagino-Pherician, Phenico-Samaritan, and Irish.

Secondly, as to the remnants traceable of ancient *astronomic* knowledge:—

We have carefully perused the history of ancient astronomy, and the history of Indian astronomy by Mr. Bailly; then the papers of Mr. Davis and Mr. Bentley, in the Asiatic researches, fixing the date of the *Surya Siddyanta*, and shewing, as we think, with great probability, in what way the supposed ancient observations pretended to have been made by the Indian astronomers at the commencement of the Kaliyoug, might have been settled by assuming astronomical appearances, and calculating backward, in recent times. We then perused the remarks of Professor Playfair, in the *Edinburgh Transactions*; and then the review of the controversy, by Delambre, in his *History of Ancient Astronomy* (4to. 1817) from page 400 to 537, and his review of Dr. John Taylor's *Translation of the Liliwati*: and the observations of Delambre on the *Bija Ganita*. The impression left on our minds after a laborious perusal of these docu-

ments, is, that Bailly is undoubtedly mistaken in many of his astronomical calculations, but that there is a manifest inclination among his critics to destroy the character of his whole system. We think no one can peruse the criticisms upon it by Sir Wm. Jones and Delambre, without being struck with this intention glaring upon the face of them. With respect to the very ingenious and plausible objections of Messrs. Davis and Bentley, we are of opinion with Professor Playfair, that the processes these gentlemen think the Hindoos have adopted, could not possibly have taken place; inasmuch as they imply a knowledge of astronomical facts, which have not long been known, and which the Hindoos could not have known. What Messrs. Davis and Bentley, with the aid of modern facts can do now, no Hindoo could have done a century ago. The results produced imply more accurate knowledge than any modern Hindoo can be presumed to possess.

It is not worth our while to enter here into a criticism of the method adopted by Mr. Bentley, to determine the dates of the Tirvalore tables and the Surya Siddyanta; we will assume the dates he has assigned, viz. the year 1281 for the Tirvalore tables, and 1060 for the Surya Siddyanta. Is there the slightest proof of the existence of the theorems on which those tables and processes are founded? Granting that *Varaha* lived after the Arabs and the Greeks, is there even the shadow of proof that he or any other Brahmin ever resorted to that source of knowledge, even if it were adequate? Is there the shadow of proof of any Brahmin so far forgetting the injunctions of his caste, as to travel? to travel especially into Greece? Is there the shadow of proof that *Varaha*, or any other Brahmin of that day, was acquainted with the theorems and these demonstrations on which the practical directions of the Surya Siddyanta are founded? we know of none. Let any one reflect on the admissions of Delambre, in p. 478 of the chapter on Indian Astronomy, and he will be satisfied, not only that the Indian Astronomy is entirely different from that of the Greeks, and, perhaps, inferior, but that it must be referred to a very different era, and a very different people: exactly the conclusion that Bailly arrives at, although he suspects the travelling philosophers of that people to have profited by an eastern knowledge. To suppose that calculations approaching to accuracy, could be made for the year 3100 before Christ, by means of directions found in a book published in 1060 of the Christian era, is a draft on our credulity, which we are not yet disposed to honour.

Delambre, in p. 517, remarks, that from a calculation of the eclipse of Monday, November 2, 1789, made according to the

tables in the *Surya Siddhyanta*, it appears that the Monday of the Indians is like our Monday, dedicated to the moon, *Soma-var*. He does not account for this coincidence.

Allowing the justice even of the major part of Delambre's criticisms, the main system of M. Bailly remains unshaken. His powers of laborious research, his great talent for inductive reasoning, the luminous arrangement of his arguments, the energy and eloquence of his style, are qualifications that place him far above his critics, and promise a longer duration to the system of opinions he has adopted, than such opponents would be inclined to allow. We were much struck with the fanciful character of some of his chronological calculations, but he has brought out a series of periods, approximating so nearly to the chronology of the Septuagint, that every biblical critic will feel himself under obligations to M. Bailly's ingenuity.

We proceed then to an examination of astronomical facts; all of them forcibly argued, and all of them deduced with great ingenuity, though with more or less probability.

The universal reception of the same number of planets, bearing the same names. The seven days of the week also, in the same succession, with the same name, common not to the Greeks and Romans only, but to the Egyptians, to the Indians, to the Chinese. These names and this order of succession are not suggested by the nature of the thing, but they are, so far as we can discover, arbitrary, or else founded on reasons unknown to us, and to history. Whence comes this coincidence, but from its being part of a system, invented and adopted by people long anterior to the Indians, the Chinese, the Egyptians, the Greeks or Romans?

Again. The measurement of time by lunar and solar years. The Metonic cycle of lunar revolution of nineteen years; not the invention of Meton, because known traditionally to the Chinese and Siamese, and mentioned by Diodorus Siculus, lib. iii. as in use among the Hyperboreans, a people living certainly between 50 and 60° north.

Again. The Neros or luni-solar period of six hundred years, mentioned by Josephus, and attributed by him to the Patriarchs, which must have been the result of at least twelve hundred years observation, previously to its adoption. This period implies a computation of the solar year at 365 days, 5 hours, 51 minutes, and 36 seconds: a computation not varying from the truth, more than three minutes, and considerably more accurate than the computation adopted by Hipparchus and Ptolemy, (365d. 5h. 55m. 12s.) Our modern calculation is 365 days, 5 hours, 48 minutes, and 45½ seconds. This cycle implies, that if the

what support this theory of a lost and civilized people, can derive from *mythology*.

The first general object of worship among mankind, forgetful of, or uninstructed by Revelation, appears to have been the Sun—Fire. This was afterwards extended by the Sabians to the heavenly host: and thence, by astronomical and poetical fictions and personifications, to the infinite number of deities that constituted the vulgar objects of Pagan worship. This being, the Sun, was the universal Hercules of the most ancient nations: the Apollo and the Adonis borrowed of the Egyptians and Phenicians by the Greeks. It is enough for our present purpose, to notice the universally conceded fact, that among the most ancient and earliest of Pagan nations, the most ancient and earliest object of worship was the Sun. How and why did this happen, and where? Would the Sun be an object of adoration to an inhabitant of the tropics, or the sands of Africa? Not otherwise than as the principle of destruction and of evil. Arimanes became so among the Persians, or Pluto among the Greeks, or Odin in the Runic mythology, not for his benefits, but his power. Who would be likely to worship the Sun? Those who felt his benefits; those who, under the fiction of the six months residence of Adonis with Proserpine, would deplore, because they would feel his loss; the inhabitants of a northern clime. Delambre thinks this idea void of all foundation. So would any man, perhaps, whose laborious life had been occupied by mathematical calculations, and who could see and feel no further. We do not wonder at such a notion having no weight with a dull calculator like Delambre. To us, however, it appears, the idea is not merely ingenious, but natural and reasonable; and it would with us, give a preponderance to the opinion that the sun-worshippers came first from the northern side of the Caucasian chain. We do not push the fable of Adonis and Proserpine, and Adonis and Venus into the regions,

Where Hecla from his half-year's sleep
Wakes and hails the thawing deep.

The common period of six months winter in the temperate latitudes, will sufficiently serve to account for its origin. But we state it as probable in itself, without further argument, that sun-worship and fire-worship commenced not in the south, but the northern regions. The most ancient history of all the most ancient nations, gives the precedence in point of time to this form of worship. It is probable, therefore, it was derived from the earliest of all people, after the instructions given to the imme-

diate posterity of Adam became forgotten and neglected, as appears from the Scripture to have been the case.

The wars of the Giants against the Gods, the Titans—part of the fabulous account of the Atlantides, are manifestly the same with the Dives and Peris of Persia, their Genii and Fairies. They are practical accounts of the wars between the northern invaders on one side of the Caucasian chain, and the inhabitants of the south, who struggled to maintain their possessions. The traditions of these wars extend from China to the Nile: they have a common origin—an origin, in a fact so intrinsically probable, as to be indisputable.

The fable of the Phenix is found in the Edda.* It is a bird who flies from the northern regions to Ethiopia, where it burns itself; and from its ashes proceeds a red worm, which soon becomes another Phenix, and flies back to the north again. The duration of the life of this bird is 300 days. He disappears for sixty-five days. What latitude does this apply to, where the sun is absent for sixty-five days? Lat. 71° north.

Macrobius, in his Saturnalia, (l. i. c. 9) says that Janus was figured with the number 300 in his right hand, and 65 in his left. Is not this a deity of lat. 71?

Ptolemy gives calendars of observations of the rising and setting of the stars, made in a climate where the longest day is sixteen hours.† What climate is that? Lat. 49, where Seliginskoi is placed.

Zoroaster, the law-giver of the Persians, in the Zendavesta, as translated by M. Anquetil, (v. ii. p. 400) says the longest day is double the length of the shortest day in winter. That is, sixteen hours in summer, and eight in winter. Where was that observation made, if true? In lat. 49. We must go thus far then to the north, in search of the ancient repositories of knowledge. And why not as well as to Paris or London now? Who will say that Edinburgh, in latitude 56, is too far north for knowledge. Does not this northern appropriation explain the six months life of Proserpine with her mother Ceres upon earth, and six months with Pluto? Does it not explain the fable of the Phenix? the statue of Janus? the death of Adonis?

But in writing a review, we must not write a volume; although the subject, even in moderate detail, would require no small one. We shall, therefore, close this preliminary essay, with some remarks in aid of the bold and fearless march of M. Bailly, in placing his Hyperboreans and Atlantides in a latitude so truly Hyperborean. This served Sir Wm. Jones, who had more ac-

* Rudbeck Atlantica, v. ii. p. 245.

† De apparentiis in Uranologion, p. 71.

quired knowledge than real talent, as a subject of sarcasm ; although Bailly has a letter expressly on the greater warmth of the northern climates formerly than now, and Sir William knew it.

We are not about to waste our own time, or the time of the reader, by an elaborate proof of what no man, competent to the question, will deny. It is not ours *actum agere*, or to do more than state, that the great mass of our globe, the earth, has for many thousand years been, and at this moment is, in actual fusion : and that this statement will apply to the nucleus over which we stand, of about 7900 miles in diameter, after deducting the thickness of the crust. That the thin crust of which we inhabit the surface—the outward rind of our orange, consists of oxyds of the metalloids, gradually oxyded by air and water, then cooled and consolidated.: a process which commenced at a period beyond our inclination to investigate. We do not believe in any change of the sun's place in the ecliptic ; 1st, because we have no evidence of it ; and 2ly, because the known facts can be explained without it.

The consolidation of fifty miles thick of strata, one thin layer after another, will have taken no small number of years to effect ; but in some intermediate time, between the commencement of the process and the present day, the warmth of the northern climates must of necessity have been much greater than it is now ; owing to the more rapid radiation of calorific from the fluid mass below, and the comparative thinness of the strata and the many fissures through which the heat was transmitted. In those days, we might well caution an inhabitant of our globe to take heed to his paths ; *incedis per ignes cineri doloso, suppositos*. In those days, earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, cataclysms and debacles, forcible changes of the bottom of the ocean taking place of the submersed dry land, repeated and extensive deluges in consequence, would put in frequent danger every inhabitant of the earth. At that time too, let it be considered, the mass of polar ice which has within even a short period so increased, as to render Greenland an inappropriate appellation, was not ice but water. No wonder, therefore, that we hear of the Noachian deluge, the Ogygian deluge, the Deucalian deluge. Whether the Noachian deluge was universal as is generally believed, or the deluge of *all the land* then known to the inhabitants of northern Asia, will depend on the translation we give to *הארץ* which may signify either the *earth* or the *land*.* If we assign to it the first meaning, the deluge was universal : if the second, it

* Is used for limited districts of country, in Gen. x. 20, 31, 5. Gen. ii. 11, 12. Deut. vi. 1, 3, 10. Ps. x. 16. cvi. 27. cv. 44. et al.

may have been of the land then inhabited. It appears to us, that either translation is consistent with the expressions of the sacred historian; but the first meaning implies a miracle, and the second leaves us at liberty to assign secondary causes, acting according to known laws, and sufficient to explain the circumstances detailed in this part of holy writ. Whether the rule, *nec Deus intersit nisi dignus vindice nodus*, ought to take place in the present instance, the reader must judge. Our own opinion is, if the acknowledged facts cannot be explained without a miracle, we must admit the miracle; if they can, we ought not to resort to supernatural interposition, when the known action of secondary causes will suffice.

When we assign fifty miles as the thickness of the crust of the earth, we do it at hazard: we have no sufficient data; nor can we reconcile the phenomena of volcanic eruptions undoubtedly taking place under the old granite with a thickness so great. We refer to Cordier's late paper, in Silliman's journal.

That the nucleus of the earth is at this moment, and from its very first formation constantly has been, in a state of igneous fusion, is demonstrable. 1st. It was so at its origin, or the flattening at the poles could not have taken place. 2ly. Every volcanic eruption throws out fused masses that continue red hot for many years under the outward crust of cinders. 3ly. Three hundred experiments have shown, that on descending from the surface into deep mines, the warmth increases about 12° of Fahrenheit, for every one thousand feet of descent. This has been ascertained, after making every possible allowance for the burning of candles, or the warmth of the human body, and avoiding these causes of deduction wherever it was possible. 4ly. The organic remains of the plants and the animals of southern Asia, abound in Siberia under circumstances which show that they must have lived and died there. Siberia, therefore, has been formerly as warm as southern Asia, the sun being then just as it now is. Are not excellent pine-apples raised in the hot-houses of England? We refer the reader to Cordier's essay, of which a full abstract and account may be found in the last number of Silliman's Journal; to the treatises of Scrope and Daubeny on volcanoes, to the last paper of Sir H. Davy on the same subject, and to the essay of Von Humboldt on the structure of volcanoes. The following is an extract from that essay, which receiving our own full assent, we think is also entitled to the assent of the reader.

"It is, perhaps, in the internal heat of the earth, a heat indicated by experiments made with the thermometer, and the phenomena of volca-

noes, that the cause of one of the most astonishing phenomena which the knowledge of petrifications presents to us, resides. Tropical forms of animals, arborescent ferns, palms, and bamboos, occur imbedded in the frozen regions of the North. The primitive world, every where, discloses to us a distribution of organic forms, which is in opposition to the present existing state of climates. To solve so important a problem, recourse has been had to a great number of hypotheses, such as the approach of a comet, the change of obliquity of the ecliptic, the increase of intensity of solar heat. None of these hypotheses has been able to satisfy, at the same time, the astronomer, the natural philosopher, and the geologist.

"As to my own opinion on the subject, I leave the earth's axis in its position. I admit no change in the radiation of the solar disk; a change by which a celebrated philosopher thought he could explain the good and bad harvests of our fields. But I imagine that in each planet, independently of its relations to a central body, and of its astronomical position, there exist numerous causes of the developement of heat, whether by the chemical processes of oxydation, or by the precipitation and changes of capacity of bodies, or by the augmentation of the electromagnetic intensity, or the communication between the external and internal parts of the globe.

"When in the primitive world, the deeply-fissured crust of the earth exhaled heat by these apertures, perhaps during many centuries, palms, arborescent ferns, and the animals of warm climates lived in vast expanses of country; (from whence they are now excluded.) According to this system of things, which I have already indicated in my work, entitled '*Essai Geognostique sur le gisement des roches dans les deux Hemispheres*,' the temperature of volcanoes is the same as that of the interior of the earth, and the same causes which now produce such frightful ravages, would formerly have made the richest vegetation to spring in every zone, from the newly oxydized envelope of the earth, and the deeply-fissured strata of its rocks.

"If in order to account for the distribution of the tropical forms that occur buried in the northern regions of the globe, it is assumed that elephants, covered with long hair, now immersed in the polar ice, were originally natives of those climates; and, that forms resembling the same principal type, such as that of lions and lynxes, may have lived at the same time in very different climates—such a mode of explanation would yet be inapplicable to the vegetable productions. For reasons which vegetable physiology discloses, palms, bananas, and arborescent monocotyledonous plants, are unable to support the cold of the northern countries; and, in the geognostical problem which we are here examining, it appears to me difficult to separate the plants from the animals. No explanation can be satisfactory which does not embrace the two forms."

From this view of the subject, no person competent to judge of it in the present day, will, for a moment, dissent. It is manifest, that all the objections to M. Bailly's theory, deduced from the assumed cold of the northern regions, melt away like the

snows on the approach of summer. In the year 1776, all this was, in substance, foreseen and argued at length by M. Bailly, in his *Lettres sur l'Atlantide*, with a distinctness, a sagacity, and a fearlessness, that nothing but the confidence of clear sighted talent could dictate.

We hope and trust, the discussions on this curious subject will continue, till the literary portion of the public is fully prepared to adopt a final opinion concerning it. Like the organic remains imbedded in the strata of the globe, the present investigation is intimately connected with the primeval history, both of the earth and its inhabitants: and the progress of the discussion will serve to excite and gratify a reasonable curiosity, even if it should do no more.

When a traveller passes through our western country, and observes the very frequent remains of fortifications manifestly intended for the defence of a people more numerous, more civilized, and better informed than any tribe of North-American Indians now known—when he inquires if any trace of traditional history of these former people, now remains among those who have taken their place, and finds none—does he hesitate, nevertheless, to believe that a race of people, capable of constructing these defensive works, did formerly inhabit the country? Who doubts if some nation competent to the building of Persepolis and Balbec, and the works at Elephantis and Ellora, did actually exist and build them? If we see manifest traces of skill, knowledge, and intelligence, can we avoid referring them to some intelligent agent as the author of them?

So, if we glean from scattered history the positive proofs of skill and knowledge, far anterior to any now known nation, or to any people regularly known to history, can we help referring them to some nation now no more, to some people who actually lived and once possessed them? Is it not fair then, as part of the history of the human race, to connect the scattered facts, and make out a tale consisting with probability, although not strictly conformable to our previous ignorance, or our early prejudices? M. Bailly has done this, with a diligence, a clear sightedness, a skill, a mass of learning, an unlooked-for induction of fact, a luminous course of reasoning, and a style of uncommon clearness and eloquence, to which we know but few equals. He has not received the credit due to him, because he went too far ahead of the knowledge of his day. But his eclipse is not destined to continue much longer; his winter period of darkness and oblivion has nearly passed away; and we may safely prophecy, although he may occasionally have erred in ardently pursuing a new source of knowledge, that with all his

very pardonable faults and mistakes—'maculæ quas aut incuria fudit, aut humana parum cavit natura', he will emerge from the temporary obscurity which envy and dulness have contrived to cast around him.*

We are now enabled to proceed more satisfactorily than without this trouble we could have done, to a review of the work mentioned at the head of this article, the *Celtic Druids* by Godfrey Higgins, Esq.

The author proposes in this work to shew, that the Druids of the British Isles were the priests of a very ancient nation called *Celtæ*. That these *Celtæ* were a colony from the first race of people—a learned and enlightened people, the descendants of the persons who escaped the effects of the deluge on the borders of the Caspian Sea. That they were the earliest occupiers of Greece, Italy, France and Britain, arriving in those places by a route nearly along the 45th parallel of north latitude. (He had better have adopted north of 50°.) That in a similar manner, colonies advanced from the same great nation by a southern line through Asia, peopling Syria and Africa, and arriving at

* We promised to suggest, for the benefit of the American student, the course of reading that has enabled us to come to these conclusions. In London or Paris, we should not thus intrude ourselves; but these investigations, and the libraries that enable us to pursue them, are not yet common among us. At the hazard, therefore, of the imputation of pedantry, we shall endeavour to be useful:—

Bocharti *Phaleg et Chanaan*, 4to. 1674. Indispensable.

Pezron on the Antiquity of Nations. Jones' translation, 1706.

Bryant's Ancient Mythology, 3 vols. 4to. second edition, 1775.

Sir Wm. Drummond's *Origines Gentium*, 3 vols. 8vo.

Major Vallancey's *Vindication of the Ancient History of Ireland*, 1786.

The reader must be strongly on his guard against the etymological propensities of the three last named authors.

Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis.

Lettres sur l'Atlantide, par M. Bailly, 2 vols. 8vo. 1779.

Histoire de l'Astronomie, ancienne, 4to. par M. Bailly, second edition, 1781.

_____, moderne, 3 vols. 4to. par M. Bailly, 1786.

_____, Indienne et Orientale, par M. Bailly, 4to. 1787.

_____, ancienne, par M. Delambre, 2 vols. 4to. 1817.

Origine de Tous Les Cultes, par M. Dupuis, 8vo. 7 v. edit. of M. Auguis, 1822.

Pinkerton on the Goths, 8vo. 1787.

Dutens, *Origine des Decouvertes attribuées aux modernes*, 2 vols. 8vo. 1776.

The Papers on Indian Astronomy, by Mr. Davis and Mr. Bentley, in the *Asiatic Researches*, vols. 2, 6, 8.

_____, by Professor Playfair, in the *Edinb. Philosophical Transactions*, 2 vols.

The *Disquisitions* of Sir Wm. Jones, in the first vol. of the 4to. edit. of his works, 1799.

The Remarks of Mr. Wilkins on the Sanscrit words used at the close of the Eleusinian Mysteries. *Asiatic Researches*.

Zend-Avesta, translated by Anquetil, 2 vols. 8vo.

Gentil sur l'Astronomie des Indiens in the *Hist. de l'Acad. des Sciences*, 1772.

Rudbeck's *Atlantica*, Professor Rask's *Edda*, 2 vols. Stockholm, 1818, Huddleston's edition of Toland on the Druids, we have referred to, but at second hand; we do not possess them. The list above given is of books on our table, and the original authorities cited, for the most part within our reach.

last by sea, through the Pillars of Hercules (Straits of Gibraltar) at Britain. In the course of the work, the mode in which the ancient patriarchal religions, as well as those of Greece and Italy were founded, will be pointed out : and the author flatters himself that he shall have much strengthened the foundation of rational Christianity. He will show that all the languages of the Western world were the same ; and that one system of letters, that of the ancient Irish Druids, pervaded the whole—was common to the British Isles and to Gaul—to the inhabitants of Italy, Greece, Syria, Arabia, Persia and Hindostan : and that one of the two alphabets of the same system, in which the ancient Irish manuscripts are written, namely, the *Beth-luis-nion* came by Gaul through Britain to Ireland; and the *Bobeloth* came through the Straits of Gibraltar. (xcvi.)

Such is the system propounded in the present work. The reader will now perceive that it is a continuation of the controversy that began with M. Bailly, and that our preliminary remarks were necessary to a full understanding of the whole ground of contest. Mr. Higgins' theory in favour of the Celts, is in direct opposition to Mr. Pinkerton's, which holds that ancient people in great contempt. Mr. Higgins takes very little notice of Pinkerton's theory, his arguments or authorities ; referring to Mr. Huddleston's edition of Toland, as having placed Pinkerton *hors de combat*. We are not yet in possession of Huddleston's book. Such publications are not of ready access with us. We must, therefore, get on without it.

ART. VIII.—*Narrative of a Journey from Constantinople to England.* By the Rev. R. WALSH. London, printed—Philadelphia, reprinted. 1828. 1 Vol. 12mo. pp. 270.

THIS small work contains the narrative of a rapid journey in the fall of 1827, from Constantinople through Romelia, Bulgaria, Wallachia, Transylvania, Hungary, to Vienna, and onwards to England. It presents a clear, concise and graphic delineation of the country over which the author travelled, and the people whom he encountered : and derives an additional interest from the circumstance that his route lay directly across

that region which has been so often the theatre of war, whose soil is again stained by the embittered and sanguinary conflicts of the Russian and the Turk, and to which the attention of the civilized world is now turned with anxious, if not intense expectation.

Mr. Walsh resided many years at Constantinople as Chaplain to the British Ambassador, Lord Strangford. He appears to be an intelligent and impartial observer. His remarks upon the Turkish Empire—its laws, religion and policy are probably reserved for a more elaborate work; for the information he has given us in this journal, in relation to the great transactions of Turkey, has all been incidental as if brought out by casual associations, rather than as forming a part of his original design; and he merely notices the peculiarities of the country and its inhabitants, as the occurrences of his journey recals them to his recollection.

The country from Constantinople to the Danube is an immense plain, open, dry and level, which would oppose no obstacle to an invading army, were it not intersected by the lofty ridges of the Balkan. In fact, says Mr. Walsh, "it appears as if the country from the Danube to the Propontis, was originally a dead, flat surface, when, by some convulsions of nature, this ridge of mountains was thrown up, which divided the country like a vast wall, running from the Black Sea to the Adriatic." The part of the plain lying to the south of this chain of mountains was the ancient Thrace, and is now Romelia; the part to the north, the ancient Mœsia, is the modern Bulgaria.

Before we turn to the more important topics alluded to in this work, we will notice some of the arrangements and comforts of Turkish travelling, and accompany our author over some part of his rude but romantic road:—

"The ideas of travelling, which you have formed from experience, are associated closely with smooth roads, easy carriages, neat inns, comfortable suppers, and warm beds; and where these are to be found, all seasons of the year are pretty much alike to the traveller: but conceive travelling through a country in winter, where, generally speaking, there are no roads, no carriages, no inns, no suppers, and no beds! the only roads are beaten pathways, made by one horseman and followed by another, and every man may make one for himself if he pleases. The only carriages are wooden planks, laid upon rough wheels, called *arubas*, drawn with cords by buffaloes, which are seldom used except for burthens. The only inns are large stables, where nothing is to be had but chopped straw. The only suppers are what you may pick up on the road, if you are so fortunate, and bring it to where you stop for the night; and the only beds are the chopped straw in the stable, or a deal board in the cock-loft over it; and even this, in many places, is not to

be had. There are, doubtless, exceptions to this general picture, as I myself experienced; but, in the main, it is true: and such is the actual state of travelling at this day, in most parts of the Turkish empire through which I have passed, both in Asia and Europe.

"The companion I proposed to take with me was my old friend Mustapha, a Tartar janissary attached to the English palace. He had been originally a native of Switzerland, and was placed in the service of a merchant at Leghorn when very young. In making a voyage with him in the Mediterranean, he was taken by an African corsair, and sold at Cairo. After passing through the hands of several masters, he turned Turk; and so was redeemed from a state of slavery, and enjoyed all the immunities and privileges of a follower of the Prophet. Unlike the usual character of renegadoes, he was not a hater and persecutor of his former sect; on the contrary, he was more attached to them than ever, and well pleased with every opportunity of serving them. He spoke some English, and was the medium through which I have obtained much local information. I put myself entirely in his hands, and found him, on all occasions, not only an essentially useful but an attached and faithful fellow. As he had traversed Turkey in all directions as a Tartar courier, he was quite expert at every arrangement necessary for our journey; and on the morning we set out, I found the following preparations:—

"A janissary cloak, which was to serve for every thing. This most useful of all coverings is made of goat's and camel's hair, and is of a texture as thick and rigid as a deal board. When you get into it, it stands about you like a centry box, and protects you against wind and weather. The Tartar janissaries, in passing the chains of mountains in Asia, covered with snow, are frequently out with despatches for fifteen or twenty days, travelling with all their speed day and night on horseback. Nature cannot endure so long a suspension from sleep, so they acquire the habit of sleeping as they ride. Covered under this stiff cloak, as in a canopy-bed, they jog on at night in profound repose, trusting to the instinct of the horse that carries them. Next, a canister of Mocha coffee. The greater part of the coffee used in Turkey is sent from our West-India plantations, and Mocha coffee is as great a rarity in Constantinople as in London. A cargo had been accidentally brought just before from Arabia by an English ship, and so I obtained an unexpected luxury. But, above all, he produced a bag of Schiras tobacco. I do not wonder at the general use of this most indispensable of Turkish luxuries; it is always the companion of coffee, and there is something so exceedingly congenial in the properties of both, that nature seems to have intended them for inseparable associates. We do not know how to use tobacco in this country, but defile and deteriorate it with malt liquor. When used with coffee, and after the Turkish fashion, it is singularly grateful to the taste, and refreshing to the spirits; counteracting the effects of fatigue and cold, and appeasing the cravings of hunger, as I have often experienced. * * * It [coffee] is always used in the East without cream or sugar. A small saucepan, about the size of an egg-cup, is placed on the fire till the water boils, a tea-spoonful of powdered coffee is put into it, and it is suffered to make

a few ebullitions; it is then poured, grounds and all, into a cup just as large as the saucepan, and in this state, as black, as thick, and as bitter as soot, it is taken with tobacco. It is certainly not easy to conceive how man was first induced to use substances so exceedingly bitter and nauseous as coffee and tobacco in their simple state; yet there are no two substances that are in more universal use among mankind, and they have come from the opposite extremities of the earth to meet each other. The people of the East had no tobacco till after the discovery of America, nor the American's coffee till it was introduced from Turkey. As I had not learned, however, to take coffee altogether in the Turkish fashion, I begged of Mustapha to add a bag of sugar to his stock of good things. I found, beside, at the gate four horses, one for a surrogee, or armed guide, another for luggage, the other two for Mustapha and myself. For these I paid about two-pence per mile for each horse. I fortunately procured an old English saddle which was lying in the palace, and so avoided the intolerable uneasiness of a Turkish one, which I had experienced in Asia; and set out at nine in the morning, on the 28th of October." pp. 2-5.

"We now entered the plain that surrounds Constantinople, and the eye could command an extensive view of the country on all sides. The first and most striking impression was the exceeding solitude that reigned every where around. We were within a few hundred yards of the walls of an immense metropolis, where 700,000 people lived together; but if we were at the same distance only from the ruins of Palmyra, we could not have witnessed more silence and desolation. The usual villas which are scattered near the suburbs of a large city were not to be seen, and the crowds which generally throng the entrance, no where to be met with. A single team of buffaloes, dragging an aruba, or a solitary horseman scarcely visible on the horizon, were the only objects that indicated the existence of social life close by the great city. Nothing, perhaps, marks the indolence and inactivity of the Turkish character more than this circumstance. The shores of the Bosphorus are very populous, and from Constantinople to near the Black Sea is one continued village. The intercourse is proportionably great, and the surface of the water is a moving picture of boats passing and repassing. This mode of motion is peculiarly adapted to oriental indolence. The Turk reclines on a cushion, smoking his pipe, and is carried the distance he wants to go without exertion or discomposure. If he had a residence in this quarter, he could only walk or ride to it, as there are, generally speaking, no carriages or proper roads on which they could run; the vicinity of the city, therefore, on this side, is abandoned; and with the exception of a very few scattered farms, it is a perfect desert." p. 54.

"Nothing can exceed the beauty of those downs which we now entered upon, and their apparent fertility; but they are utterly solitary and neglected. In a few places, where the ground had been turned up, the fallow left behind indicated a rich soil and abundant harvest; but these spots were very rare, and of past years. The land is portioned out into chifliks, or estates, of Turks of consequence residing at Con-

stantinople. These lords of the soil become implicated in the constant troubles and changes which take place, and are frequently strangled or banished. On the first rumour of their misfortunes, all their tenants who occupied the soil immediately take flight with whatever property they can lay their hands on, from the well-grounded apprehension of being involved in the fate of their landlord; and from this state of utter insecurity, the whole country is now abandoned and depopulated.

"The road which leads through these plains is nothing more than a beaten path over the grass, every one pursuing that which he prefers. In summer, it is of a limited breadth, but in winter, when the rain sets in, the usual path is impassable, and every traveller seeks a new one beside the former; so that in some places the road is three or four hundred yards wide. The traveller, however, is directed by certain marks. At long intervals, he sees two little tumuli, not quite so large as hayricks, between which the way passes; these are called Sandjak Sherif Tepé, or the Hillocks of the Sacred Standard. On all expeditions against the infidels in Europe, wherever the army encamped for the night, two mounds were raised, on one of which was planted the standard of Mahomet, which formed the centre of the encampment. There are no tumuli of a larger size or more ancient date in this neighbourhood. As those, however, are at very distant intervals, other directions were necessary. In January and February, a cold Scythian wind passes over these plains, carrying with it immense drifts of snow, which soon obliterate all appearance of former tracks. Travellers then miss their way, and numbers are every year found dead in the drift. About ten years ago, a salictar, bearing important news from Shumla to Constantinople, missed his way in the snow for several days, and nearly perished, with all his suite. He, therefore, at his own expense, erected stone posts at convenient intervals along the whole line. Some few of these remain, but the greater number are broken or fallen; nor is it likely they will ever be restored by the Turks. They were the only resemblance of mile-stones in the Turkish empire.

"The only thing that had life which we met in those fertile plains, was detachments of soldiers returning from Ipsara, as one of them informed the surrogee; they were landed near Enos, from the Captain Pacha's fleet, and were returning by land to Constantinople. Some of these parties had horses with baskets on each side; these were filled with little children, boys and girls, whom they had carried off as plunder, and were now bringing to the Yeser Bazar, or slave market of Constantinople, to sell; the unfortunate beings resembled lambs in a market-car; they were from three or four to nine or ten years of age." pp. 67-69.

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"As we approached the town of Burghaz, we found remnants of paved roads formed of large flat stones. The Roman and Turkish roads are so similar, that it is not easy to distinguish the old from the new; both seem equally inconvenient and dangerous. Part of this causeway, which stands out of the present line, and elevated above it, is grass-grown and moss-covered, and evidently of an ancient date; but the rest, which forms part of the actual road, is the work of the

Turks, though differing in nothing from the other but in age: both are equally unused. The Turks never make a road but across some portion of inundated or marshy ground. It is a causeway of rude, large, uneven stones; so badly put together, that intervals are left between, in which the horse constantly slips below his fetlock, and moves cautiously and slowly along, at the imminent hazard of breaking his own legs or his rider's neck. Travellers, therefore, prefer wading through water and mud up to their saddle girths, to venturing on these roads; yet all the remains of ancient roads in this country are of a similar structure.

"At four o'clock, we arrived at Burghaz, and entered the town upon one of those ill-constructed causeways, which was continued through all the streets. Burghaz is a very common name for a town in Turkey. It appears from Cantemir, that it is a corruption of *pyrgos*, a tower, and was originally a fortified castle under the Greeks; though there are seldom any remains of such a thing now to be seen in the modern villages." pp. 79-80.

"We set out from Burghaz at three the next morning; the weather was dark and doubtful, at intervals spitting rain. We wandered from the road in the pitchy darkness, and got entangled in gardens and old houses, and here we floundered for a long time before we regained the road. At length the horizon became streaked with a parallel gleam of light, which indicated a clear day, and extricated us from our difficulties. We were now on the spot which was the limit of the Russian campaign in 1810. The main body of the army proceeded no farther than Shumla; but clouds of Cossack Tartars had passed the Balkan, and rode up to the suburbs of Burghaz, which is within eighty-four miles of Constantinople, having plundered the country the whole way. The country was the same flat, denuded plain as that we had passed the day before, and these Tartars must have felt themselves at home. About nine o'clock, we arrived at a wood, and the trees were the first we had met since we left Constantinople—a distance of one hundred miles. This wood was a grateful variety, and continued for three hours to the vicinity of Kirklesi, where we arrived about mid-day." pp. 81-82.

"We rode through a number of ragged, filthy streets, to the more ragged and filthy post-house, where we were to be supplied with fresh horses; for here the engagement of our surrogee from Constantinople terminated. From hence the posts occur every ten or twelve hours, the horses are changed, and the speed of the traveller is as rapid as he pleases to go; and for this he only pays twenty paras, or half a piastre an hour for each horse; that is, he gets four horses and an armed guide to go at what rate he pleases, for about fourpence per mile, or one penny for each horse. When Mustapha came in, I asked him some question in English, which he did not answer, and supposing he had not heard me, I repeated it in a louder voice. He was now seized with an extraordinary fit of trepidation. He got up immediately and left the room, and I found him afterwards in the yard attempting to give some *baccheesh*, or gratuity, to the stablemen; but his hand so trembled, that he scattered the paras about the yard. He then hurried me

out, and, getting on his horse, rode hastily off, leaving me to follow him as I could. I pursued him to the suburbs of the town, where he stopped at a Bulgarian wine-house, and having got into a Christian place, his trepidation began to subside, and he attempted to account for it. The Turks of this place are so rude and ignorant, that they think a man degraded who understands any other language than Turkish; when I addressed him, therefore, in English, at the post-house, he could not answer, as it would have exposed us both to the contempt and insult of the fellows about us, from which he had no means of protection. It had happened to him, he said, in the same place before, and both he and the gentleman he travelled with were attacked, and in great danger.

"This determined hostility to knowledge is, perhaps, the most extraordinary trait in the Turkish character, and distinguishes them from every other nation at the present day. It is hardly possible to conceive a people priding themselves on being ignorant, and despising those who are not so. Nor is this confined to the rude rabble of Kirklesi. There is a number of janissaries attached to the palaces of the different missions at Constantinople, as guards of honour, and they are in constant communication with the inmates of the palaces. The only one I ever heard of, who acquired a knowledge of a Frank language, was Mustapha, and he was a renegado, and did it at the hazard of his life. The prejudice is not less among the upper and educated classes. The Turks, in their intercourse with foreign nations, are always obliged to use rayas as interpreters. The important function of dragoman to the Porte was always performed by Greeks till the late insurrection; and when the Turks thought they could no longer confide in them, there could not be found in the empire one, of themselves, capable or willing to hold a communication in a foreign language, and they were obliged to confer the situation on a Jew. They have since that, however, established a seminary for the instruction of a few young Turks in different Frank languages, that they may be able to undertake and discharge a duty so important and confidential, and no longer depend on the suspicious fidelity of strangers. This tardy and reluctant adoption of a measure so indispensable, is a strong proof of the pertinacity with which they adhere to ancient prejudices, which no one but a man of the energetic character of the present Sultan could dare to oppose, or oppose with any effect.

"As we had now commenced posting on the account of government, no regard was to be paid to the unfortunate horses. The rule is, if they die on the road between post and post, the traveller pays for them; but he may drive them to death's door, without scruple. Our next post was Fakih, distant twelve hours; and we determined to make up for the past, and go it in half the time."

* * *

"From Doolath-Haghe the country is woody and swelling into hills; and here, for the first time, Mustapha thought it right to commence galloping, because the road was no longer open and plain, but obstructed, uneven, and dangerous. I had also another objection: I felt myself very stiff, and even a moderate motion very painful. After riding all

day, for several in succession, and resting at night in my clothes, on the ground, with nothing to keep me from the hard, uneven floor, but a mat or a carpet, I was not much disposed to any gratuitous violent exercise, and I declined the proposal peremptorily. By degrees, however, the surrogee increased his speed, the Tartar followed, and such is the irresistible habit of these animals, that my horse would not stay behind; in a few minutes, therefore, we were all in full speed, over a road where it required caution to walk. We dashed up hills and down acclivities, stumbled over rocks and fallen trees, and tore away through brambles and branches, floundered in mud, and splashed through mountain torrents; and, for twelve miles, scarcely pulled bridle till we arrived at Fakih, the next post-house. I thought this steeple-chase would have knocked me up, and disabled me from proceeding; but Mustapha assured me, from the experience of others whom he had attended, the effect would be quite the contrary. In fact, it was so: this violent exercise was like the champooing of a Turkish vapour-bath; the muscles were relaxed, the joints suppld, and, on dismounting, I felt as active and fresh as when I set out." pp. 84-89.

The Balkan mountains have long been considered as one of the most formidable barriers, on the side of Europe, of the Turkish empire. They have been represented as impracticable and impassable, if skilfully and gallantly defended; and they have, in fact, arrested the progress of the Russian armies on several occasions. But although the mountains are steep and lofty, the ravines and gorges few, narrow, precipitous, and difficult of access, the roads miserable, the country desolate, yet no one who recollects the events of the last thirty years, who remembers that neither Pyrenees, nor Appenines, nor the Alps themselves could oppose any invincible obstacle to the career of disciplined troops and able commanders, will view this range of mountains as offering any insurmountable difficulties to the march of an invading army. Indeed, when we are told that in 1820, clouds of Cossacks passed the Balkan, and advanced to Burghaz, we know not why mounted infantry might not then have borne them company, in numbers sufficient to have secured the most important points of the defile, by which they traversed these mountains. The real obstacles are, perhaps, the deep snows of winter, the sickliness and scarcity of water in the summer and autumn, causing a great waste of life to northern troops, and the character and habits of the Turks themselves, which adapt them better for the defence of mountain passes, for irregular warfare, where the contest is between man and man, than for the tactics of regular warfare and the evolutions of a day of battle. We will give Mr. Walsh's description of one of the passes, and his observations on the chain as a means of military defence. At Fakih, the next post to Drolath-Haghe, the low

Balkans commence, and continue about thirty miles to Haydho's, a large Turkish town, where the high Balkans commence :

" We now ascended the first ridge of the High Balkan, and had a specimen of its rainy character ; the wind had changed to the south, and dark heavy masses of mist were hanging on the hills.

" In about one hour we descended again, and came to another of those fertile and lonely plains which abound every where in the recesses of these mountains. It was ten or twelve miles long, and three or four broad, with a river winding its way through the centre. It was filled with villages, cattle, corn-fields, vineyards, and fruit-trees, all of which were in the highest state of rural beauty. The trees had lost none of their foliage, the winter corn was springing above ground, and the pasture was rich and verdant ; but the circumstance most striking was, the inaccessible mountains by which it seemed to be surrounded. If Dr. Johnson had ever travelled through these countries, I should have supposed he had described his valley of Rasselas from the actual scenery of this place. On looking round, I could not see where we got in, and how we could get out. We followed, however, the course of the river, till we came to the perpendicular front of the ridge at the opposite side of the valley. Here, as if by some spell of 'open Sesame !' the face of the mountain seemed to gape, as if rent asunder, and presented to us a narrow chasm, into which we entered along with the river.

" This ravine is, perhaps, one of the most magnificent and picturesque in Europe, and far exceeds the Trosachs of Lough Catherine, or any that I had ever seen before. Its perpendicular sides ascend to an immense height, covered with wood from the bottom to the top, and leaving a very narrow stripe of blue sky between. For some time we pursued the bed of the river, descending still deeper into this gorge ; and I supposed we intended to follow it the whole way, in the dim twilight in which we were involved, till we should emerge with it at the other side of the mountains ; but after a short time we left it, and began to ascend gradually, till we reached the summit of this second ridge. Here we found the masses of clouds, which had appeared so picturesque, were diffused into a uniform haze, which circumscribed our view to a very small distance, and poured down torrents of rain. The road was now become disagreeable and dangerous : it was sometimes very steep, and so slippery, that the horses could not keep their feet, but were continually falling. We passed several ravines over tottering bridges of slight boards, which were so loosely put together, that they rose at one end, while any weight pressed the other.

" In this way we got on till the shades of evening warned us to hasten. We proceeded, therefore, down a steep, with the rapidity usual to Turks on difficult ground, and were dashing across one of those fragile wooden bridges, thrown over a deep ravine, when it suddenly gave way with a crash, and the surrogee and his horse, who were foremost, disappeared. The surrogee was thrown forward, and, clinging to the broken planks, he scrambled out on the other side, but his horse went through. His hind feet, however, got entangled in the frame-work below, and here it remained suspended."

Here after some time consumed in extricating the horse, our author adds :—

“ Had the horse been killed, I was informed that I should have to pay the Sultan for the consequences of his rotten bridge. We now descended a very steep mountain ; the Tartar was just behind me, when the feet of his horse giving way, he tumbled over and over, and both he and his rider rolled past me to the bottom of the hill. I thought they were killed ; but fortunately the ground was soft, and neither received much damage. The shades of evening had already closed when we arrived at a valley, in the bosom of which is situated the romantic village of Lopenitza, where we purposed to pass the night. * * *

“ We left our kind hosts before daylight, on a dismal, dark, drizzling morning. We made our way with difficulty, through low rocky hills, stumbling among ravines, and wishing for the light of day. At length it appeared, accompanied by a bitter cold north-east wind : in a little time it became so piercing, that we all got numbed and powerless. It was accompanied by a dark dry sky, which seemed to threaten snow, and was a specimen of those Scythian or Hyperborean blasts which come suddenly and intensely over these regions. Our road lay still among the last ridges of the Balkan, with occasional plains. In one of these we fell in again with the river with which we entered the mountains ; it is here called Buyûk Kametchi, and runs parallel to the Balkans into the Black Sea. I should like to have traced this mysterious stream through the dark, deep, and subterraneous recesses through which I was told it passed. One would imagine that, thus running through the level ground at one side of the mountains, and issuing out at the other, having penetrated at the base and wound its way through the chain, it would afford a level for a road below, without the necessity of carrying it over the immense ridge ; and no doubt, in any other country but Turkey, such a road would have been made. It is possible, however, that the Turks would not wish to remove this formidable barrier, which nature has placed between them and their northern enemies, or afford them a greater facility of invasion by cutting a level road through the very heart of it. Having crossed this river, we proceeded to Shumla, where we arrived, after a long and fatiguing ride, at three o'clock. Not apprised of the effect of this cold, I attempted to dismount, but was so entirely deprived of feeling or motion, that I fell powerless to the ground, like a sack of corn. * * *

* * * In the morning we found the stable full of horses, that had come in in the night, so at day-dawn we set out. Our way lay over a hill which commanded the whole country, and I stopped on the summit at sunrise to view it.

“ Behind us lay the vast ridge of the Balkans which we had passed, presenting a steeper and more inaccessible face at this side than at the other ; running along the horizon in a right line, like a vast wall which ascended to the clouds. The ancients had such an idea of the height of this ridge, that Pomponius Mela affirms, the Euxine and Adriatic could be seen from it at the same time ; and Pliny says it was six miles high. *Hæmi excelsitas vi millibus passuum*, higher than the chain of

the Andes or Hymalaya. "It is, therefore, very remarkable that Herodotus should have taken no notice of it, though it must have presented so formidable an obstruction to the army of Darius. The mountain was called Hæmus from *αἷμα*, the blood of the Typhon; because he had ascended it as the nearest way to scale to heaven, and Jupiter had there struck him down. The length of the chain is not less remarkable than the height, extending for five hundred miles, one end resting on the Gulf of Venice, and the other on the Black sea. The chain is now called the Balkan, which signifies a difficult defile, and it is properly divided into high and low; the latter advancing forward on each side, like outworks before the great natural rampart. The town of Shumla lies in an angle of a valley, formed by two ridges of those low mountains; and they are the last branch of them at this side, and their extreme termination: if, therefore, the whole breadth of this immense chain be taken, it may be said to extend from Fakh to Shumla, thirty-two hours, or ninety-six miles, the country beyond these places being all level plain, and between them being all mountain; the lofty ridges, however, extend only from Haidhos to Lopenitza, nine hours, or twenty-seven miles.

"The mountains about Shumla form a semicircular amphitheatre, up the sides of which gardens and plantations extend to the summit of the hill, overhanging the town with a very rich and beautiful prospect; below, at the extremity of the ridges, an immense plain begins, which extends to the Danube on the north, and the Black Sea on the east.—Here is seen the town and harbour of Varna, between two headlands, distant eighteen hours, or fifty-four miles. To this port, all who wish to avoid the difficulties of the Balkan, hire a vessel from Constantinople, and from hence come to Shumla. In fact, it appeared as if the country from the Danube to the Propontis was originally a dead flat surface; when by some convulsions of nature this ridge of mountains was thrown up, which divided the country like a vast wall running from the Black Sea to the Adriatic. The part of the plain lying on the south of the ridge was formerly called Thrace, and is now Romelia; the part on the north was formerly called Moesia, and now Bulgaria.

Shumla is a very large and populous town, containing about sixty thousand inhabitants. It is divided into two parts, the Turkish and Christian. The Turkish is the upper part. It is filled with mosques, whose domes and minarets are covered with burnished tin plates, which glitter in the sun with dazzling splendour: so that when the sun shone bright I could not look at the town. Here is, besides, an extraordinary novelty in a Turkish town—a large town clock; it tells the hours by a bell which is heard all over the city, and regulates the time of the inhabitants, instead of the muezzims crying the hour from the minarets.—This extraordinary innovation, and approximation to European manners, was introduced some years ago, by a basha, who had been a prisoner in Russia: he there acquired a taste for bells; and on his return brought with him a striking clock, which he erected in Shumla. The improvement, however, has not yet proceeded beyond this northern frontier. I have never seen or heard of any other town-clock in the Turkish dominions, except at Athens, presented by Lord Elgin, as some remuneration for the dilapidation of the Parthenon.

"Detached by an interval from this upper town is a smaller called Warish, which extends into the plain. Within its limits the Rayas, or Jew and Christian population, reside, separated from the rest, like the districts called Irish towns in Ireland, the original inhabitants in both having been laid under the same interdict by their conquerors. In this district are about three hundred houses inhabited by Jews, Armenians, and Greeks, who have each a place of worship. It is here the most celebrated tinmen and braziers of the Turkish empire reside, who supply Constantinople with their manufacture, and cover their own mosques with tin and copper, which look so glittering. Shumla has some irregular fortifications standing. We entered the town across a deep fosse: and through ramparts of clay by which the Russians were repulsed in their last invasion of Turkey: their main body had advanced from Rasgrad to this place, while their Cossacks pushed across the mountains as far as Burghaz. They were, however, obliged to retreat without taking the town. As a military station, Shumla seems to have been of great importance to the Turkish empire. It is the point at which all the roads leading from the fortresses on the Danube concentrate. Its fortifications would be weak and contemptible in the hands of European troops, but are a very efficient defence when manned by Turks. They consist of earthen ramparts and brick walls, in some places flanked by strong-built watch-towers, each capable of holding eight or ten tophekgées, or musqueteers. They stretch for three miles in length and one in breadth, over a ground intersected with valleys; and the extent and irregularity of the surface prevent the possibility of their being completely invested. It is here the Turks form their entrenched camp, in their contests with Russia, and the Russians have always found it impregnable. Twice they have advanced as far as Shumla, and been repulsed without being able to advance farther. Romonzov was obliged to retire from before it in 1774, and Kaminsky in 1810, after a bloody conflict." p. 96-107.

Speaking of Shumla afterwards, when giving a short account of the last Russian war, and of the means of defence which Turkey possesses on this side against her great adversary, he adds—

"Should they force this artificial barrier, (Shumla) they have to encounter a natural one, infinitely more formidable: and that is, the Balkan Mountains. Over this great rampart there are five practicable passes. One from Sophia to Tartar Bazargic; two from Ternova, by Keisanlik and Selymnia; and two from Shumla, by Carnabat and Haidhos. The three first lead to Adrianople, the two last directly to Constantinople. Of these, the roads by Ternova are the most difficult, as they pass over the highest and most inaccessible hills of the chain; that by Haidhos is the most frequented—the chasm in the face of the mountain affording a greater facility of ascent than elsewhere. Any of the passes, however, do not appear impracticable for Turkish Spahis. These are a kind of feudal cavalry, possessing hereditary lands, on the tenure of appearing in the field when called on. If they have no male children, the lands devolve to the commander, who assigns them to others on the same terms, and so the corps is kept up. It consists of

sixteen legions ; who are, perhaps, the best mountain horsemen in the world ; though nothing can seem more unfavourable to their firm seat and rapid evolutions, than their whole equipment. Their saddles are heavy masses of wood, like pack-saddles, peaked before and behind ; and are the most awkward and uneasy in the way they use them. Their stirrups are very short, and their stirrup irons very cumbrous—resembling the blade of a fire shovel ; the angle of which they use to goad on the horse, as they have no spurs ; this heavy apparatus is not secured on the horse by regular girths, but tied with thongs of leather, which are continually breaking and out of order. On this awkward and insecure seat, the Turk sits, with his knees approaching to his chin ; yet I never saw more bold and dexterous horsemen, in the most difficult and dangerous places. When formed into cavalry they observe little order, yet they act together with surprising regularity and effect ; but it is in broken ground and mountain passes they are most serviceable, where the surface seems impracticable for European horsemen. They drive at full speed through ravines and mountain torrents, and up and down steep acclivities ; and suddenly appear on the flanks or in the rear of their enemies, after passing rapidly through places where it was supposed impossible that horsemen could move. Some of their troops are called, for their headlong and reckless impetuosity, *Delhis*, or madmen ; and the desperate enterprises they undertake, justifies the name. Such cavalry, in the passes of the Balkan, must oppose a formidable resistance to the most effective and best disciplined troops ; and no doubt the Russians, if they ever attempt this barrier, will find it so.

“ Another obstacle will be afforded by the season of the year. The only time for operation is the spring : the country is then exceedingly beautiful and healthful ; the rivers are full of sweet water, the grass and fodder abundant, and the air elastic and healthful ; but as the summer advances, the rivers dry up, vegetables disappear, and nothing is presented but an arid, burning soil, intolerable from the glare of the sun by day, and dangerous from the cold and the damp of the heavy dews by night ; and the morbid effects of these, every army has experienced, campaigning in those countries at that season, both in ancient and modern times. To pass this chain in winter, with an army, seems a still more hopeless attempt : the morasses saturated with rain, incapable of supporting the heavy burthen of wagons or artillery : the ravines filled with snow or mountain torrents, and passed over by tottering bridges of wood, so rotten as to break with the smallest pressure ; the numerous defiles, which a few can defend against a multitude, affording so many natural fortresses, behind which the Turks fight with such energy and effect ; the scattered villages, which can afford neither shelter nor supplies ;—all these present obstacles, of which the Russians themselves seems very conscious. In their last campaign, they were in possession of the whole of the country from the Balkan to the Danube, with the exception of Varna, Nyssa and Shumla, in which the Turks were shut up ; and they had nearly 100,000 men in the plain below, completely equipped, and were at the very base of the mountain, and the entrance to the passes ; yet they never attempted to ascend, with the exception of a few straggling Cossacks, who made a dash across the ridge, and returned as speedily back again.

"The Turks seem to have no apprehension of an approach to the capital on this side; relying on the natural strength of this chain of mountains, they have not fortified any of the passes, nor do I recollect a single fortress from Shumla to Constantinople. Their great apprehension is, that the invasion will be made by sea; and in this persuasion, not only the Dardanelles, but the Bosphorus, resembles one continued fortress from the Sea of Marmora to the Black Sea. In the year 1821, when a rupture was apprehended with Russia, all the castles were completely repaired, and additional batteries were erected on every point of land which bore advantageously on the channel, so as to present a most formidable obstruction to any approach by water. These batteries, however, were altogether untenable, if attacked on the land side; the high ground, above the shores of the Bosphorus, every where commanding them: and if a landing were effected any where in the rear, which it was at that time said was the plan of the Russians, they must be immediately abandoned. But it seems as if the Turkish power in Europe was fast hastening to ruin, which the few convulsive efforts they occasionally make, cannot avert or long delay." pp. 121-125.

Mr. Walsh had not yet exhausted all the comforts of a Turkish journey: he crossed the Danube from Rutschük to Giurdzio, "the most perfect model of Turkish fortification in all their empire." Here new arrangements were to be made for his further progress, and to add to his satisfaction, he there learned that the plague had broken out at Bucharest, the capital of Wallachia, and was appearing also in most of the towns and villages through which he was obliged to pass. This occurrence, if attended with no more unpleasant effects, insured him at least, the performance of a most severe and disagreeable quarantine on the Austrian frontier. His equipage for his future journey he thus describes:—

"Mustapha having shown his firman to the Pacha, who resides in the fortress, we proceeded in a cart from the quay to the post-house; and here a new species of posting commenced, altogether singular. A small cart, formed of jointed staves, about three feet high, two feet wide, and not four feet long, was brought out. The inside was lined with wicker work, and filled with hay; and it rolled upon four small wheels, resembling trenchers, each made of a thin block of wood, and about twelve inches in diameter. To the hind rail of this dog's cart I had my portmanteau tied, to serve as a support to my back; and having got in with some difficulty, and bedded myself in the hay, my knees would have remained up to my chin, had I not thrust my feet out between the fore wheels at the hazard of breaking my legs. To this little machine four large horses were attached by traces of twine, not much thicker than whipcord; and a post-boy, or surrogate, dressed in a white fannel-like coat, with trowsers and cap of the same colour, mounted the near wheel horse. His only rein was a very thin single cord tied

to the head of the off leader, at the end of which was a loop which he put round his own neck ; and then leaning forward and cracking his whip, he set off at a furious gallop, shouting all the time with a very long and dismal cadence. My Tartar followed in a similar machine with four horses ; and his surrogee taking up the cry when the other had ceased, these mournful sounds were kept up the whole way—though better calculated for the procession of a funeral than the rapidity of our progress, which was eight or nine miles an hour.” pp. 129–130.

We will extract a few of his notes respecting the province of Wallachia :—

“The country we passed through wore the same dull and dreary aspect as that which we first saw, and at the end of two hours we arrived at Bangaska, a village, where we stopped. This place gave me a perfect idea of the winter residences of a Sarmatian horde ; the inhabitants seeming to deviate little from their ancestors on the same spot. They were dressed in skins with wool on, as they come off the back of the sheep. Their huts were scattered over a naked common, without tree or hedge, or any kind of tillage. Each hut was surrounded by a wall of wicker work, as those of Bulgaria ; but the hut itself was an excavation in the earth, nothing appearing above ground but the top of the roof, which formed part of the floor of the yard. There were in it some apertures, which let out smoke, and let in light and air. The entrance was by a hollow descent outside the enclosure. One of those which I went into was a wine-house. It had a cellar full of hogsheds, with several apartments at the same depth branching off, having the smell and feel of vaults. These subterranean dwellings are well calculated to defend the Samoieds from the rigours of a Siberian winter on the shores of the Obi, but I did not expect to meet them at the present day on the banks of the Danube. A circumstance which also distinguishes the peasant here from those of the other side, is the multitude of horses ; except at the post-houses, we did not meet one in Bulgaria. In Wallachia the country seems full of them. This is another trait in which they resemble their Sarmatian ancestors.” pp. 130–131.

* * *

“The city of Bucharest, the present capital of Wallachia, is built upon the river Domnitza, which falls into the Danube below Rutschûk, and is here a small stream ; it contains about eighty thousand inhabitants, and is the point of union where European and Oriental habits meet ; half the inhabitants wear hats and coats, the other half calpacs and pelisses. In one place are light carriages, highly varnished, on steel springs, with leather harness, drawn by horses ; in another, heavy arubas, with cord harness, drawn by buffaloes. There are no mosques, with muezzins calling the people to prayer from the minarets ; but there are Greek churches with domes like mosques, and papas announcing divine service by rattling a mallet on a board. But certainly the most remarkable feature of the town is its boarded streets. From the Danube to Bucharest there is scarcely a stone as large as a pebble, or a tree as large as a bush ; but from hence to the Carpathian Mountains, the

greater part of the country is covered with rocks and trees ; and why, when they had their choice, they should have preferred the perishable wood to the durable stone, and planked their streets when they might have paved them, is difficult to conceive ; unless it is that the Boyars prefer rolling their carriages on a boarded floor.

"The former capital of Wallachia was Tergovist, situated in a high, wooded country and dry soil ; but in the year 1698, the celebrated Vaivode Bessarabba, transferred the seat of government to the present city, which had been only a village situated in a dismal swamp belonging to a Boyar called Buchor, from whom it was afterwards named. The accession of a court with all its attendants, soon enlarged the city, and it now contains three hundred and sixty-six churches, twenty monasteries, and thirty large khans or Oriental inns. Notwithstanding this, the change is greatly regretted. The original swampy nature of the soil cannot be corrected. Under the flooring of the streets are large filthy kennels or canals of stagnant puddle, which was intended to be conveyed to the river ; but from the flatness of the ground, and the slovenliness of the inhabitants, all the puddle of the streets is suffered to accumulate under the floor ; and the inhabitants, therefore, very properly call the streets ponti, or bridges, as they are nothing more than floating bridges on rivers of filth. In winter this is continually splashing up through the interstices of ill-jointed boards, and in summer it rises in clouds of black dust ; and at all seasons is attended with a foul, unwholesome odour, generating putrid fevers and other maladies arising from miasma, and among them the plague." pp. 135-136.

* * * *

"On leaving the suburbs of the town, we met with some ruins of large buildings, which seemed to be recent, and I supposed them to be evidences of the devastation of the Turks ; but they were the work of the Russians. The Turks, who were said to have committed destruction in Bucharest when the Hetairists departed, had only ruined a few small houses, which were re-built, and no traces of the injury remain ; but the extensive devastation I now saw, was the work of the Russians in the year 1806, when they entered the city. In short, the only ruins of Christian edifices which I observed in my journey, were, I was told, the effects of Russian protection. The weather, which with little exception, had been hitherto so fine, now suddenly changed ; and as soon as we cleared the town it began to rain violently, attended with cold sleet, which was driven full in our faces. It soon grew dark, but we could not return to the pestilential town ; so we proceeded on, with a view of stopping at some of the villages, if the storm of rain and sleet should continue. I soon, for the first time, began to feel all the annoyances of this miserable mode of posting. The roads were drenched with sleet, and dissolved into a puddle : through this the horses dashed at full speed, and as I was close under their hind legs, the whole was dashed against my face, and fell in showers into the car. Moving thus in an atmosphere of gutter, in a short time I became a mass of mud, and felt as comfortless as wet and dirt could make me. This, however, was but a trifling inconvenience in comparison to another which I now began to feel. The motion of this rigid little machine, dragged with

velocity over uneven ground, was such as to shake the whole frame violently, and produce a sensation as if the limbs were disjoined; this, however, I hoped would soon be diminished by use, and the sensation wear off when habit had reconciled it. It now, however, began to affect my head—producing at first a slight head-ache, which by degrees increased to an intolerable pain. Whenever the car met with a stone, or other obstruction, it was chucked violently into the air, and caused effects in the head like a concussion of the brain—intense pain, dizziness and dimness of sight. I felt I could not bear this much longer, and so I determined to stop at the first house that afforded a shelter.

“In three hours we arrived at the village of Bolentina, where there is a post-house, and we were to change horses. Here I proposed to rest at the post-house; but was now informed that the plague had extended to this place, and the village was full of it. To compromise myself by entering an infected place, would at once cut off all hopes of any abridgment of my quarantine; not to calculate on the personal danger of sleeping in a close cabin saturated with contagion, or in contact, perhaps, with an infected body. This, however, had no effect upon Mustapha; though so timid on other occasions, he had a Turkish obstinacy on the subject of the plague: in all other places he wished me to push on, but here he wished me to stop, for no other reason that I could see, but that the plague was raging. This, however, I declined; and, without committing myself more than the infected hands and clothes of these people changing our luggage could compromise me, I proceeded on. We heard the same dismal accounts of this disorder whenever we stopped at any village, and we were urged to push on all night, like people escaping from a town on fire.” pp. 137–138.

“It was very late when we arrived at the village of Salatrûk, at the commencement of the pass which leads through the Carpathian Mountains. Notwithstanding the rumour of the plague being every where, we found it had not extended in this direction; so I resolved to sleep at the post-house. We found here a hut detached from the rest, which is designed as a room of accommodation for travellers, somewhat in the manner, but wanting all the comforts, of similar Bulgarian huts. It had, however, a fire-place resembling a German stove, and a bench raised behind it. On this I caused a quantity of hay to be placed; and having made the first soft bed I could accomplish, since I left the British palace, I stretched myself on it, and laying my aching head on another truss, I fell asleep, and slept in luxury till the morning.” p. 148.

After having performed his quarantine at the pass of Rothenturn, and entered Transylvania, our author continued his journey to Vienna more at his ease, but in a manner no less singular than that in which he had been hitherto conducted.

“There are two ways of travelling from Hermanstadt to Vienna, either of which is generally adopted by passengers: one with the post, which goes night and day with great rapidity; and the other to post it

in a carriage, which must be purchased for the occasion. The first mode was dangerous, in bad roads, and very disagreeable and unsatisfactory, as the greater part of the journey was performed in the dark; and for the next we could not meet with a suitable carriage; so we declined them both, and fixed upon a novel and rather extraordinary mode of conveyance. The peasants transport the produce of Transylvania across Hungary to Vienna in large wagons; and when they are returning, or going not full, a place can be obtained at a very moderate price. Mr. D. met one of those about to proceed half empty, and he hired it for our party. It was an enormous cart, covered over with a roof of mat, or straw, drawn by ten horses, and conducted by three Wallachian peasants in sheep-skins. In the rear was our baggage, and in the front was formed a kind of apartment, in which we could sit, stand, or lie, having a mat to let down in bad weather; so that, in fact, it was a moving house, such as the Scythian ἀμαξᾶβιος travelled in over the same country two thousand years ago.”*

“I was awoke in the morning by a man, who came with a lantern into my room before it was day. He held in his hand a glass, and said distinctly, “*Visne schnaps, Domine.*” Well pleased to hear a language I could understand in the inn, I said “*Quid est schnaps?*” He held up his finger in the manner of demonstrating a proposition, and said, “*Schnaps, Domine, est res maxime necessaria omnibus hominibus omni mane.*” Satisfied with his definition, I declined any further proof; but was greatly amused at the *boots* of an obscure inn talking distinct Latin, which he told me was the common language of the house, where I was greatly puzzled to make myself understood. It was not, like the Wallachian tongue, so corrupted from the original as scarcely to be intelligible; but such as is taught and spoken in our classical schools and colleges, and pronounced exactly as it is in Ireland. I found it was the first language every boy in Hermanstadt learned at school, and that it was the most necessary, because all the public papers and documents are written and business transacted in it.” pp. 196–197.

Before we finish our extracts and comments on the general face of the country, we will notice one more peculiarity which is remarkable, and indeed has been remarked from a remote period :

“The scarcity of rivers in Thrace is one of its remarkable peculiarities, and has been noticed by Pomponius Mela and the ancient geographers; from the mouth of the Danube to the Maritza, a coast of five hundred miles, there is not one which can be called a river, falling into either of the four seas—the Euxine, Bosphorus, Propontis, or Hellespont; and this is the more remarkable, as the great ridges of Mount Hæmus run parallel to the coast, divide the country, and would naturally be the source of many rivers. We now arrived at one of the very

* At Hermanstadt, and indeed throughout Transylvania, our author was agreeably surprised to find Latin the common and familiar language among the common people, even by the servants at the Inn. He also found that a much more widely extended custom was also common along the feverish borders of the Danube and its tributary streams.

few rivulets which trickle into the sea through the extensive plains. It was called by the ancients Bathyas, one hundred and two stadia from Byzantium : the Turks have run a wooden platform across it, and call it Kutchûk Tchekmadgé, or the Little Bridge, to distinguish it from another not far distant. In about an hour we arrived at the second, and passed one of the most extraordinary looking bridges in Europe. It runs across a small stream, called by the ancients Athyras, and by the Turks Buyûk Tchekmadgé-sou, or the Great Bridge River, from the extraordinary length of the bridge. The rivulet dilates itself into a bay, where it meets the sea, and the bridge is carried across it ; it consists, in fact, of four bridges, having twenty-six arches, of which I can give no idea, except by the annexed sketch." p. 58.

Of the extraordinary race of people, who, descending in the 15th century from the mountains of Asia, overturned the Eastern empire, and have encamped in Europe for the last four hundred years, Mr. Walsh gives no detailed account ; his sketches are brief and generally unfavourable ; we extract a few detached passages scattered through his journal, remarking however, that we think he has scarcely done justice to this honest, brave, and where their religious prejudices are not excited, hospitable and friendly people. Few races, perhaps, possess naturally finer qualities, either moral or physical, and could they be liberated from the shackles of a religion hostile to all improvement or reform, they might soon be made to rival, in some respects to surpass the illustrious nations who once inhabited the sacred soil the Turks now occupy. Let us hear, however, the testimony of our author :—

" I found Mustapha had indulged in the luxury of those classic springs and was now under the hands of the barber ; and here I had occasion to remark the strange aptitude of a Turk to differ from a Frank, even in his most trifling habits. The house next to the barber's shop was in progress of building, and there was a man writing down some inventory. All the persons I saw engaged were working in a manner opposite to our usage. The barber pushed the razor from him—ours draws it to him ; the carpenter, on the contrary, drew the saw to him, for all the teeth were set in—ours pushes it from him, for all the teeth are set out ; the mason sat while he laid the stones—ours always stands ; the scribe wrote on his hand, and from right to left—ours always writes on a desk or table, and from left to right : but the most ridiculous difference existed in the manner of building the house. We begin at the bottom and finish to the top : this house was a frame of wood, which the Turks began at the top, and the upper rooms were finished, and inhabited, while all below was like a lanthorn. However absurd these minutiae may appear to you, they are traits of Turkish character, which form, with other things, a striking peculiarity. It is now more than four centuries since they crossed the Hellespont, and transported themselves from Asia to Europe ; during all that time they have been in constant contact with

European habits and manners, and, at times, even penetrated as far as Vienna, and so occupied the very centre of Christendom. Yet, while all the people around them have been advancing in the march of improvement, in various ways, they have stood still and refused to move; and such is their repugnance to any assimilation, that almost all the men who attempted to improve them, have fallen victims to their temerity, or the Turks themselves have perished in resistance; and, with very few exceptions, the great body of them are, at this day, the same puerile, prejudiced, illiterate, intractable, stubborn race, that left the mountains of Asia. And so indisposed are they to amalgamate with us in any way, that they still preserve a marked distinction in the greatest as well as in the minutest things—not only in science and literature, but in the movement of a saw and a razor.” pp. 94–96.

“After four hours we arrived at a Turkish village, where a but had been lately built for the accommodation of travellers. This is a rare and almost solitary instance of such a thing in a Turkish village, and seemed of very little use. The man of the farm was not at home, and we could not get admission. We wanted milk, or any thing for breakfast—we could get nothing; every one of the party was afraid even to ask at the farm-yard gate, lest he should be answered by a pistol; or a tophék. This brutal inhospitality of the Turkish peasants is so notorious, that no one attempts to approach their dwellings, except when compelled by imperious necessity. It sometimes happens, that Tartars and couriers lose their way in the drifts of snow which in winter frequently obliterate the road. When, on such occasions, they apply for assistance at a Turkish house, they are driven away with menaces, and often torn by dogs, or wounded by fire-arms from within; and travellers, in this way, are sometimes found lifeless near the door, frozen to death, or victims of their fierce and intractable jealousy. We shook the dust from our feet in testimony against them, and proceeded further in search of refreshment.” p. 108.

“Turkey is usually a safe country for travellers, and people proceed with a feeling of security which is justified by general experience. The natural honesty of the inhabitants, their few wants, their abstinence from exciting liquors, which are the cause among us of so many violations of the law, together with the terrible punishment that follows a crime, all contribute to this: privately stealing is almost unknown among the Turks, and a man caught publicly robbing, if at a fire, is thrown into the flames—if on a public road, is impaled. These circumstances render Turkey, in a quiescent state, a very secure country, either to reside in or pass through. But when the people are excited, in times of public commotion, and these restraints are removed, all bonds, either moral or civil are dissolved, and there is no where a more utter disregard of life or property. This had been the case on this spot some time before, and I was soon to witness a memorial of it in the case of an unfortunate English traveller.” pp. 74–75.

The contrast is very great, according to Mr. Walsh, between the negligent, uncourteous, and savage Turk, and the humble, industrious, and hospitable Bulgarian peasant. These tribes,

which, for several centuries, were the scourge and terror of the declining Roman Empire, have now changed altogether their character, and are settled down as peaceful agriculturists, and are extending, gradually, not only over the plains of Bulgaria, but also of Romelia, which the misrule of the Turks is rendering daily more desolate. Of the favourable picture which our author draws of this ill-used and oppressed peasantry, we will present some portion to our reader :—

“ Byzants was the last Bulgarian village we were to meet with, and I left, with reluctance, the abodes of these good people. The Bulgarians, who gave this country its modern name, were one of those northern hordes that abandoned their dreary plains and ungenial climate, to seek a better residence in the south. They set out from the banks of the Wolga in the seventh century, crossed the Danube, not far from its mouth, and established themselves in the inviting country that lies between that river and the mountains, extending westward from the shores of the Euxine. Here they sustained themselves against all the feeble efforts of the Greeks of the lower empire to dispossess them, and their various contests form a considerable part of the history of that period. Constantine III. and Justinian II. were both defeated by them; till at length, after a struggle of five centuries, the country was reduced to the state of a province by Basilus; and on the decline of the Greek empire, it was finally brought under the Turkish yoke by Bajazet, when the Turks had established themselves in Romelia, the neighbouring province. Its capital, at that period, was Sophia, built by Justinian, on the ruins of the ancient Sardika, and called by him Sophia, from a magnificent church erected there after the model of that at Constantinople; but, since the Turkish conquest, converted, like its model, into a djami or mosque. It was made by the Turks the residence of the Beglebey, or Governor of the province, and so was considered the capital; but it now yields that name to Shumla, which is much superior in size and importance.

“ The present district of Bulgaria extends from the mouth of the Danube, along that river, till it meets the Timok, above Widdin, having the river for the whole of its northern boundary, and the parallel chain of the Balkan for its southern; including a well-defined space, about three hundred and fifty miles long, and from forty to fifty broad. The inhabitants, however, have gone far beyond those artificial limits. They have, by degrees, expanded themselves across the chain of mountains, and occupy, almost exclusively, a considerable space of Romelia at the other side, supplying the waste of its own population. As the fiery and ardent temperament of the Turks and Greeks mutually exhaust them, these quiet and industrious peasants creep on, and if they are allowed to proceed unchecked, will, in process of time, fill up the whole of that almost uncultivated and depopulated space which lies on the south of the Balkan, between the sea and the mountains, by a process much more desirable than invasion or conquest.

“ The people have now entirely laid aside the military character that once distinguished their ancestors. The great body of them is altoget-

ther pastoral, and live in small hamlets, forming clusters of houses, which have neither the regularity, nor deserve the name, of towns. They have a few, however, where they are engaged in commerce, and carry on manufactures. The town of Selymnia, on the south side of the Balkan, contains nearly twenty thousand inhabitants, the large majority of whom are Bulgarians. Here they fabricate, to a great extent, several manufactured articles, which are famous in Turkey; one is a coarse woollen cloth, and another, rifle gun-barrels, which are held in high esteem. But that which is most congenial to their rural habits, is the preparation of the essential oil, called otto, or attar of roses. A large district, in the neighbourhood of Selymnia, is laid out in gardens for this purpose; and the abundance of rose-trees adds another feature to this beautiful country. A great part of the produce is brought to England, and we are indebted to these simple peasants for the most exquisite and elegant perfume in nature.

"Of all the peasantry I have ever met with, the Bulgarians seem the most simple, kind, and affectionate; forming a striking contrast with the rude and brutal Turks, who are mixed among them, but distinguished by the strongest traits of character. On the road we frequently met groups of both, always separate, but employed in the same avocations: the Turks were known by turbans, sashes, pistols, and yatigans; but still more, by a ferocity of aspect, a rude assumption of demeanour, and a careless kind of contempt, that at once repulsed and disgusted us. They never turned their buffaloes or arubas out of the way to let us pass, or showed the smallest wish to be civil or obliging; on the contrary, were pleased if they pushed us into a bog in the narrow road, or entangled us among trees or bushes. Any accommodation in houses was out of the question: if we approached one for a drink of milk or water, we ran the hazard of being stabbed or shot. The Bulgarians were distinguished by caps of brown sheep-skin; jackets of cloth, made of the wool, undyed, of dark brown sheep, which their wives spin and weave; white cloth trowsers, and sandals of raw leather, drawn under the sole, and laced with thongs over the instep; and they carried neither pistol nor yatigan, nor any other weapon of offence: but they were still more distinguished by their countenance and demeanour. The first is open, artless, and benevolent; and the second is so kind and cordial, that every one we met seemed to welcome us as friends. Whenever their buffaloes or arubas stopped up the way, they were prompt to turn them aside; and whenever they saw us embarrassed, or obliged to get out of the road, they were eager to show us it was not their fault. Their houses were always open to us, and our presence was a kind of jubilee to the family; the compensation we gave scarcely deserved the name, and I am disposed to think if not offered, would not be asked for.— Turkish women we never saw: the Bulgarian women mixed freely with us in the domestic way, and treated us with the unsuspecting cordiality they would show to brothers. Their dress was neat, clean, and comfortable; it generally consisted of a jacket and petticoat of dark blue cloth, with a bright border of list round the edges, or down the seams; and a shift of hemp and cotton, very large, hanging far below the petticoat, and gathered in full folds round the neck and arms, and worked

or wove with lace-like borders. Married women wear handkerchiefs on their heads, with a long lappel hanging on the back behind; girls have their heads uncovered, with their hair braided and ornamented with different coins. All wear earrings, bracelets, and rings on their fingers, even girls of three and four years old, and all go barefooted. They are exceedingly industrious, and are never for a moment without their spindle and distaff; they frequently asked for needles, and I greatly regretted I had not brought a few scissors and other female implements, which would have been highly acceptable to them. Their villages generally consist of forty or fifty houses, scattered without order or regularity. Their houses are built of wicker-work, plastered, and are clean and comfortable on the inside; where we were neither annoyed by smoke, or fleas, or bugs, or bad smells, or any of the torments which beset the rich in the houses of the poor; and one end is generally filled with bags of wool, or bales of cloth and carpet. They seem to possess all the necessities of life in abundance;—a mild climate, a fertile soil, a beautiful country, cattle, corn, wine, wood, and water in profusion.

“The Bulgarians speak a language which has not the smallest affinity with either that of the Turks, Greeks, Jews, or Armenians, with whom they mix. It is the language they brought with them from Sarmatia, and is a dialect of the Slavonian, having a nearer resemblance to Russian, perhaps, than to any other. When they established themselves in this district, they embraced Christianity; and have ever since continued members of the Greek church, subject to the Greek Patriarch of Constantinople, who appoints their bishops. These are always Greeks, and they have, by a natural preference, established their own language, as that of the service of the church, universally on the south side, and generally on the north, of the Balkan. Where it is not in Greek, it is in the ancient written language; and as the modern Bulgarians understand neither one nor the other, the offices of religion are performed for them in an unknown tongue. Even in the few schools established in towns, the books introduced are exclusively Greek, though that language has made no progress among the people. The consequence of this is, that they are entirely illiterate; the language they use is merely oral, never having been reduced to grammatical rules. A few elementary books have been lately printed in it, but I did not meet with them; those I saw were Greek, for the schools, and Slavonian, for the churches. There is generally a priest attached to every two or three villages, who attends and performs the duties of religion in each occasionally; but, unless in a very few places, they have neither churches, nor schools, nor books; and, with the exception of the *baccûl*, or shopkeeper, who is generally a Greek, it is probable there was not a person in any of the villages through which I passed, who could either read or write; yet, like the people of the Golden Age, “*Sponte sua, sine lege, fiden rectumque colebant.*” Crime is unknown among them; and the traveller who passes through their country is not only secure from the effects of vice, but experiences the kindness resulting from the most amiable virtues. pp. 110–115.

“At six o'clock we arrived at the village of Beeni, where we stopped to sleep. Here was no khan, and we were konacked by the Kiaya, in

a private house as before. The good people had no second room, and we were domesticated with the family. It consisted of the Tchourbadgee, or man of the house, so called because he is the giver of soup, or the dispenser of hospitality : the boba, or woman, three children, and two shepherds. The house was of wicker-work, as the others, but the walls so low, that I could only stand upright in the middle, and lie at length close by the sides. The hut was, however, clean, sweet and fresh. The floor was swept and the carpets spread, and a large fire blazed in the chimney ; and while I stretched myself among the kind, good people, and saw their honest faces brighten in the blaze, I felt myself quite at home. We had brought with us some mutton from Rousou Kestri, in the apprehension that we should arrive too late at Beeni to get any meat. This the boba roasted for us ; and laying on the other side of the fire an iron circular plate, like a Scotch griddle, she poured on it a mixture of water, flour and eggs, so as to form a thin cake ; when this was done, she took it off, placed it on a dish, and proceeded to make another ; and having interposed cheese and butter between them, she laid the second on the first. In this way she raised a pile of pancakes. To these she added a dish of sour cabbage, a pitcher of wine, and a mug of raki, and sent up supper on a stool, with a comfort and despatch that would do credit to an English kitchen. During this preparation, she had a distaff stuck at her hip, and a reel spinning at the end of it, which she kept constantly in motion ; and from this simple but incessant machine, the whole family was supplied with clothes. After supper, the good woman made me some coffee, which Mustapha carried in his bag ; and then we all lay down together to rest for the night. The man, his wife, three children, two shepherds, surrogate, Tartar, and I, lay amicably side by side, rolled in the carpet, with our feet to the fire, and slept in peace and good-will. Towards morning I awoke, and found the industrious woman and one of her children, by the light of the fire, spinning cotton on their distaffs. They were looking at me and singing a low simple air. I thought of my distance from home, and the kindness of these good people to a stranger, and of Mungo Park, and his affecting account of a somewhat similar scene ; and, like him, I was affected even to tears." pp. 92-93.

"This village (Lopenitza) is at the bottom of the descent of the High Balkan, and those who arrive at it congratulate themselves as having now crossed the mountains. We had other reasons to welcome its approach ; we were wet, cold, tired, and hungry, and never was a resting place more welcome. We rode into a farm-yard, surrounded by a wall of wicker-work. Within were several buildings, but one stood apart, which looked peculiarly inviting. It was new, and fresh, and clean, having been recently coloured with some gray composition. It was filled, however, with people, and already pre-occupied. In a moment after, they were all in motion ; the floor was swept out, the thick carpets spread, a large fire blazed in the chimney, and when I entered the porch, I thought I had not seen, either in England or Wales, so neat, so picturesque, or so comfortable a cottage. I now divested myself of my

drenched clothes, and having stretched myself before the fire, I never experienced more comfortable sensations.

"While reclining in this state I saw a number of girls enter the porch, and in a short time, after some preparation without, they entered the room. Here the tallest and handsomest, with a white handkerchief in her hand led the way, and the rest following, they commenced a dance, accompanied by a very sweet song, in which their voices were all pleasantly blended. The dance consisted in a movement where they all passed each other with grace and regularity; and the song was a hymn of welcome to the stranger, praising his beauty and fine qualities. They were dressed in blue cloth jackets and petticoats, with large chemises, which folded over their necks and arms; their hair was braided, and hung with coins of gold and silver; they wore long pendant earrings, and round their arms were one or two broad bracelets of silver; and their petticoat was gathered up with a leather girdle, that it might not impede the motion of their feet. When the dance and song were ended, the leading beauty threw her white handkerchief into my lap, and they all retired. Not well comprehending the nature of this challenge, I hesitated what to do, when Mustapha informed me it was a demand for a few paras. I immediately placed them within, and followed the dancers into the porch with the jingling handkerchief. Here I distributed the contents among them, and they departed with great modesty and good-humour." p. 99.

When we turn to the political state and prospects of the Turkish empire, the prognostics of Mr. Walsh are not more favourable, than his views of their social and moral condition. He rather glances, however, at this subject than expresses a deliberate opinion, yet his brief observations merit our notice:—

"I had now travelled more than three hundred miles through the Turkish dominions in Europe, from their capital to the last town they possessed at the extremity of their empire. When I contemplated the extent of the territory, the fertility of the soil, the abundance of the resources, the cattle and corn it produced, and the interminable capability it possessed of producing more; the large cities of Adrianople, Shumla, Rutschük, and the multitude of villages scattered over the country; when I considered the despotic government that had absolute power over all these resources, to direct them in whatever manner, and to whatever extent it pleased; and that this was but a small portion of the vast empire which extended over three parts of the globe; it seemed as if the Turkish power was as a sleeping lion, which had only to rouse itself and crush its opponents. But when, on the other hand, I saw the actual state of this fine country,—its resources neglected, its fields lying waste, its towns in ruins, its population decaying, and not only the traces of human labour, but of human existence, every day becoming obliterated; in fine, when I saw all the people about them advancing in the arts of civilized life, while they alone were stationary, and the European Turk of this day differing little from his Asiatic ancestor, except

only in having lost the fierce energy which then pushed him on ; when I considered this, I was led to conclude that the lion did not sleep, but was dying, and after a few fierce convulsions would never rise again.

"The circumstance most striking to a traveller passing through Turkey, is its depopulation. Ruins, where villages had been built, and fallows where land had been cultivated, are frequently seen, with no living things near them. This effect is not so visible in larger towns, though the cause is known to operate there in a still greater degree. Within the last twenty years, Constantinople has lost more than half its population. In eighteen months, three sanguinary revolutions took place, which destroyed two Sultans, and about thirty thousand of the inhabitants. These were followed by the plague in 1812, which swept away, according to some two, and according to others three, hundred thousand more.* It was known that at one time, a thousand persons

* Of this plague, the following account, by a gentleman attached to the British embassy, who passed the fall of 1812, near Constantinople, is not without interest :—
"Soon after our arrival at Constantinople (July. 1812) the plague, that periodical scourge of the Levant, made its appearance in the city, and rapidly increasing, extended its ravages to a degree unexampled since the year 1778. We heard indistinct reports of it a few days after arriving, but they were treated, at first, as unfounded ; and it was even thought that they were only spread to make the late peace with Russia unpopular with the Turks, among whom it is a common idea that the plague generally breaks out after the conclusion of peace. Successive accidents, however, (it is thus that cases of plague are called in the Levant) gave credit to these rumours ; and by the 27th of July, no doubt remained of its existence in the city, though the disease was then so mild, that many of the sick recovered : but it increased so rapidly in extent and virulence, that the Europeans soon after shut themselves up in their houses, and we did not move out of the palace till December, during which time all our provisions were purchased by a purveyor, and (with the exception of bread, which is not supposed to convey the infection, unless it be new) passed through water before we received them. By the end of August, the ravages of the disease were general and dreadful ; and in the month of September it swept off the population at the rate of two thousand a day,† of whom we saw great numbers daily buried beneath our windows, which overlooked the little burying ground of Pera. It was checked, for a short interval, by the frost of December ; but its return was so virulent, that it was feared it would continue with as much violence as in the autumn. Its virus was, however, destroyed by the continuation of cold, the only remedy which effectually restrains it in the north of Turkey. In Egypt and the southern provinces of the Empire, it is stopped by extreme heat, which is equally efficacious. Incessant precautions preserved the dragomans of the embassies, to the surprise of every one, as they frequently crossed the Porte to Constantinople on business, or mixed elsewhere with the Turks. The porter of the British palace lost by the disease, his daughter and five grand-children who were lodging in Pera. The Porte, on the cessation of the plague, made attempts to ascertain the amount of the deaths it had occasioned, which, by the most authentic accounts, was said to be as follows :—

Turks,	-	-	-	-	-	220,000
Armenians,	-	-	-	-	-	40,800
Jews,	-	-	-	-	-	32,000
Greeks,	-	-	-	-	-	28,000
Aleppines,	-	-	-	-	-	50
Islanders, chiefly Syriotes and Tiniotes,	-	-	-	-	-	80
Franks,	-	-	-	-	-	95
						<hr/> 320,955

† Prayers for its cessation were offered up at the mosques, which is never done till the deaths amount to one thousand a day.

a day were brought out of the top Kapousi gate to be buried; and the gardener of the English palace told me he was the only survivor of a family of thirteen persons: he was seized with delirium and stupor, and when he recovered, he found himself in the house with twelve dead bodies. In 1821, the Greek insurrection broke out. The population of the Fanal, and other places, consisted of about forty thousand Greeks; by death and flight, they are now reduced to half the number. In 1827, the janissaries were extinguished, and the contests on this occasion, carried off, it is supposed, on both sides, about thirty thousand persons. If to these casualties be added, the frequent conflagrations, two of which occurred while I was at Constantinople, and destroyed fifteen thousand houses; the Russian and Greek wars, which were a constant drain on the janissaries of the capital; and the silent operation of the plague, which is continually active, though not always alarming;—it will be considered no exaggeration to say, that within the period mentioned, from three to four hundred thousand persons have been prematurely swept away in one city in Europe, by causes which were not operating in any other—conflagration, pestilence and civil commotion. The Turks, though naturally of a robust and vigorous constitution, addict themselves to such habits as are very unfavourable to population; their sedentary life, polygamy, immoderate use of opium, coffee, and tobacco, and other indulgences still more hostile to the extension of the species, so impede the usual increase of families, that births do little more than compensate the ordinary deaths, and cannot supply the waste of casualties. The surrounding country is, therefore, constantly drained to

“This account includes all the villages on each side of the Bosphorus up to the Black Sea, and is certainly not exaggerated. Of the Europeans, two who were attacked were Englishmen, of whom one recovered and one died; the death of the latter was occasioned, it was said, (for he was supposed to be in a fair way of recovery) by his eating fish, which, at certain stages of the disease, is almost always fatal. The remedies used by the Turks were generally brandy and caviar, whose strong excitement was calculated to throw out the disease, the eruption of it in tumours being the only chance of saving the patient.

“It was dreadful to witness the depopulation occasioned by the disease in Constantinople, when its cessation permitted us to visit the city. We passed through many streets in which every house was emptied of its inhabitants; and the number of new graves in the burying grounds denoted, with awful certainty, the extent of the mortality.—The plague revisited Constantinople the year after, though it did not rage to such an extent. Indeed, it always exists more or less in the city, owing to the system of selling, in the bazars, the clothes of the dead, which are often shut up in chests in the winter, and will thus retain the infection for a long time, till on their being reproduced and worn, they again spread the disorder. To those who consider the customs of the Turks, it appears a miracle that the whole population is not swept off to a man. A person infected with plague is not avoided by his friends or acquaintance; and, as a remission of a certain number of sins is promised by their religion, to those who assist in conveying a fellow creature to the grave, many Turks who meet in the streets the funeral of a Mussulman, dead of plague, are seen zealously presenting themselves to carry the corpse a few paces at least. The upper ranks of Turks indeed, being more enlightened, are beginning to profit by experience, and adopt precautions. My journal records some examples of Pashas, who have instituted quarantine in the principal cities of their Governments; and in the plague of 1812, of which these pages describe the extensive ravages, one of the Sultan's cooks having been seized with the infection, Mahmoud ordered the kitchen to be cleaned and fumigated, and all the utensils which had been used by the dead servant to be destroyed.” *Turner's Journal of a Tour in the Levant*, vol. i. pp. 73-77.

supply this waste in the capital, which, nevertheless, exhibits districts nearly depopulated. If we suppose that these causes operate more or less in every part of the Turkish empire, it will not be too much to say, that there is more of human life wasted, and less supplied, than in any other country. It is thus that the gifts of bountiful nature are thrown away upon this people. It is in vain that God has issued his great law—"Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth," and has conferred on them every means of fulfilling it—comely persons, robust constitutions, mild climate, fertile soil, and beautiful country—when their own perverse propensities and antisocial habits counteract the blessings of a good providence. We see every day, life going out in the fairest portion of Europe, and the human race threatened with extinction, in a soil and climate capable of supporting the most abundant population." pp. 124-127.

The preservation, if not the renovation of the Turkish Empire, is supposed to depend, in a great measure, on the personal character of the reigning Sovereign. The Sultan, Mahmoud, who has now been twenty years on the throne, has certainly exhibited great energy of character, and a perseverance in his designs, which, if united to a clear, sound and enlightened intellect, might have enabled him to accomplish great purposes, and effect important changes even on the character and conduct of the stubborn and unyielding Turk. Something he has done, but not all which circumstances required—and his energy has been exerted rather to destroy than to create or to repair. Ferocious he may be termed, yet it is but justice that he should be judged by his own laws, by the customs of his people, and the tenets of his religion, not by the milder principles of Christianity. Mr. Walsh remarks, when speaking of the difficulty he found in procuring a bird which he wished to examine, that the Turks have "a tender and conscientious regard for the life of every animal but man." In his disregard of human life, Mahmoud has unquestionable claims to the character of a genuine Turk. Of the Sultan, our author presents us with the following brief account :—

"The present Sultan, who has effected this perilous undertaking, in which so many of his predecessors failed, is a man, not in the prime, but still in the vigour of life. He succeeded his brother Mustapha, in the year 1808, and so has been on the throne twenty years. He is now the only survivor, I believe, of thirty children—fifteen boys, and fifteen girls—which his father left ; and is the last of the male race of Mahomet of an age fit to reign : and it is to this circumstance, they say, that he is indebted for his inviolability ; had there been another of the sacred race, old enough to substitute in his place, the janissaries would have long since deposed him. He had two sons ; one about the age of ten, to whom their eyes were turned as his successor when he should arrive

at competent years: and he knew, by experience, it was as easy for them to do this as to say it; for both of his predecessors had been strangled—one of whom was his own brother. His son prematurely died; and it was reported that he had been made away with by his own father, lest he should be set up in his place. It is known, however, that the boy died of the small-pox, and that his father has given an extraordinary example to his subjects, by having his surviving children vaccinated; and so has shown, in one instance at least, a disposition to adopt European improvements in things not merely military. He is, moreover, a man well versed in Oriental literature, writes and understands Arabic well; and his Hata sherifs, which he always dictates, and sometimes writes with his own hand, are admired for their style and composition. He is not a man of a morose or cruel disposition in his own family: on the contrary, he has several daughters by different mothers, to all of whom he is affectionately attached; and in his ordinary intercourse in private life, he is urbane and affable. His public conduct, however, has been marked by extraordinary fierceness and unrelenting rigour, not only to Rajas, but to Turks themselves; and in this, he has shown an impartial disregard to human life, and not a strict adherence to human obligations. But whatever his conduct has been to his own subjects, to those of other nations, he has afforded the most inviolable protection. He has discontinued the barbarous practice of his predecessors, in sending ambassadors to the Seven Towers; instead of which, whenever they disagree, and are disposed to depart, he affords them every facility, and those of their nation who please to remain, are in security. During the frenzied excitement of the populace, which took place at the breaking out of the Greek insurrection, the odium and prejudice of the Turks extended to all Christians; yet the Franks were perfectly safe, while the Greeks were shot without mercy wherever they were met by the mob; and notwithstanding a few accidents which occurred to individuals in the confusion, we never hesitated to walk abroad, either in the town or its vicinity, for business or amusement, though every Turk was armed with a yatagan, and case of loaded pistols, which he was ready to use on the slightest provocation. On more recent occasions, where such real cause of complaint and irritation existed, it is but justice to the present Sultan to say, that his moderation and good faith have afforded examples, which the best Christian nations in Europe might be proud to follow." pp. 50-51.

The great political error of Mahmoud's reign, was the conclusion of the peace of Bucharest in 1812, when Russia was so sorely pressed by the power of Napoleon, and an opportunity appeared to be opened to Turkey of regaining some of her frontier provinces beyond the Danube. But a momentary displeasure, a dread of the aspiring ambition of the Emperor of the French, and the urgent persuasions and efforts of the Ambassadors of the Allied Sovereigns of Europe, induced him to sacrifice to his subsequent mortification and regret, the permanent interests of his empire. It was this feeling, heightened by some infrac-

tion of that treaty, and by the Greek insurrection, which produced that bitterness of spirit, which was exhibited towards Russia in the manifesto, and state papers that preceded the present war—which will aggravate its violence, and if the parties are at all equally poised, will extend its duration.

But the great object of Mahmoud's reign has been one of a domestic nature. His efforts have been unremittingly employed to suppress and utterly destroy, that ancient military corps, which, like the Prætorian guards of Imperial Rome, have held, for nearly two hundred years, the empire and its sovereigns under their absolute control. Like the Prætorian guards, they changed the reigning monarch at their pleasure, differing only in this, that in Turkey the succession was inviolably preserved in the reigning family. Mahmoud ascended the throne over the bodies of his father and brother, deposed and strangled by the Janissaries, and he seems to have felt deeply the indignity offered to his family, and, indeed, his own insecurity. Subsequent circumstances kept alive his resentments, and he prepared silently but steadily the means to accomplish his determined purpose.

That the destruction of the Janissaries was long meditated, that the intention of Mahmoud was extensively, if not publicly known, is obvious from many circumstances, and it seems only surprising that any scruple should have prevented that turbulent soldiery from deposing him while the power remained in their hands. It is probable that they owe their ruin to a false confidence in their own power, and the supposed inviolability of their privileges. Mr. Turner, who passed three years in Turkey, soon after the accession of Mahmoud, and published his narrative in 1816, [?] makes the following remarks on this subject :

“The Government of Turkey has been often and amply described. The best idea that can be given of it, is conveyed by the description of a French writer, who calls it a despotism tempered by regicide. The power of the Sultan, whose commands are generally supreme, even when dictated by the most childish caprice, sinks into nothing when it attacks the religious prejudices of the people, the property of the Ulemas, or the privileges of the Janissaries. This turbulent soldiery, from the time that they have been debarred from the field of battle, by the inactivity of their Sultans, by whom alone they can be led to it, are formidable only to their own government; nor can Turkey ever again assume her rank in the scale of nations, till their reduction opens the way to improvements, which they naturally oppose as fatal to their pre-eminence. Mahmoud is, like his predecessor, so well aware of this truth, that all the powers of his mind are devoted to their destruction; and the large strides he has taken to its promotion, would before this have drawn on him the fate of Selim, if, as he is the last adult male of his race, (for his son is of tender years) his death were not

likely to lead to the succession of the Tartar family, whom the Ottomans hold in detestation. It must be owned that the character of this Sultan, affords to his kingdom the best chance of witnessing the fall of the Janissaries, and the establishment of a disciplined soldiery. Neither his judgment nor his courage have been impaired by his confinement in the Seraglio, during the reign of his predecessor, to which is imputed the general imbecility of the Turkish Sultans, and the consequent obstruction of civilization among their subjects. Possessed of powerful abilities, a vigorous and active mind, he pursues his object with unrelenting severity; and no scruples of conscience, as to the means employed, divert him from the destruction of such as oppose his project. He has a strong feeling of his personal superiority, and of the sanctity of his elevated situation; and his conviction that his good fortune (his *star* as the Turks call it) renders him invincible, is confirmed by the success he has had in the suppression of local insurrections, the reduction of rebellious Pashas, and, above all, by the success of his arms over the Wahabees, and the recovery of the holy cities, Mecca and Medina. His policy for the restoration of his authority in the provinces of his empire is unvaried, and circumstances, though they may defer its exercise, never vary its character. He never, like many of his predecessors, has compounded with a rebel Pasha, for the cession of a part of his pretensions or his treasures, nor granted any other conditions than that of life. His wish to devote all his force to reduce the revolted Pasha of Widdin, was thought to have greatly contributed to his conclusion of the peace with Russia, signed at Bucharest, in 1812. His efforts for the establishment of his power have been attended with such success, that the Pashas of Egypt and Albania, are the only governors who aim at independence, and even these pay their tribute, and keep up the appearance of submission.

“But the great object on which the whole soul of Mahmoud is bent, and on the accomplishment of which he will stake his throne and his life, is the destruction of the Janissaries. It is impossible for a traveller accurately to ascertain the number of this lawless soldiery, nor, indeed, do the Turks themselves know it exactly, but it is supposed to amount to about one hundred and fifty thousand in Constantinople. Most of them have no other military employment, than to line the streets through which the Sultan passes on days of festival. They are composed of the tradesmen, boatmen and workmen of the capital, who enter the names of their children on the books of their Odah (chamber) at an early age, in order to receive their pay; and some individuals in easy circumstances, who enrol themselves for the sake of the extensive privileges which the Janissaries enjoy. As they are the most numerous body of troops in the capital, and are tremblingly alive to the least invasion of their privileges, which they instantly and enthusiastically combine to prevent or to punish, it must require great talent, and a happy combination of circumstances to crush their power. Their entire destruction is the only expedient, for they will never become themselves an effective soldiery, from their dread of being subjected to the rigour of European discipline and punishments, and of being sent away from Constantinople. This mighty task Mahmoud has undertaken to perform.

instructors in religion also ; that their language was the medium through which the Gospel was first conveyed, and their cities were among the first where it was preached and adopted. And when Providence, for its own wise purposes, permitted to Mahomedanism a temporary triumph in Europe, no inducement or intimidation could prevail on the modern Greeks to abandon the cause of Christianity ; but, for four centuries, they cherished and kept alive the sacred flame, in the centre of the Turkish empire." pp. 246-247.

"As we are now in the vicinity of Rimnik, rendered so interesting by the battle of Drageschan, fought in its vicinity, I felt I could not pass the spot without visiting it, and sending you some local details of one of the most affecting incidents of modern times ; and, considering the youth and circumstances of the parties engaged, rivalling in intrepidity and self-devotion any thing we read of in the history of ancient Greece.

"Ypselantes, not finding in the provinces the support he expected, was compelled to retire before the Turks, and take up a position at Tergovist, the ancient capital of Wallachia. From hence he was obliged to retreat through the upper country, crossed the river Olt, and established himself at Rimnik, a small town near that river, and not far from the Carpathian Mountains, which separate this province from Transylvania and the Austrian territories. A large body of Turks, infinitely superior in numbers, here advanced against him ; and it was debated in the Greek army, whether they should wait for reinforcements, or immediately meet the Turks. The position they had taken up was very favourable to the first. There stood near it the large monastery of Drageschan, which it was proposed to occupy. The Greek monasteries are well adapted for such a purpose : they consist generally of a large quadrangular edifice, surrounding an open area inside, and entered only by a small door through the body of the building. The walls are very strong and massive, and the windows narrow, exactly resembling embrasures, for which they are well calculated. The accommodations inside are extensive ; and hence every monastery is, in fact, a fortress ; protecting the inmates from pirates on the sea coast, and robbers in the interior ; and affording the Greeks a shelter, when hard pressed by their enemies. As this stood among the extreme branches of the mountains, which here advance considerably into the plain, and was encircled with woods and difficult ground, it would be easy for light troops to advance under cover, and completely harass any army who should surround it. It was, therefore, proposed by Georgaki, a distinguished officer in Ypselantes' army, to occupy the monastery and woods, and await the coming of the expected reinforcements. This advice, however, was opposed by Karavia, another officer of influence, whose motive was evinced by his subsequent conduct ; such, however, was the enthusiasm of the troops, that his advice was unfortunately adopted.

"The forces of Ypselantes consisted of 9000 effective men, Arnauts, Pandours, Servians, Bulgarians, Wallachians and Moldavians—generally animated in the cause, and all united by the common bond of professing the same religion of the Greek Church ; but from the very nature of their former services, the total relaxation of military discipline,

and, above all, their being of different nations, and having no bond of personal and local attachment, they were not much to be relied on in a general attack. There was, however, one body whose former character gave them the highest claim to confidence.

"It had been latterly the practice of the Greeks in general, but particularly those of the provinces, to send their young men of respectable families, for education to different Universities in Europe; generally to those of Italy and Germany; such as were intended for the learned professions, studied medicine and law; and such as were intended for business, mathematics. The first generally returned and practised at home; the last were usually placed in the different mercantile houses, which the Greeks had now established in every capital on the continent. When the Society of the Hetairia extended itself, these young gentlemen enrolled themselves as members of it, wherever it had ramifications; and when the plan of revolution was resolved on, they were the first to offer themselves as soldiers to support it. Every man provided himself with a case of pistols, a sword, and a musket with a screwed bayonet, after the European manner, and a uniform suit of black; and thus equipped, repaired to Ypselantes' standard. It was a singular and interesting spectacle, to see these young gentlemen voluntarily, and by a simultaneous movement, abandoning their colleges and offices, in different places in Italy, Russia and Germany; marching forward either singly or in small bodies, from the remotest parts of Europe, and meeting at one common centre, to form an army. They enrolled themselves into a corps called *ἱερός λόχος*, or the sacred band; and they evinced by their conduct, that they merited the appellation as much as the Thebans in the days of Epaminondas; they inscribed on their standards *θάνατος ἢ ἐλευθερία*, death or freedom; and the inscription of the Spartan shield, *ἢ ταν ἢ περὶ ταν*, either this or upon it.* The greater part of them had never felt hardship, or handled a military weapon before; yet they endured fatigue, privation and discipline, with submission and fortitude—setting an example to the rest which was badly followed. There were of this corps, now with Ypselantes, about five hundred men; and on these he justly placed his chief reliance.

"The little army, originally so small, had been further weakened by the absence of Prince Cantacuzene, who had taken a strong detachment to oppose the Pasha of Ibrail on the Danube. What remained, did not consist of more than five thousand men, who had with them a small body of Arnaut cavalry, and a few iron field pieces that had been ships' guns. They were opposed by nearly double the number of Turks, with 1500 well appointed cavalry, among whom was a corps of Delhis. I have already told you the nature of those troops.

"The battle began at ten o'clock in the morning of the 19th of June, 1821. After a few rounds of grape-shot from the small artillery of the Greeks, the Turks rushed with their usual impetuosity on the corps of the sacred band, who flanked and guarded it. They were repulsed with

* I have frequently seen these inscriptions on Greek standards, particularly the last: the direction was literally followed: for the body of the standard bearer, who died in defending it, was wrapped in it as in a shroud, and so borne to the grave, and buried in it.

coolness by the fixed bayonets of the corps, who had a great advantage over their enemies in a close charge, as the Turks used no bayonets on their muskets, and their yatigans or hangers, were two short to reach within their guard. The Turks retired in confusion, but returned soon again to the charge, and were again driven back. Ypselantes, now seeing the moment for decision, instantly ordered up the whole corps of his cavalry, to attack the Turks in the rear, as they were retiring in confusion. Had the orders given been obeyed, they never would have rallied again, and the victory would have been as signal, as the consequences to the Greeks would have been momentous. The cavalry was commanded by Karavia, who had been so strenuous in advising an immediate battle. Instead of obeying the orders of the General, and attacking the Turks in their confusion, they turned suddenly round, headed by their infamous commander, and riding furiously through a body of their own men, threw the whole left wing into confusion. Every effort was made to remedy the disaster, but in vain. The panic or treason of the horse communicated itself with the infantry; the whole dashed headlong into the Olt, and passed to the other side, leaving the sacred band almost alone in the midst of the plain. It was now that the Turkish cavalry, seeing them abandoned to their fate, rushed on them, and surrounded their little body on all sides with their sweeping squadrons. In this awful situation, these young men, utterly unused to discipline, kept firmly together, and repelled for some time every effort to break them; the Delhis, particularly, rushed on them, but were received so steadily, on the *cheveux de frize*, which their bayonets presented, that their horses were always thrown back in confusion. At length the pistols of the cavalry effected what their sabres could not; they made repeated discharges on them beyond the reach of their bayonets; they were gradually thinned and weakened by this firing, and then the Turks rushing in with their sabres, cut down every man that remained, on the spot where he stood. More than four hundred perished side by side; and of the few that escaped, almost all died of their wounds; so that hardly an individual of this admirable band, the pride and flower of the Greek nation, survived this dreadful day.

"I cannot describe to you the feelings of respect and regret with which I walked over the ground that covered the remains of these young heroes. I had not long before visited the field of Marathon, and the recollection of it and Dr. Johnson's effusion were fresh in my mind; but the impressions of both were cold and feeble, compared with those of Drageschan. Here was an act of courage and self-devotion among modern Greeks, that rivalled any thing similar in the best days of their ancestors; and I was on the spot while the event was yet recent, and their bodies, if I may so say, scarce cold in the clay that covered them. No one has hitherto dared to erect a tomb to designate the place where they lie, but they live imperishably in the memory of their country; and when England and her allies shall replace it in its due rank among the nations of Christian Europe, a monument on the field of Drageschan will not be forgotten." pp. 140-145.

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SOUTHERN REVIEW.

NO. VI.

MAY, 1829.

ART. I.—*Narrative of a Second Expedition to the Shores of the Polar Sea, in the years 1825, 1826, 1827, by JOHN FRANKLIN, Captain, R. N.—F. R. S. &c. ; including an Account of the Progress of a Detachment to the Eastward. By JOHN RICHARDSON, M. D.—F. R. S. &c. Surgeon and Naturalist to the Expedition. Published by authority of the Right Honorable the Secretary of State for Colonial Affairs. London, 1828. Philadelphia, reprinted, 1828.*

THE efforts which, during the last seventy years, have been made by the British nation to explore the most remote and desolate, the most hidden and dangerous shores and regions of the globe, have acquired, for the people who patronised, and for the individuals who conducted these adventurous enterprises, a lofty and well-merited renown. Whether arranged and organized by the government, or projected by societies or by individuals, whether designed to explore the coasts of unknown lands, or the habitations of barbarous tribes, to traverse the burning sands or pestilential forests of Africa, to climb the summits of the Himalayan mountains, or brave the icebergs of either pole—for whatever purpose, and under whatever auspices these voyages and peregrinations of discovery have been prepared, they have enkindled a strong enthusiasm, and multitudes have been found willing to risk health and life, to abandon the abodes of man and the enjoyments of society; ready, nay, anxious to encounter the perils and privations to which they must be exposed while visiting and examining the wildest and most inhospitable portions of the earth.

"*Auri sacra fames quæ non mortalia cogis*," was the exclamation of the ancient satirist. We know not if this worldly motive to action has lost, in modern times, any of its excitement, but we feel proud to believe that higher principles, that the impulses of religion and of humanity, the love of science and of fame, have, in these latter days, led to adventures as daring, to sufferings as great and as voluntary as have ever been produced by more ignoble causes.

In every quarter of the globe the traces of these researches may be discovered, and nations, we hope, have been benefited by the increased knowledge and enlarged intercourse which have resulted from these labours, but while Great-Britain was exploring, assiduously, many coasts and territories in which neither her citizens nor her government had any immediate interest, it was with many a matter of surprise that her extensive provinces in North America had been so entirely overlooked and neglected. The Hudson Bay Company had an exclusive commercial monopoly of the northern portion of this territory and the British nation seemed to look to the directors and agents of this company for whatever information was to be obtained of these extensive but desolate regions. When upon the maps of the globe, much of the northern division of this continent remained still a blank, that company was reproached for its supineness, and was accused of having, during a profitable monopoly of nearly two hundred years, attempted little to illustrate the natural, physical and moral features of the country they governed, and of its inhabitants, and performed less. The little that was accomplished, may be considered rather as the result of individual enterprise, than of corporate exertion. Hearne, though an officer of the company, made his journey to the Coppermine River, rather as a private adventurer in search of mineral treasures, than as a public agent—and M'Kenzie's celebrated expeditions to the Polar Sea and to the north-western coast of North-America, were altogether the enterprises of an intrepid and adventurous trader. In truth, the members of the Hudson Bay Company, satisfied with a substantial return on a moderate capital, appeared to be unwilling to increase their investments or enlarge the scale of their establishments, and slumbering over a regulated and monotonous traffic, were perhaps ignorant of the real resources of the country they governed, until the intrusion and active competition of a rival company, awakened in them a new spirit of inquiry, and the semblance of unwonted energy.

Still, the attempts at discovery did not originate with the company. Their agents even appeared indifferent or hostile to the

first movements of the government, although to the last expedition, they gave a cordial and efficacious support. But after a long pause, in the progress of maritime discovery, and particularly in the search of a north-west passage, the British government, actuated principally, we believe, by the suggestions of a single individual, resumed this suspended enterprise, and determined to resolve, if possible, the much contested question of the existence and practicability of a passage to the North of the American continent. In pursuance of this determination, the expedition of Captain Ross, the three voyages of Captain Parry, and that of Captain Beechy, and the two overland expeditions of Captain Franklin have been successively or simultaneously undertaken.

We have said that the love of science and of fame, and perhaps some innate fondness for hardy and daring enterprise, animated the leaders of these expeditions. Neither wealth nor honours seem to have awaited even the most successful. Cook, Vancouver, Flinders, all received a tardy and moderate promotion. Parry, whose hardihood, and whose success have been so much celebrated, is still a captain. The highest honours of the British navy are all reserved for naval exploits, and men, whose nautical skill, whose experience, whose courage, whose perseverance have proven equal to any undertaking, are retained in subordinate ranks, and must look to reputation as their reward—and with this they have been contented, and have been ready, and are still ready to encounter new trials and perils, and to press forward in any new career which may be opened to their talents and their ambition.

A former narrative of Captain Franklin gave the history of his first expedition to the Polar Sea, including an account of the almost unparalleled sufferings from hunger and cold which his companions and himself were compelled to undergo. These trials, however, were not lost. The experience of that journey taught him how to guard, in future, against similar contingencies—and public opinion, and perhaps the interference of the government seemed to have had some influence on the arrangements of the Hudson Bay Company and their agents; for, on this expedition, every assistance was afforded to his company, and every means furnished to facilitate his progress and promote his views. This, certainly, was not the case on his former journey.

The Journal of Captain Franklin, which we propose at present to review, contains the narrative of the latest of those expeditions which the British government has sent out to explore the northern districts of North America and the shores of the frozen ocean. If something remains yet to be accomplished,

much has been performed, and the several voyages of Ross, Parry and Beechy, and the two expeditions of Captain Franklin have each added something to our stock of geographical, meteorological and natural science. Indeed, the continent of North America has now been nearly all explored. We know, it is true, but little of California and the country between that peninsula and the Columbia river, but the Rocky mountains, the Northern Andes as they should be termed, are now traversed in every direction by the lonely trapper and the wandering trader, and along and beyond those mountains the products and manufactures of civilized nations are beginning to be distributed in every direction. From Behring's Straits, the Russians are extending their posts along the Polar Seas to the very borders of the British possessions, and southwardly to the neighbourhood of Nootka Sound, while in the centre of the continent, the English traders supply numerous tribes of the native inhabitants, and from M'Kenzie's river and the Rocky mountains to Hudson's Bay; and from the great chain of Lakes bordering on the United States to the neighbourhood of the Polar Sea, they have posts and trading houses in every direction, and carry on along the numerous navigable streams on which they are situated, an exceedingly profitable business. Some of the most respectable members of the Hudson Bay Company adventure out to the most distant posts with their agents and "engagées," spend their winters many thousand miles from the settled parts of Canada, and depend on supplies of fish and game for their subsistence through the long and dreary winter.

When we read the accounts of the establishments of the Hudson Bay Company, or the journals of travellers who have visited those regions, it is immediately evident that the Indians are better managed, and rendered much more serviceable by the English than by the people of the United States. Indeed, the French laid the foundation of this system, and left to their successors a most worthy example. Even to this day there are several tribes of Indians in the neighbourhood of Montreal and Quebec, whose property is protected, whose villages are thriving and bear the semblance of civilization, and whose members appear comfortable and contented. The Jesuits placed them upon a footing of security and comfort, which they are still suffered to retain. In the whole territory of the United States, if we may except the Cherokee nation, no similar cases occur.—The ancient inhabitants have either been driven away, or from some cause or other have grossly degenerated. Can it be that our Southern tribes are more fierce and savage than those of that Northern and icy region? Or has it been that the rapid

increase of the population of the United States has rendered the people unwilling to share with the Indians this fertile and cultivable region. At all the posts and trading houses on Hudson's Bay, and on the inland lakes and water-courses between that Bay and the Rocky mountains, the British employ the neighbouring tribes, by regular contract, to supply them with game and fish, with which that country greatly abounds. Its icy lakes are filled with fish, which, if we may believe the reports of hungry travellers, are of the finest description—and this is probable, for a law of nature has determined that animals, of all descriptions, should become more fat, if not more delicate in cold than in warm climates, and well adapted to the activity of the digestive organs in high latitudes. At these posts, the Indians are treated with great kindness, and behave submissively and with good faith. Many of the whites have married among them, and their children constitute, perhaps, the most useful portion of the population of the country.

When it was determined to send Captain Franklin on this expedition, every arrangement was made to render his journey not only safe but expeditious. The provisions for his party were prepared, and distributed with great judgment. Every thing was well adapted to the nature of the journey, which, although across a continent, and along the shores of an ocean, was to be made almost entirely in boats. Besides, stores of Pemican, (a preparation of meat finely chopped and dried, and closely pressed and packed up in convenient parcels) which had been prepared a year beforehand for the party, and deposited at various posts, by which they were to pass, an ample provision of articles, useful and necessary, were also sent forward to advanced points of their route.

"The stores consisted of bedding and clothing, including two suits of water-proof dresses for each person, prepared by Mr. Mackintosh, of Glasgow; our guns had the same bore with the fowling pieces, supplied by the Hudson Bay Company to the Indian hunters, that is, twenty-eight balls to the pound; their locks were tempered to withstand the cold of the winter; and a broad Indian dagger, which could also be used as a knife, was fitted to them, like a bayonet. Ammunition of the best quality was provided by the Ordinance, the powder being secured in small field or boat magazines. A quantity of wheaten flour, arrow-root, macaroni, portable soap, chocolate, essence of coffee, sugar and tea, calculated to last two years, was also supplied, made up into packages of eighty-five pounds, and covered with three layers of prepared water-proof canvass, of which material, coverings for the cargo of each boat were also made.

"There was likewise an ample stock of tobacco, a small quantity of wine and spirits, marquees and tents for the men and officers, some

books, writing and drawing paper, a considerable quantity of cartridge paper, to be used in preserving specimens of plants; nets, twine, fishing lines and hooks, together with many articles to be used at winter-quarters, for the service of the post, and for the supply of our Indian hunters, such as cloth, blankets, shirts, coloured belts, chiefs' dresses, combs, looking glasses, beads, tapes, gartering, knives, guns and daggers, hatchets, awls, gun-worms, flints, fire-steels, files, whip and hand-saws, ice chisels and trenching-irons, the latter to break open the beaver lodges." p. 14.

Three light boats, built of mahogany, with timbers of ash, and ornamented with the images of various European animals to strike the imagination of the savages, and a small boat framed of well-seasoned ash, fastened with thongs and covered with prepared canvas, which could "be taken to pieces and made up in five or six parcels, and was capable of being put together in less than twenty minutes," were prepared by the government in England, and sent out in June, 1824, to York factory on the western shore of Hudson's Bay. The larger boats were designed for the navigation of the Arctic Sea as the birch bark canoes of the Canadian traders are "too slight to bear the concussion of waves in a rough sea, and are still less fitted, from the tenderness of the bark, for coming in contact with ice." The small boat "was intended to provide against a similar detention in crossing rivers, to that which proved so fatal to the party on their former journey." A party of men were sent along with these boats, who, ascending in the spring of 1825, by the usual passage from York factory to Lake Winnipeg should there be on the route which Captain Franklin himself intended to pursue.

Captain Franklin, with most of his officers and some additional men, provided with all such instruments for astronomical and philosophical observations as were sufficiently portable for their mode of travelling, left Liverpool for New-York on the 16th of February, 1825. From this city, he passed through Albany, Utica and Rochester, to Niagara, then crossed Lake Ontario in a sailing boat to York, the capital of Upper Canada, from York, he travelled to Lake Simcoe in carts and other conveyances, and crossed Lake Simcoe in "canoes and boats." A journey of nine miles on foot carried this party to the river Nattawassaga, which they descended in boats, and passing through a part of Lake Huron, arrived at Penetanguishene, a British post on the borders of that Lake. Our travellers left Penetanguishene on the 23d of April, in two large canoes, reached the Sault de St. Marie on the 1st May, and coasted the northern shore of Lake Superior to Fort William. Here they exchanged their two canôts de maître for four small north canoes, and proceed-

ing through Rainy Lake, the Lake of the Woods, Lake Winnipeg, the Saskatchewan River to Cumberland House, where they arrived on the 15th of June, and learned that their boats from Hudson Bay had left that place on the 2d of the same month on their forward journey. Their voyage was continued through Pine Island Lake, Beaver Lake, crossing the Troy Portage, and ascending the English River they passed through Deep River, Clear and Buffalo Lakes, and overtook their boats in Methye River on the 29th of June.

The Methye river where the whole party were assembled, is, through its whole course of forty miles, the most shoal and the most obstructed by rapids of any part of this wonderful inland navigation, and the Methye Portage of ten miles and three quarters long, the most laborious part of the journey. The journey, or rather voyage, was continued on Clear Water River, then into the Elk or Athabasca River to the Athabasca Lake, where they arrived on the 15th of July. At Fort Chipewyan on this lake, they completed their stock of cloth, blankets, nets and twine, to a quantity sufficient for two years consumption. "Our arrival at this post," says Captain Franklin, "caused great surprise to its inmates when they learned that we had come from England to that advanced post so early in the season, being only two days later than the time at which Dr. Richardson and Mr. Hood had arrived in 1819, though they passed the winter at Cumberland House.

From Fort Chipewyan the journey was continued, (the boats, as had been the case from Fort William, separating or moving in company, as suited the arrangements of the officers,) to Slave Lake; the party then entered the Mackenzie River, and after descending three hundred and thirty-eight miles, reached Fort Simpson, the principal depot of the Hudson Bay Company for this department. Here further arrangements were made for the supply of provisions to the party during their residence at Bear Lake during the ensuing winter. Continuing their descent of the river, they arrived at Fort Norman, two hundred and thirty-six miles below Fort Simpson on the 7th of August.

"Being now only four days journey from Bear Lake, and there remaining yet five or six weeks of open season, I resolved on following up a plan of a voyage to the sea, which I had cherished ever since leaving England, without imparting it to my companions, until our departure from Chipewyan, because I was apprehensive that some unforeseen accident might occur in the course of the very intricate and dangerous river navigation between Fort William and the Athabasca Lake, which might delay our arrival here to too late a period of the year. It was arranged, first, that I should go down to the sea accompanied by Mr. Kendall, and collect whatever information could be ob-

tained, either from actual observation or from the intelligence of the Loucheux Indians, or the Esquimaux, respecting the general state of the ice in summer and autumn: the direction of the course east and west of the Mackenzie; and whether we might calculate upon any supply of provision. Secondly, Dr. Richardson, on his own suggestion, was to proceed in a boat along the northern shore of Bear Lake to the part where it approached nearest to the Coppermine River, and there fix upon a spot to which he might bring the party, the following year, on its return from the mouth of that river. And, *thirdly*, that these undertakings might not interfere with the important operations necessary for the comfortable residence and subsistence of the expedition during the following winter, Lieutenant Back was to superintend them during my absence, with the assistance of Mr. Dease, chief trader of the Hudson Bay Company, whose suggestions relative to the proper distribution of the Indian hunters, and the station of the fishermen, he was to follow. Accordingly, Dr. Richardson, on his quitting this place two days previous to our arrival, had left the largest of the boats, the *Lion*, for my use, and a well-selected crew of six Englishmen, and Augustus, the Esquimaux." pp. 35-36.

At Fort Norman, lat. $64^{\circ} 40' 30''$ N. long. $124^{\circ} 53' 22''$ W. all the stores intended for the voyage along the coast next season were deposited, and Capt. Franklin leaving that post on the 8th, and separating from his companions at the mouth of Bear Lake river, continued his progress down the Mackenzie. On the 10th, he reached Fort Good Hope, the lowest of the Company's establishments, three hundred and twelve miles below Fort Norman, and in some measure the termination of all accurate knowledge respecting the country. On the 14th, in lat. $68^{\circ} 40'$ N. he passed the last fir-trees, the only wood beyond this being stunted willows, which became more dwarfish as they approached the mouth of the river; and on the 16th, they landed on the north-eastern point of the entrance to the main channel, in lat. $69^{\circ} 14'$ N. long. $165^{\circ} 57'$ W.

"The sun was setting as the boat touched the beach; and we hastened to the most elevated part of the island, about two hundred and fifty feet high, to look around; and never was a prospect more gratifying than that which lay open to us. The Rocky Mountains were seen from S. W. to W. $\frac{1}{2}$ N.; and from the latter point round by the north, the sea appeared in all its majesty, entirely free from ice, and without any visible obstruction to its navigation. Many seals, and black and white whales were sporting on its waves; and the whole scene was calculated to excite in our minds the most flattering expectations as to our success, and that of our friends in the *Hecla* and the *Fury*, (alluding to Capt. Parry on his third voyage)" p. 49.

We have made this rapid survey of the first movements of Capt. Franklin and his party, without pausing to notice any

particular occurrences and remarks, to shew the extraordinary facility with which, under proper arrangements, this rude and desolate country can be traversed. Capt. Franklin left Liverpool on the 16th of February, and after having crossed the Atlantic, and travelled four thousand, six hundred miles, was on the 16th of August on the shores of the Polar Sea.

This whole journey, if the route by the Erie Canal and Lake Erie and Huron had been adopted instead of that by Upper Canada, could have been made by water with the exception of two or three inconsiderable portages. And although many of the rivers are shoal and abound with rapids, the skill of the boatmen who have been trained to the navigation of them, and to the management of the slight skiffs which are used in the commerce of the Hudson Bay Company, is able easily to surmount these obstacles. This wonderful inland navigation is formed by a chain of small lakes connected by rivers that discharge their waters into Lake Superior, until the summit level of that part of the continent is attained near the Methye Portage, when another chain of lakes is gained, connected as the former, and discharging their waters through the Mackenzie River into the Polar Ocean. On most of these lakes, and on many of the connecting and adjoining streams, the Hudson Bay Company has trading-houses. And from this grand line of communication, several others branching off to the east and west, communicate on the one hand with the factories in Hudson Bay, and on the other extend to the base of the Rocky Mountains. It was at these posts that pemmican and other provisions had been prepared for the expedition, and to them every necessary article had been previously sent, that all might be transported without delay to the neighbourhood of Bear Lake, about six hundred miles from the mouth of Mackenzie River, where the party was to spend the winter, in order to secure the whole of the ensuing summer for the prosecution of their enterprise.

Capt. Franklin having passed a few days in examining some of the channels, and some of the many islands at the mouth of the Mackenzie River, retraced his steps and reached Fort Franklin, the head-quarters of the expedition on the great Bear Lake, on the 5th of September. During his absence, Dr. Richardson had been engaged in surveying the greater part of the Bear Lake to determine the point to which it would be most convenient for him to return from the separate expedition with which he was charged, (to survey the coast eastwardly from the mouth of the Mackenzie to the Coppermine River,) and where

boats should await his arrival in the autumn of the ensuing year. He accordingly fixed upon Dease River, at the north-east corner of the lake, as the spot to which if not prevented by accidents he should return.

On the borders of this lake, the party, amounting to fifty besides Indians who hung about them or visited them occasionally, passed a long and dreary winter. Captain Franklin in ascending the Mackenzie, found ice formed in his kettle on the 22d of August, and it was near the end of the following June before they could resume their travels. If their occupations and amusements were few, these were varied as much as possible to keep up the spirits and preserve the health of the men, and in exchange for short days, they frequently enjoyed most brilliant nights and fine appearances of the Aurora Borealis. They lived during the winter principally on fish, a few animals were obtained, and their stock of pemmican was used as sparingly as possible, as no one could say where and under what circumstances the ensuing winter would be passed. Their hunting was sometimes carried on under circumstances that would make the most adventurous of our southern sportsmen quail, and was always precarious.

"On the 4th of this month, when all were heartily tired of short allowance, a report was brought of the traces of a moose deer having been seen about twelve miles from the fort. Had the days been longer, and a crust formed upon the snow, the hunters would have found no great difficulty in running down the animal, but our principal hope lay in their getting within shot without "raising it," the expression used when a deer is scared. Beaulieu being the most expert moose-hunter, went out on this occasion, accompanied by two others, Landré, a Chipewyan lad, and a Dog-Rib hunter. When they arrived on the deer's track, they found that it had been raised, probably by the Indians, who first discovered it; but anxious to procure meat for the fort they commenced the pursuit. From their knowledge of the habits of the animal, and of the winding course it takes, they were enabled to shorten the distance; but after running *four successive days* without coming in sight, Beaulieu had the misfortune to fall over the stump of a tree and sprain his ankle; the other two hunters being previously tired out. When this accident happened, they knew they were near the deer, and that it would soon give in, because its footsteps were stained with blood. Beaulieu, however, on account of his lameness, returned to the house, and his companions came with him. During the chase, they bivouacked on the snow, and subsisted on a few ptarmigan which they killed. Landré, after a night's rest, again set out, and was successful after *two more days'* running; not, however, without having nearly lost his life, for the moose, on receiving a shot, made a rush at him, striking furiously with his fore-feet. He had just time to shelter himself behind a tree, upon which the animal spent its efforts, until his gun was again ready." p. 73.

In February, game of all kinds, as well that of the woods as of the waters, had nearly failed. The few fish they could take from under the ice were out of season and indifferent, but as the season advanced, these difficulties were removed, and on the 6th of May, some swans, the harbingers of spring, were seen. On the 24th, the musketoes appeared, and the first flower, a tussilago, was gathered on the 27th.

During the winter, an additional boat had been built, for which, timber, though of an inferior description, was obtained around the lake. Some spruce and larch trees were found, which had attained a size of four or five feet in girth, with a height of from fifty to fifty-five feet, and an age, judging by the rings, of from one hundred and thirty to two hundred and fifty years, but the latter were all decayed at heart. "The only ferine companions we now had, says Captain Franklin, were a few hardy quadrupeds and birds, capable of enduring the winter—the variety of the former was confined to wolves, foxes, martens, hares, mice and a few rein deer. Of the feathered tribe, there were the raven and Canadian crow, some snow-birds, wood-peckers, red caps, cross beaks, Canada, rock and willow partridges, and a few hawks and owls."

On the 1st of June, every thing was in a state of forwardness for the expedition, and all the instructions given, not only for the journey during the summer, but for the preparations that should be made for the ensuing winter, as one or both parties might return to Fort Franklin. It may be proper to mention that two other expeditions had been organized in Great-Britain, to act, if possible, in concert, or at least towards a common object, with the one which Captain Franklin conducted. Captain Parry, for the third time, was directed to the Polar Sea, by the usual routs of Hudson's or Baffin's Bay, and with him, if successful, it was supposed that Dr. Richardson might connect his journey. Captain Beechy had been dispatched to the Pacific Ocean, and was directed to pass through Behring's Straits, to examine the coast and ocean around Icy Cape, and to await as long as the season would admit, the arrival of Captain Franklin and his party, if they should succeed in exploring the northern coast from M'Kenzie's River to that point. It was, therefore, not impossible that neither party, even without the occurrence of casualties, would return to Fort Franklin, while, on the other hand, it was not improbable that both parties might, as actually did happen, winter again at that post.

"The equipments of the boats being now complete, they were launched on the small lake, and tried under oars and sails. In the afternoon, the

men were appointed to their respective stations, and furnished with the sky-blue water-proof uniforms and feathers, as well as with the arms and clothing which had been provided for the voyage. I acquainted them fully with the object of the expedition, and pointed out their various duties. They received these communications with satisfaction, were delighted with the prospect of their voyage, and expressed their readiness to commence it immediately. Fourteen men, including Augustus, (an Esquimaux, who had been brought from Hudson Bay as an interpreter) were appointed to accompany myself and Lieutenant Bach in the *Lion* and *Reliance*, the two larger boats; and ten, including Oolig-buck, (another Esquimaux) to go with Dr. Richardson and Mr. Kendall, in the *Dolphin* and *Union*. In order to make up the complement of fourteen for the western party, I proposed to receive two volunteers from the Canadian voyagers; and to the credit of the Canadian enterprise, every man came forward.

"Spare blankets, and every thing that could be useful for the voyage, or as presents to the Esquimaux, which our stores could furnish, were divided between the eastern and western parties, and put up into bales of a size convenient for stowage. This interesting day was closed by the consumption of a small quantity of rum, reserved for the occasion, followed by a merry dance, in which all joined with great glee, in their working dresses. On the following Sunday, the officers and men assembled at Divine Service, dressed in their new uniforms; and, in addition to the ordinary service of the day, the special protection of Providence was implored on the enterprise we were about to commence. The guns were cleaned the next day, and stowed in the arm chests, which had been made to fit the boats. Tuesday and Wednesday were set apart for the officers and men to pack their own things. A strong western breeze occurred on the 21st, which removed the ice from the front of the house, and opened a passage to the Bear Lake River. The men were sent with the boats and stores to the river in the evening, and were heartily cheered on quitting the beach. The officers remained to pack up the charts, drawings and other documents, which were to be left at the fort; and in the event of none of the officers returning, Mr. Dease was directed to forward them to England. We quitted the house at half past ten, on Thursday morning, leaving Cato, the fisherman, in charge, until Mr. Dease should return from Fort Norman. This worthy old man, sharing the enthusiasm that animated the whole party, would not allow us to depart without giving us his hearty, though solitary cheers, which we returned in full chorus." pp. 85-6.

The ice prevented them from passing into the M'Kenzie River until the 24th. They ascended, for a short distance, to Fort Norman, where their last stores were to be taken on board, and on the 28th, they finally commenced the voyage of discovery.

The M'Kenzie is a rapid river, generally from two to four miles wide, in one place, however, named "the Ramparts," which they passed on the 29th, it is contracted for a space of seven miles by walls of limestone, to a width varying from four

to eight hundred yards. The banks are generally sand or limestone, sometimes beds of earth, with interposing strata of coarse coal. In one spot, below Fort Norman, Captain Franklin found one of these beds of coal on fire in the very spot where M'Kenzie had seen it burning in the year 1789. From Fort Simpson to the mouth of the M'Kenzie, the Rocky Mountains run parallel to that river, as its north-western direction was causing it constantly to approach that immense chain. These mountains were often in sight from the river, and afforded many picturesque views, but their height scarcely exceeded two thousand feet. On the right, various other mountains were seen at intervals, but no extensive or connected chain. The middle country between Bear Lake and the ocean is inhabited by the Hare and Loucheux Indians, the sea-coast by the Esquimaux, who extend across the continent, confining themselves, almost entirely, to the shores and islands of the Polar Sea, and depending, principally, for their food on the productions of that cold and stormy and almost perpetually frozen ocean. It seems surprising that a people can subsist and perpetuate their race under the privations and sufferings these hordes are compelled to undergo.

On the 3d of July, the expedition arrived at that point of the river where the Delta commences, and on the 4th, the two parties separated. Captain Franklin descended the western channel which approaches the Rocky Mountains, and on the 7th arrived at the mouth of the river.

It seems difficult, even after the discoveries of this voyage, to determine the real extent of the estuary of the M'Kenzie.—It disembogues its waters into the ocean through many channels, wide, but, from the prevalence of northerly winds, so choked up with sands, that boats drawing but eighteen or twenty inches of water, find it difficult to approach the shore—and this was the character of the whole coast to the west of that river, as far as it was explored by Captain Franklin. On one of the many islands which are situated at the mouth of the river, a crowd of tents was observed surrounded by strolling Esquimaux:—

“ On quitting the channel of the river, we entered into the Bay, which was about six miles wide, with an unbounded prospect to leeward, and steering toward the tents, under easy sail, with the ensigns flying. The water became shallow as we drew towards the island, and the boats touched the ground, when about a mile from the beach; we shouted and made signs to the Esquimaux to come off, and then pulled a short way back to await their arrival in deeper water. Three canoes instantly put off from the shore, and before they could reach us others were launched in such quick succession, that the whole space between the island and the boats was covered with them. We endeavoured to count

their numbers as they approached, and had proceeded as far as seventy three canoes, and five oomiaks (canoes for women) when the sea became so crowded by fresh arrivals, that we could advance no further in our reckoning." p. 97.

The party soon became surrounded by three or four hundred natives, who were quite friendly at first, but tempted by what they saw, while the boats were still aground, they made a sudden and terrible attack—pulling and dragging off every thing they could lay their hands on. This was resisted by the men who sat upon the coverings of the boats, kicking and thumping the aggressors with the butts of their muskets for several hours. No blows were struck by the Indians, and Captain Franklin, wisely, as appears from the result, prohibited his men from firing. The Indians at last retired, carrying off but few articles of any value. Augustus, the Esquimaux lad, during the whole disturbance with these Indians, distinguished himself by his courage and fidelity, and was of vast importance in saving the party.

"But to resume the narrative of the voyage. The breeze became moderate and fair; the sails were set, and we passed along the coast in a W. N. W. direction, until eleven in the evening, when we halted on a low island, covered with drift wood, to repair the sails, and to put the boats in proper order for a sea voyage. The continuance and increase of the favourable wind urged us to make all possible despatch, and at three in the morning of the 9th, again embarking, we kept in three fathoms water, at the distance of two miles from the land. After sailing twelve miles, our progress was completely stopped by the ice adhering to the shore, and stretching beyond the limits of our view to the seaward. We could not effect a landing until we had gone back some miles, as we had passed a sheet of ice which was fast to the shore; but at length a convenient spot being found, the boats were hauled up on the beach. We quickly ascended to the top of the bank to look around, and from thence had the mortification to perceive that we had just arrived in time to witness the first rupture of the ice. The only lane of water in the direction of our course was that from which we had been forced to retreat: in every other part, the sea appeared to be as firmly frozen as in winter; and even close to our encampment the masses of ice were piled up to the height of thirty feet. Discouraging as was this prospect, we had the consolation to know that our store of provisions, (for three months) was sufficiently ample to allow of a few days detention." p. 106.

On the 11th. of July, a strong breeze during the night, having removed the ice a little in front of the encampment, the party embarked, and after labouring along the coast, amidst masses of ice, in fogs, rains and mists, over mud and shallows through

which the men were frequently compelled to wade and drag the boats, encountering all sorts of difficulties, and, at times, narrowly escaping being crushed between bodies of ice, the party arrived on the 16th of August, at Point Beechy, three hundred and ninety-one miles from the mouth of the M'Kenzie.

The following extract will give some idea of the difficulties Captain Franklin and his party had to encounter along this dreary coast. The whole voyage was scarcely more than a repetition of similar scenes :

"On the 10th, the continuance of the gale and of the fog, more opaque if possible than before, and more wet, were not only productive of irksome detention, but they prevented us from taking exercise: our walks being confined to a space between the marks which the Esquimaux had put upon two projecting points, whither we went at every glimpse of clearness, to examine into the state of the waves. We witnessed with regret in these short rambles, the havoc which this dreary weather made amongst the flowers. Many that had been blooming on our arrival, were now lying prostrate and withered. These symptoms of decay could not fail painfully to remind us that the term of our operations was fast approaching; and often at this time did every one express a wish that we had some decked vessel, in which the provision could be secured from the injury of salt water, and the crew sheltered when they required rest, that we might quit this shallow coast, and steer at once towards Icy Cape. We designated this dreary place by the name of Foggy Island. As an instance of the illusion occasioned by the fog, I may mention that our hunters sallied forth on more than one occasion, to fire at what they supposed to be deer, on the bank about one hundred yards from the tents, which to their surprise took wing, and proved to be cranes and geese.

"The wind changed from east to west in the course of the night, and at eight in the morning of the 11th, the fog disappeared sufficiently to allow of our seeing a point bearing N.W by W about three miles and a half distant, which we supposed to be an island. We therefore hastened to embark; but before the boats could be dragged so far from the shore that they could float, the fog returned. The wind, however, being light, we resolved to proceed, and steer by compass to the land that had been seen. Soon after quitting the beach, we met with shoals, which forced us to alter the course more to the north; and having made the distance at which we estimated the point to be, and being ignorant which way the coast trended beyond it, we rested for some time upon the oars, in the hope that the fog would clear away, even for a short time, to enable us to shape our course anew; but in vain; all our movements in the bay being impeded by the flats that surrounded us, we were compelled to return to Foggy Island. Scarcely had the men made a fire to dry their clothes, which were thoroughly wet from wading over the flats, than the fog again dispersing, we pushed off once more. On this occasion we arrived abreast of the point whilst the weather continued clear, but found a reef, over which the waves washed, stretching

to the north-west, beyond the extent of our view. Just as we began to proceed along the reef, the recurrence of the fog rendered it necessary for us to seek for shelter on the shore; and as we were heartily tired of our late encampment, we endeavoured to find another, but the shoals prevented our reaching any landing place. We therefore retraced our course, though with much reluctance to Foggy Island, which the men declared to be an enchanted island. Though our wanderings this day did not exceed seven miles, the crews were employed upwards of two hours in dragging the boats through the mud, when the temperature of the water was at 40, and that of the air 41. They endured this fatigue with the greatest cheerfulness, though it was evident they suffered very much from the cold; in the evening we witnessed the ill effects of this kind of labour, by finding their legs much swelled and inflamed. The fear of their becoming ill from a frequent repetition of such operations, made me resolve not to attempt the passage of these flats again until the weather should be so clear that we might ascertain their extent, and see in what way they might be passed with less risk. Fog is, of all others, the most hazardous state of the atmosphere for navigation in an icy sea, especially when it is accompanied by strong breezes, but particularly so for boats where the shore is unapproachable. If caught by a gale, a heavy swell, or drifting ice, the result must be their wreck, or the throwing the provisions overboard to lighten them, so as to proceed into shoal water. Many large pieces of ice were seen on the borders of the shallow water, and from the lowness of the temperature, we concluded that the main body was at no great distance. We had also passed through a stream of perfectly fresh water, which we supposed was poured out from a large river in the intermediate vicinity, but the fog prevented our seeing its outlet. The atmosphere was equally foggy throughout the night, and all the 12th, although the wind had changed to the east, and blew a strong breeze. Winds from this quarter had been extremely prevalent since the preceding April; but on our former visit to the Polar Sea, they had been of rare occurrence, and confined to the spring months, which we passed at Fort Enterprize. The obstinate continuance of fog forms another material difference between this season and the same period of 1821. We were only detained three times in navigating along the coast that year to the east of the Coppermine River; but on this voyage, hardly a day passed after our departure from the Mackenzie, that the atmosphere was not at some time so foggy as to hide every object more distant than four or five miles. The day that I visited Mount Conybeare, and that spent on Flaxman's Island, form the only exceptions to this remark. A question therefore suggests itself: whence arises this difference? which, I presume, can be best answered by reference to the greater accumulation of ice on this coast, and to the low and very swampy nature of the land. There is a constant exhalation of moisture from the ice and swamps during the summer months, which is, perhaps, prevented from being carried off by the vicinity of the Rocky Mountains, and, therefore, becomes condensed into a fog. The coast to the eastward of the Coppermine River is high and dry, and far less encumbered with ice.

"Some deer appearing near the encampment, a party was despatched in pursuit of them; but having been previously fired at by Augustus, they proved too wary. The exertions of the men were, however, rewarded by the capture of some geese and ducks. The whole of the vegetation had now assumed the autumnal tint.

"There was not the least abatement in the wind, or change in the murky atmosphere throughout the 13th. The party assembled at divine service, and afterwards amused themselves as they could in their tents, which were now so saturated with wet as to be very comfortable abodes; and in order to keep ourselves tolerably warm, we were obliged to cover the feet with blankets; our protracted stay having caused such a great expenditure of the drift wood, that we found it necessary to be frugal in its use, and only to light the fire when we wanted to cook the meals. The nights too we regretted to find, were lengthening very fast; so that from 10 P. M. to 2 A. M. there was too little light for proceeding in any unknown track." pp. 186-9.

In their progress along the coast, the party had frequent interviews with the Esquimaux. The following extract contains some general remarks on this hardy race:—

"The Esquimaux revisited us in the morning with their women and children; the party consisted of forty-eight persons. They seated themselves as before in a semicircle, the men being in front, and the women behind. Presents were made to those who had not before received any, and we afterwards purchased several pair of seal-skin boots, a few pieces of dressed seal-skin, and some deer-skin, cut and twisted, to be used as cords. Beads, pins, needles and ornamental articles were most in request by the women, to whom the goods principally belonged, but the men were eager to get any thing that was made of iron. They were supplied with hatchets, files, ice-chisels, fire-steels, Indian awls and fish hooks. They were very anxious to procure knives, but as each was in possession of one, I reserved the few which we had for another occasion. The quarter from whence these knives were obtained, will appear in a subsequent part of the narrative. It was amusing to see the purposes to which they applied the different articles given to them; some of the men danced about with a large codfish hook, dangling from the nose; others stuck an awl through the same part, and the women immediately decorated their dresses with the ear-rings, thimbles, or whatever trinket they received. There was in the party a great proportion of elderly persons, who appeared in excellent health, and were very active. The men were stout and robust, and taller than Augustus, or than those seen on the east coast by Capt. Parry. Their cheek bones were less projecting than the representations given of the Esquimaux on the eastern coast, but they had the small eye and broad nose which ever distinguish that people. Except the young persons, the whole party were afflicted with sore eyes, arising from exposure to the glare of ice and snow, and two of the old men were nearly blind. They wore the hair on the upper lip and chin; the latter, as well as that on their head; being permitted to grow long, though in some cases, a circular spot on the crown of the head

was cut bare, like the tonsure of the Roman Catholic Clergy. Every man had pieces of bone or shells thrust through the septum of his nose ; and holes were pierced on each side of the under lip, in which were placed circular pieces of ivory, with a large blue bead in the centre, similar to those represented in the drawings of the natives on the N. W. coast of America, in Kotzebue's voyage. These ornaments were so much valued that they declined selling them ; and when not rich enough to procure beads or ivory, stones and pieces of bone were substituted. These perforations are made at the age of puberty ; and one of the party, who appeared to be about fourteen years old, was pointed out with delight by his parents, as having to undergo the operation in the following year. He was a goodlooking boy, and we could not fancy his countenance would be much improved by the insertion of the bones or stones, which have the effect of depressing the under lip, and keeping the mouth open.

" Their dress consisted of a jacket of reindeer skin, with a skirt behind and before, and a small hood ; breeches of the same material, and boots of seal-skin. Their weapons for the chase were bows and arrows, very neatly made ; the latter being headed with bone or iron ; and for fishing, spears tipped with bone. They also catch fish with nets and lines. All were armed with knives, which they either keep in their hand, or thrust up the sleeve of their shirt. They had received from the Loucheux Indians some account of the destructive effect of guns. The dress of the women differed from that of the men only in their wearing wide trowsers, and in the size of their hoods which do not fit close to the head, but are made large, for the purpose of receiving their children. These are ornamented with stripes of different coloured skins, and round the top is fastened a bunch of wolf's hair, made to stand erect. Their own black hair is very tastefully turned up from behind to the top of the head, and tied by strings of white and blue beads, or cords of white deer-skin. It is divided in front so as to form on each side a thick tail, to which are appended strings of beads that reach to the waist. The women were from four feet and a half to four and three quarters high, and generally fat. Some of the younger females and the children were pretty." pp. 109-111.

A point in longitude 141° W. which was named Point Demarcation, marks the boundary between the British and Russian dominions on the northern coast of America. Spurs or ranges of the Rocky Mountains continued along the coast at distances of twelve to thirty miles as far as longitude 145° W. when they either terminated or receded too far to the south to be visible from the reefs. The country between these mountains and the sea is flat, swampy and sterile. The whole coast was shallow for several miles, generally from four to seven from the shore. No place was discovered where a ship could have been sheltered. The ice was packed against the land by every wind that blew from the ocean, although at a distance the sea appeared open and navigable for large vessels.

"By the middle of August it became incumbent on me," says Captain Franklin, "to consider whether the prospect of our attaining the object of the voyage was sufficiently encouraging to warrant the exposure of the party, to daily increasing risk, by continuing on." Forty days of the finest part of the season had been consumed, and only one half of the distance between Mackenzie's River and Icy Cape had been traversed, and although the sea was more open and the ice more broken than at the commencement of the journey, yet the period was rapidly approaching when new ice would begin to form, and in the unexplored portion of the journey they might be detained by unexpected difficulties, by deep bays or projecting promontories, until the season should be lost in which there could be any probability of finding Captain Beechy in the neighbourhood of Icy Cape. The birds began to wing their autumnal flight, and if at an advanced period of the summer and of their journey, the boats should, by any accident, be lost, the result would be fatal to the party. Captain Franklin, therefore, prudently resolved to retrace his steps and return to his winter quarters at Bear Lake.

From the broken state of the ice and the prevalence of westerly winds, his return was much more expeditious than his outward voyage. On the 1st, the boats turned from Point Beechy, on the 29th reached the mouth of the Mackenzie, and on the 21st of September arrived safely at Fort Franklin.

Of the coast beyond the point where Captain Franklin halted, he could gain but little information. The natives represented it as still more shoal than the portion along which he had passed, intersected at one point by a deep inlet, which was supposed to be the estuary of a large river flowing to the west of the Rocky Mountains.

We know not whether any further steps will be taken to explore those portions of the northern coasts of this continent which are still unknown. If any party should be sent to continue the discoveries made by Captain Franklin, it would probably be a good arrangement not only to send a vessel to cruise about the Icy Cape during the summer, but to send one prepared to pass the winter in Kotzebue's Sound, whose commander should be directed to await there the arrival of the travellers. It appears to us probable that if Captain Franklin could have been assured of finding shelter and relief at Kotzebue's Sound, he might have reached that point by the time he arrived at Fort Franklin, or certainly before the winter became too severe to permit him to travel—whereas, if he had persevered and arrived on the coast between Icy Cape and Behring's Straits, after

Captain Beechy had been compelled to quit those high latitudes, the destruction of his party would have been perhaps inevitable.

We will now follow the other party on its voyage of discovery. Dr. Richardson on parting with Captain Franklin on the 4th of July, took at first the middle channel of the Mackenzie, and then diverged into the eastern branch, that he might trace the course of the main land. On the 10th he reached the mouth of the river. The shores as well as the islands in the river, were flat, wet and sandy, as if composed of the drifting sands of the river and coast. Most of the borders of the river near its mouth, bear the marks of inundation, and drift wood was seen all along the coast visited by both parties, at heights much above the level of the ocean. This is somewhat remarkable, for as every wind from sea packs the ice in immense bodies immediately against the land, it seems difficult to suppose that a surf of even twenty feet could ever beat on the coast—perhaps the country is occasionally subject from heavy rains at the breaking up of the winter, to greater inundations than from the observations of our travellers during the seasons they visited it, we should be led to imagine.

Dr. Richardson, during his descent down the river, met with many of the Esquimaux. On several occasions they attempted to plunder every thing that was exposed to their cupidity, and once made an attack so serious as to threaten unpleasant results. Fortunately the natives were frightened away by the unexpected exhibition of fire arms, of which they seem to have acquired by their intercourse with the inland Indians, a wholesome terror. These had been previously concealed, that the Esquimaux might entertain no apprehension of hostile intentions on the part of their visitors. Dr. Richardson considers the Esquimaux as better prepared for civilization than any of the Indian tribes on the continent. We subjoin a few of his observations:

“When we left the shore, all the males, twenty-one in number, embarked in their small canoes or kayaks and accompanied us; and in less than a quarter of an hour, the women had struck the tents and embarked them, together with their children, dogs and luggage, in their row boats or oomiaks, and were close in pursuit. For a time we proceeded down the river together in an amicable manner, bartering beads, fire-steels, flints, files, knives, hatchets, and kettles, for fish, adzes, spears and arrows. The natives seemed to have a correct idea of property, and showed much tact in their commerce with us; circumstances which have been held by an eminent historian to be evidences of a considerable progress towards civilization. They were particularly cautious not to glut the market by too great a display of their stock in trade; producing only one article at a time, and not attempting to out-bid each

other: nor did I ever observe them endeavour to deprive one another of any thing obtained in barter or as a present. As is usual with other tribes of Esquimaux, they asked our names and told us theirs, a practice diametrically opposite to that of the Indians, who conceive it to be improper to mention a man's name in his presence, and will not, on any account, designate their near relatives, except by some indirect phrase. They showed much more curiosity respecting the construction of our boats than any of the tribes of Indians we had seen, and expressed great admiration of the rudder, soon comprehending its mode of action, although it is a contrivance of which they were previously ignorant. They were incessant in their inquiries as to the use of every thing they saw in our possession, but were sometimes content with an answer too brief to afford much explanation. * * * * Some of the young girls had a considerable share of beauty, and seemed to have spared no pains in ornamenting their persons. Their hair was turned up in a neat knot, on the crown of the head, and a lock or queue, tied by a fillet of beads, hung down by the ears on each side. Mr. Nuttall, in his account of the Quapaws or Arkansaws, mentions that the unmarried women wear their hair braided into two parts, brought round to either ear in a cylindrical form and ornamented with beads; and a similar attention to head-dress is paid by some of the Indian women inhabiting the borders of the great Canada lakes, and also by the Tawcullies or Carriers of New Caledonia; but the females of all the tribes of Indians that we saw in our route through the northern parts of the fur countries, suffer their hair to hang loose about their ears, and, in general, adorn their persons less than the men of the same tribe. The Esquimaux women dressing better, and being required to labour less than the Indian females, may be considered as a proof that the former nation has made the greater progress towards civilization; and I am of opinion that the Esquimaux would adopt European habits and customs more readily than the Indians.

"Though there are many circumstances which widely distinguish the Esquimaux from their Indian neighbours, they might all, possibly, be traced to the necessity of associating in numbers for the capture of the whale, and of laying up large hoards of blubber for winter consumption. Thus have they been induced to build villages for their common residence, and from thence have originated those social habits which are incompatible with the wandering and precarious life of an Indian hunter. It would lead, however, to too long a digression, were I to enter into details on this subject, and I resume, therefore, the narrative of the voyage."* pp. 167-170.

"* The Esquimaux method of settling disputes, which we learned from Augustus, deserves to be mentioned, not only as being very different from the sullen conduct of an affronted Indian, but from its coincidence with the practice of a people widely separated from them—the native inhabitants of Sydney, in New South Wales. Mr. Cunningham, in his entertaining work on New South Wales, says, 'The common practice of fighting amongst the natives is still with the *waddie*, each alternately stooping the head to receive the other's blows, until one tumbles down, it being considered cowardly to evade a stroke.' The Esquimaux use the *flint* instead of the *waddie*, in these singular duels, but there is no other difference betwixt their practice and that of the New South Wales people. Another coincidence betwixt the Esquimaux and the inhabitants of Australasia, is the use of the throwing stick for discharging their spears."

From the mouth of the Mackenzie to Cape Bathurst, in lat. $70^{\circ} 36'$ N. long. $127^{\circ} 35'$, the coast is similar to that on the west of that river—flat, shoal, foggy, and generally covered with ice. Indeed Dr. Richardson supposes he had during that time been coasting along islands which separate a large inland sheet of brackish water, called the Esquimaux Lake, from the sea.

“Taking for granted that the accounts we received from the natives were (as our own observations led us to believe) correct, Esquimaux Lake is a very extensive and curious piece of water. The Indians say that it reaches to within four days' march of Fort Good Hope; and the Esquimaux informed us that it extends from Point Encounter to Cape Bathurst, thus ascribing to it an extent from north to south of more than one hundred and forty miles, and from east to west of one hundred and fifty. It is reported to be full of islands, to be every where brackish; and, besides its communication with the eastern branch of the Mackenzie, to receive two other large rivers. If a conjecture may be hazarded about the original formation of a lake which we had so few opportunities of examining, it seems probable that the alluvial matters brought down by the Mackenzie, and other rivers, have gradually formed a barrier of islands and shoals, which, by preventing the free access of the tide, enables the fresh water to maintain the predominance behind it. The action of the waves of the sea has a tendency to increase the height of the barrier, while the currents of the rivers and ebb-tide preserve the depth of the lake. A great formation of wood-coal will, I doubt not, be ultimately formed by the immense quantities of drift-timber annually deposited on the borders of Esquimaux Lake. pp. 191-192.

Cape Bathurst proved to be the most northwardly point of the main land which was seen during the voyage. It is a few miles farther north than Return Reef of Capt. Franklin, and is most probably with the exception of the land near Icy Cape, since discovered by Captain Beechy in the Blossom, the most northern point of the American continent. From this Cape to the mouth of the Coppermine River, the coast was materially changed and the navigation became more easy. The shores were steep—the ocean comparatively free from ice—the land high, and the coast skirted with a chain of low mountains, and many inlets and harbours occurred in which large vessels might find shelter. The surface of the land was in places covered with rock so as to exclude vegetation, and it would be difficult to imagine a more inhospitable region.

Dr. Richardson with his party had reached Cape Bathurst on the 18th of July, and on the 8th of August entered the mouth of the Coppermine River. As his instructions were to return from this point overland, if practicable, to Bear Lake, and as the

coast in this neighbourhood had been surveyed in their former expedition, no pause in their movements took place. On the 9th the party ascended the river about eleven miles to Bloody Fall, and as from this spot the river was rapid and shoal for forty miles, they here abandoned their boats and superfluous baggage, and made the arrangements necessary for their journey across the country to Bear Lake.

“The Coppermine River, for forty miles above Bloody Fall, flows over an uneven stony bed, betwixt precipitous rocky walls, and is full of rapids. It is totally impracticable to ascend it in boats having a greater draught of water than a few inches; and even a small canoe must be frequently carried over land for considerable distances, to avoid the numerous obstacles which occur. It was necessary therefore, that we should leave at this place the Dolphin and Union, and every thing that was not absolutely necessary for our journey. We determined, however, on taking with us Colonel Pasley's canvass boat, the Walnut-shell, in the hope of its occasionally relieving the men of their burdens for a short time, should any part of the river admit of its use. The afternoon was employed in arranging the loads for crossing the barren grounds.—Twenty pounds of pemmican were allotted to each man, and the packages of macaroni, arrow-root, portable-soup, chocolate, sugar and tea, were equally distributed; together with the nautical almanack, astronomical tables, charts, two fishing nets, the collection of plants, specimens of rocks, and the portable boat, kettles and hatchets; all of which, with the blankets, spare shoes, guns and ammunition, made a load of about seventy-two pounds a man. Mr. Kendall undertook to carry the sextant and aximuth-compass; and I took the artificial horizon and a package of paper for drying plants, besides which, we each carried a blanket, gun and ammunition. As I feared that some of the party would overrate their strength, and, through a desire of saving some favourite article, load themselves too heavily at the outset, which could not fail to prove very injurious to the regularity and speed of our march, I informed them, that as soon as we were at a convenient distance from our present encampment, I should halt and examine all their bundles.

The boats were drawn up on shore, out of the reach of any flood, and the remainder of the articles that we had brought to give the Esquimaux, were put into boxes and placed in the tents, that they might be readily found by the first party of that nation that passed this way. They consisted of fish-hooks, lines, hatchets, knives, files, fire-steels, kettles, combs, awls, needles, thread, blue and red cloth, gartering, and beads, sufficient to serve a considerable number of Esquimaux for several years. The tents were securely pitched, and the Union Jack hoisted, partly for the purpose of attracting the attention of the natives, and partly to show them the mode of using the tents, which may prove to be very useful in their journeys. That no accident might occur from the natives finding any of our powder, all that we did not require to take with us was thrown into the river. pp. 222-223.

The party continued along the bank of the Coppermine River until the 13th, when having reached that point where this river makes its nearest approach to the north-east arm of Bear Lake, they commenced their journey across the intermediate country, which they found hilly and almost mountainous, nearly destitute of trees and covered with rocks and stones. On the 18th they reached the mouth of Dease's river; on the 24th, the boats which were to meet them at this point arrived: and on the 1st of September they returned to Fort Franklin, after a journey of seventeen hundred and nine geographical miles, and an absence of seventy-one days. At this post, in a few days, Capt. Franklin joined them.

Dr. Richardson in order to have more leisure and a better opportunity of making observations on the geology of the country, left Fort Franklin after a few days rest, and returned to Slave Lake, and during the winter and spring travelled southwardly as far as Cumberland House, near Lake Winnipeg.—Captain Franklin remained at Bear Lake until the 20th of February, when he left that place in a sledge drawn by dogs, and took a route through the woods to Fort Simpson, and from thence travelling by the same conveyance, he went to the Slave Lake and afterwards to Fort Chipewyan on the Athabasca Lake; from thence, as soon as the rivers were navigable, he continued to Fort Cumberland, where he arrived on the 18th of June, and rejoined Dr. Richardson after a separation of eleven months.

At Cumberland, he also found Mr. Drummond, the assistant naturalist to the expedition, who had been detached from the party in the summer of 1825, to explore the country and collect specimens in the neighbourhood of the Rocky Mountains. While Captain Franklin was proceeding to the Mackenzie, Mr. Drummond joined a regular brigade of traders going from Cumberland House to the Rocky Mountains. Much of the route was over sandy plains, and as they approached the mountains they passed through a swampy and thickly wooded country. The road was so bad that they were obliged to reduce the luggage as much as possible. Mr. Drummond only took with him one bale of paper for drying plants, a few shirts and a blanket. The party reached the mountains on the 14th of October, Mr. Drummond continued with them for fifty miles of the portage road towards the Columbia, when he left them, to proceed with a single hunter and his family, a few horses and a man to take care of them who had been engaged for his service by Mr. McMillan, the chief of the brigade. With this slender equipment he passed the winter at the foot of the mountains on a fork of the Red Deer river in a hut composed of the branches

of trees. In the winter, provisions became scarce, and the hunter and his family went off in quest of animals, taking with them the man who had charge of the horses, to bring back a supply as soon as it could be procured. Mr. Drummond remained alone for the rest of the winter, except when this man occasionally visited him with meat. It is no wonder that he found his time hang heavy, having no books, being unable to collect specimens of natural history, and surrounded by a waste of snow averaging six feet deep.

The next summer he passed among the mountains, principally in the neighbourhood of the portage across them, leading to the Columbia River. He crossed the mountains once, but in order to return in time to meet Dr. Richardson, he immediately recrossed them.

"The snow covered the ground too deeply to permit me to add much to my collections in this hasty trip over the mountains, but it was impossible to avoid remarking the great superiority of climate on the western side of that lofty range. From the instant the descent toward the Pacific commences, there is a visible improvement in the growth of timber, and the variety of forest trees greatly increase. The few mosses that I gleaned in the excursion were so fine, that I could not but deeply regret that I was unable to pass a season or two in that interesting region." p. 256.

Mr. Drummond passed the greater part of the second winter at posts of the Hudson Bay Company, and rejoined his companions early in the spring. His collections on the mountains amounted to about fifteen hundred species of plants, one hundred and fifty birds, fifty quadrupeds, and a considerable number of insects. Dr. Richardson, on the coast of the Polar Sea, had noticed only about one hundred and seventy species of phanogrmous plants, of which only twelve attained the size of small shrubs.

The journal of this expedition contains many interesting observations on the native tribes, and much meteorological and geological information. The latter will be useful in forming a good geological chart of this continent, when the northern districts shall be more extensively explored. At present, only detached facts are presented, from which we cannot yet draw many general conclusions. The greatest degree of cold which was experienced at Franklin was on the 7th of February, 1827, when the mercury sunk to 58 deg. below Zero.

Captain Franklin reached Montreal in August, and proceeding to New-York, where he embarked, arrived at Liverpool on

the 26th of September, after an absence of two years, seven months and a half. Lieutenant Back, who had been left in charge of the remainder of the party at Fort Franklin, travelled in the spring and summer by the usual route to York Factory, on Hudson's Bay, and reached Portsmouth on the 10th of October.

We shall now briefly notice the result of these expeditions :

On the 18th of August, the day that Captain Franklin commenced his retreat from Beechy Point to the mouth of the MacKenzie, the party in the ship *Blossom*, under Captain Beechy, had passed Behring's Straits, and were then off Icy Cape, and on that very day, Mr. Elson, the master, with the barge, had quitted the ship, and were proceeding along the coast without interruption. It was not until the 22d, that he met any impediments from ice—

"When he arrived off a very low sandy spit, beyond which, to the eastward, the coast formed a bay, with a more easterly trending than that on the west side; but it was so low that it could not be traced far, and became blended with the ice before it reached the horizon. It was found impossible to proceed round the spit, in consequence of the ice being grounded upon it, and extending to the horizon in every direction, except that by which the boat had advanced, and was so compact, that no openings were seen in any part of it. This point, which is the most northern part of the continent yet known, lies in latitude by meridian altitude of the sun, $71^{\circ} 23' 39''$ N.; and is situated one hundred and twenty miles beyond Icy Cape. Between these two stations, and, indeed, to the southward of the latter, the coast is very flat, abounding in lakes and rivers, which are too shallow to be entered by any thing but a baidar. The greater part of the coast is thickly inhabited by Esquimaux, who have thin, winter habitations close to the beach." p. 143.

The barge did not turn back before the 25th. From Beechy Point to the point where the *Blossom's* boat was detained, is but one hundred and sixty miles. If any provision had been made for an expedition overland, after the boats had proceeded as far as practicable, there might, during this summer, have been no difficulty in succeeding. For the party in the *Blossom's* boat did not commence their retreat until seven days after Captain Franklin had abandoned the expedition on his side, and might have continued somewhat longer on the coast. But the best arrangement would probably be the one we have formerly suggested. For the summers of this northern region, as every where else, vary greatly in temperature. Capt. Franklin found a considerable difference between the seasons of 1821 and 1826. The prevailing winds were different. The continuance

of fogs was much more obstinate during the latter summer than in the former.

"We were only detained three times in navigating along the coast that year (1821) to the east of the Coppermine River; but on this voyage, (says Captain Franklin) hardly a day passed that the atmosphere was not, at some time, so foggy as to hide every object more distant than four or five miles." p. 138.

"Could I have known, (says Captain Franklin) or by possibility have imagined, that a party from the Blossom had been at the distance of only one hundred and sixty miles from me, no difficulties, dangers or discouraging circumstances, should have prevailed on me to return. It is useless now to speculate on the probable result of a proceeding which did not take place; but I may observe that, had we gone forward as soon as the weather permitted, namely, on the 18th, it is scarcely possible that any change of circumstances could have enabled us to overtake the Blossom's barge." p. 145.

After Captain Franklin's return to England, he was informed by Captain Beechy, that the summer of 1827, was still less favourable to the navigation of those seas than that of 1826, the boats not being able to proceed within one hundred miles of the point they had reached the preceding season.

We will close this article with the observations which Capt. Franklin makes on the subject of a North-West Passage.

"The Northern Coast of America has now been actually surveyed from the meridian of 109° to $149\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ west; and from Icy Cape eastward to about 156° west, leaving not more than fifty leagues of unsurveyed coast, between Point Turnagain and Icy Cape. Further, the delineation of the west side of Melville Peninsula, in the chart of Capt. Parry's second voyage, conjoined with information which we obtained from the Northern Indians, fairly warrants the conclusion, that the coast preserves an easterly direction from Point Turnagain towards Repulse Bay; and that, in all probability, there are no insurmountable obstacles between this part of the Polar Sea and the extensive openings into the Atlantic, through Prince Regent Inlet and the Strait of the Fury and the Hecla.

"Whenever it may be considered desirable to complete the delineation of the coast of the American Continent, I conceive that another attempt should be made to connect Point Turnagain with the important discoveries of Captain Parry, by renewing the expedition which was undertaken by Captain Lyon, and which, but for the boisterous weather that disabled the Griper, must have long since repaid his well-known zeal and enterprize with discoveries of very great interest.

"In considering the best means of effecting the North-West Passage in a ship, it has hitherto been impossible not to assent to the opinion so judiciously formed, and so convincingly stated by Captain Parry, that the attempt should be made from the Atlantic rather than by Behring's

Straits, because the enterprize is then commenced after a voyage of short duration, subject to comparatively few vicissitudes of climate, and with the equipments thoroughly effective. But important as these advantages are, they may, perhaps, be more than balanced by some circumstances which have been brought to light by our expedition. The prevalence of north-west winds during the season that the ice is in the most favourable state for navigation, would greatly facilitate the voyage of a ship to the eastward, whilst it would be equally adverse to her progress in the opposite direction. It is also well known, that the coast westward of the Mackenzie is almost unapproachable by ships, and it would, therefore, be very desirable to get over that part of the voyage in the first season. Though we did not observe any such easterly current as was found by Captain Parry in the Fury and Hecla Strait, as well as by Captain Kotzebue, on his voyage through Behring's Straits; yet this may have arisen from our having been confined to the navigation of the flats close to the shore; but if such a current does exist throughout the Polar Sea, it is evident that it would materially assist a ship commencing the undertaking from the Pacific. and keeping in the deep water, which would, no doubt, be found at a moderate distance from the shore.

"The closeness and quantity of the ice in the Polar Seas vary much in different years; but, should it be in the same state that we found it, I would not recommend a ship's leaving Icy Cape earlier than the middle of August, for after that period the ice was not only broken up within the sphere of our vision, but a heavy swell rolling from the northward, indicated a sea unsheltered by islands, and not much encumbered by ice. By quitting Icy Cape at the time specified, I should confidently hope to reach a secure wintering place to the eastward of Cape Bathurst, in the direct route to the Dolphin and Union Straits, through which I should proceed. If either, or both of the plans which I have suggested be adopted, it would add to the confidence and safety of those who undertake them, if one or two depots of provisions were established in places of ready access, through the medium of the Hudson's Bay Company." pp. 260-261.

ART. II.—1. *An Elementary Treatise on Plane and Spherical Trigonometry, and on the application of Algebra to Geometry; from the Mathematics of Lacroix and Bezout.* Translated from the French for the use of the Students of the University at Cambridge, New-England. Cambridge, N. E. At the University Press, 1820. pp. 162.

2. *Essai de Géométrie Analytique appliquée aux courbes et aux surfaces du second ordre.* Par J. B. BIOT. Sixième édition. Paris, 1823. pp. 447.

3. *Application de l'Algèbre à la Géométrie.* Par M. BOURDON, Chevalier, &c. Paris, 1825. pp. 624.

THE first of the volumes whose titles have been given above, is the fifth of a course of pure and applied mathematics, prepared by Professor Farrar, for the use of the University of Cambridge. The entire course consists of no less than eleven volumes, and is made up of translations from Lacroix, Euler, Legendre, Bezout, Francœur, and Biot. Occasional use is also made of the labours of Cagnoli, Bonnycastle, Puissant, Leslie, Poisson and Delambre. From this array of illustrious names, it is manifest, that the materials of the course are of the first order.

We take a strong interest in whatever pertains to mathematical learning, and we are convinced that the labours of Professor Farrar, considering his connexion with the oldest and best endowed of our colleges, will have an important influence on the fate of the exact sciences in this country. We therefore, propose in this, and if circumstances permit, in some of our future numbers, to examine the claims presented by this work to the public attention and confidence. The first four volumes have been examined by a cotemporary journal which enjoys an extensive circulation.* And as it has become matter of serious complaint, that our various journals are too much in the habit of taking their readers in succession over the same ground, we shall abstain from all observations upon them, except so far as it may be necessary to refer to them for the sake of illustration or comparison.

The fifth volume consists of two parts, by different authors; one, on the two trigonometries by Lacroix, the other, on the application of algebra to geometry, by Bezout. The part ex-

* Silliman's Journal of Science and Arts, vols. v. & vi.

cuted by Lacroix, leaves nothing to be desired ; but along with Bezout, we have associated the very late treatises of Biot and Bourdon, that the deficiencies of the former writer may be made more manifest, by being brought into contrast with the merits of the authors last mentioned.

The "*Traité de Trigonométrie Rectiligne et Sphérique*," of Lacroix, the translation of which will first receive our notice, is a part of an extensive course of mathematics in nine volumes, which has, during some years, been very much used in the highest of the French literary institutions. It is a rich treasure of mathematical truth, drawn up with great care and in a uniform style. He appears to have formed himself on the model of Euler, and is a disciple every way worthy of his celebrated master. He sometimes goes beyond Euler in profoundness and reach of thought ; but on the other hand, he is sometimes inferior to him in clearness. Still there is much difference in respect to clearness, among the various parts of the very extensive works which he has produced. His "*Trigonométrie*" is certainly one of the most luminous treatises which have been written on any department of the mathematics.

Elementary geometry makes known three parts of a triangle by means of three others ; but it does this by constructions, whose accuracy finds narrow limits in the imperfection of our senses and our instruments. Instead of these geometrical constructions, rectilineal trigonometry substitutes calculations that are susceptible of any degree of approximation, and it accomplishes this end by determining in a circle of a given radius, a series of right-angled triangles, comprising all possible acute angles, so that the series may always furnish one similar to that which it is proposed to resolve. After this, by simple proportions between the sides of these two triangles, we may find the unknown parts of the triangle to be resolved, by their corresponding parts in the similar triangle furnished by the calculated series. The resolution of oblique-angled triangles is easily derived from that of right-angled triangles, since the former may always be resolved into the latter, and, therefore, every thing depends on the construction of the tables which contain the values of the parts of right-angled triangles.* Accordingly, M. Lacroix has made it his first object to show how these tables may be constructed.

With this view, after giving definitions of the principal linear-angular quantities, sine, cosine, tangent, cotangent, secant, &c. he proceeds to demonstrate the principal relations of these lines

* *Essais sur l'Enseignement*, p. 331.

to each other, and to show that it is only necessary to determine the sines, as the corresponding values of all the other lines which enter into the construction of the table, may be immediately deduced from them. He then, by an elegant and very luminous construction, obtains the well-known fundamental expressions for the sine and cosine of the sum and difference of two arcs ;

$$\text{Sin. } (a+b) = \frac{\text{sin. } a \cos. b + \text{sin. } b \cos. a}{R}; \text{ and}$$

$$\text{Cos. } (a+b) = \frac{\text{cos. } a \cos. b - \text{sin. } a \sin. b}{R}.$$

These equations involve all the properties of sines and cosines, and he immediately goes on to apply them to the finding of expressions for the sines and cosines of double and triple arcs, and the process for finding these, shows the method of doing the same for any multiple arcs whatever. The equation

$$\text{sin. } 2a = \frac{2 \text{ sin. } a \cos. a}{R} \text{ or the expression of the sine of a}$$

double arc, when that of the original arc is known, is made to lead to the formula, $\text{sin. } \frac{1}{2}a = \frac{+ \frac{1}{2} \sqrt{2R^2 + 2R \cos. a}}{R}$ which gives the sine of half an arc, when that of the whole arc is known. The same formula is obtained by a construction, in which it is shewn, that the two values of the positive solution belong to two arcs which are mutually the supplements of each other. Here he introduces the important observation, that it is not the absolute value of the sines which we have occasion to calculate, but only their ratio to radius. This is equally true with respect to the other trigonometrical lines, and on this account we have called them, after Carnot, by a term which best expresses their nature, to wit, linear-angular quantities. Having proved that the length of an arc is always less than that of its corresponding tangent, and greater than that of its sine, and that the ratio between the tangent and sine of an arc, tends continually towards unity as the arc diminishes, it is inferred, that if the value of the tangent and that of the sine do not differ for a certain number of figures in a decimal series, these same figures may be taken as the value of the arc, sufficiently approximate. Taking, therefore, as an example of his reasoning, a sine which is only 0,0001 part of radius, he calculates by means of the cosine, the corresponding tangent, and finds it decimally expressed only 0,0001000000005, which does not differ from the assumed sine except in the thirteenth figure, and this may evidently be taken as a sufficiently approximate value of the arc expressed in parts of radius or unity. In this connexion, he takes occasion to explain the sexagesimal and centesimal di-

vision of the circle. The latter is a part of the celebrated French system of weights and measures, which is the only system founded on strictly scientific principles, all the parts of which have fixed relations to each other and to a common standard.

Beginning with an entire quadrant, the formula, $\sin. \frac{1}{2} a = \frac{1}{2} \sqrt{2 R^2 - 2 R \cos. a}$ gives the sine of half of it, then that of a quarter, and thus in succession, of all the fractions of this arc comprised in the series, $\frac{1}{2}, \frac{1}{4}, \frac{1}{8}, \frac{1}{16}, \frac{1}{32}, \frac{1}{64}, \&c.$ At each term of this series, the cosine as well as the sine of the corresponding arc, is required to be calculated, and the approximation is carried to twelve decimal places, a degree of accuracy which we consider unnecessary in an elementary treatise, in which the object rather is to show how trigonometrical tables may be constructed, than actually to construct them. At the fourteenth division in the series, we come to an arc which is only $\frac{1}{16384}$ of a quadrant, the size of which is 0,000095873799, less than 0,0001; consequently, as the sine 0,0001 was shown before not to differ from its corresponding tangent in the first twelve decimal figures, *a fortiori*, the sine 0,000095873799, does not differ from its corresponding arc in the same number of figures. Now it is evident, that all arcs which are confounded with their sines and tangents in the first twelve decimal places, may without sensible error, be considered proportional to these lines; whence, by a proportion founded on this principle, the sine of $\frac{1}{100000}$ of a quadrant, or 0,000015707963 is obtained. Setting out with this, as the approximate value of the sine of the smallest arc to which it is proposed to extend the calculation, the sines of the multiples of this arc are obtained by multiplying this sine by 1, 2, 3, &c. This simple method may be pursued as long as the arc has its sine and tangent confounded in the first twelve decimal figures, that is, as far as $\frac{1}{100000}$ of a quadrant. If we are contented with approximate values to the eighth decimal only, we may extend this process to the $\frac{1}{10000}$ of a quadrant. This method, which is only applied in the original to the centesimal division of the circle, is also applied by the translator to the sexagesimal division, in which he first finds the approximate sine of 1'', and from this commences the series for multiple arcs.

To calculate the sines and cosines of arcs greater than $\frac{1}{1000}$ of a quadrant, we use the equations, $\sin. 2a = 2 \sin. a \cos. a$, $\cos. 2a = \cos. a^2 - \sin. a^2$, together with the fundamental equations, $\sin. (a+b) = \sin. a \cos. b + \sin. b \cos. a$, $\cos. (a+b) = \cos. a \cos. b - \sin. a \sin. b$. The first two give, $\sin.$

$0^{\circ}, 002, \cos. 0^{\circ}, 002, \sin. 0^{\circ}, 004, \cos. 0^{\circ}, 004, \&c.$ and the last two give $\sin. 0^{\circ}, 008, \cos. 0^{\circ}, 003, \sin. 0^{\circ}, 005, \cos. 0^{\circ}, 005, \&c.$: and these combined furnish a continuous series for all the superior arcs. The sines being thus calculated, all the other trigonometrical lines are without difficulty deduced from them. Referring for the use of trigonometrical tables, to the very valuable treatise of Callet for the sexagesimal division, and to those of Borda, Hobert and Ideler for the centesimal, he proceeds to trace the continuity which prevails among the different results obtained from the same algebraic expression, or from the same geometrical construction. The continuity consists in this, that each value which the expression in question assumes, is preceded and followed by values, which differ as little as we please from the first, and in this, that in the description of a line, each point is preceded and followed by points, which are immediately contiguous. In developing this fine idea, he conceives a radius setting out from a fixed point in the circumference of a circle, which may be called the origin of the arcs, and which turning upon the centre is made to circulate through the circumference, and the origin, increments, decrements, and vanishings of the various trigonometrical lines through the four quadrants are traced. The connexion of the fundamental equations for the sines and cosines of the sums and differences of two arcs, with these lines is investigated, and the power of the same equations to express the different positions assumed by these lines as the describing radius passes round the circumference, and the signs to be attached to them in different quadrants, is illustrated. The equations shew, that if we regard all the sines as positive which are above the horizontal diameter, (we use this expression for the sake of convenience) all those below the same diameter will be affected with the negative sign, and if the cosines on the left hand of the vertical diameter be positive, those on the opposite side will be negative. The sines, then, are positive in the first and second quadrants, and negative in the third and fourth, while the cosines are positive in the first and fourth quadrants, and are negative in the second and third. As all the other trigonometrical lines have direct relations with the sines and cosines, the equations which express these relations, furnish the signs with which they are to be affected. Thus, the equation $\text{Tang. } a = \frac{\sin. a}{\cos. a}$, shows that the tangents are positive in the first and third quadrants, and fall above the horizontal diameter, while in the second and fourth, they are negative, and pass below the same diameter. The equation for the cotangent being $\text{Cot. } a = \frac{R_2}{\text{tang. } a}$, the sign will depend in every situation on

that of the tangent. The fundamental equations, therefore, of the sines and cosines of the sum and difference of any two arcs, and the equations expressing the relations of these to the other trigonometrical lines, are capable of expressing the situation of all these lines in any part of the circle whatever. These views of the trigonometrical calculus have hitherto scarcely found their way at all into our elementary treatises, and they are as valuable and interesting as they are new among us. M. Lacroix's work being confined to the elements, he has very properly limited the describing radius to a single revolution round the circumference, since the consideration of arcs exceeding a circumference, would be likely to perplex the learner. Interpreting negative arcs in correspondence with the system of notation adopted for the sines, &c. to be those which fall below the horizontal diameter, and illustrating them by a construction, he proceeds to deduce from the fundamental equations before mentioned, the formulas which are most interesting and of most usual application in the higher branches of the pure and applied mathematics. These are very conveniently arranged for use in a tabular form. The clearness, facility and elegance with which these various formulas are obtained from the fundamental equations and from each other, will strike with surprise, those who come to the reading of this, from other treatises. To those have been accustomed only to the old method of treating trigonometry, this treatise will appear difficult, but with suitable guidance on the part of an instructor, students of fifteen or sixteen years of age, (we speak from actual experience) may be carried through it without serious embarrassment, and with a complete understanding of every part of it.

The author applies the trigonometrical tables to the resolution of triangles in a method somewhat more simple and less technical than that which is usually pursued. Beginning with right angled triangles, he shews that every case may be resolved by the two following theorems; *radius is to the sine of one of the acute angles, as the hypotenuse is to the side opposite to this angle; and, radius is to the tangent of one of the acute angles, as the side of the right angle adjacent to this acute angle is to the side opposite.* When, however, any two sides are given to find the third, a more direct solution is obtained by the property of a right angled triangle, that the square of the hypotenuse is equal to the sum of the squares of the other two sides. The substance of what has been previously said upon the resolution of right angled triangles, is put into a very convenient form by using the large letters of the alphabet A, B, C, to denote the angles, A being the right angle, and a, b, c , to denote the sides respec-

tively opposite to these angles. It is demonstrated, that the two equations, $\frac{c}{a} = \frac{\sin. C}{R}$, $\frac{b}{a} = \frac{\sin. B}{R}$ are sufficient, together with the relation subsisting between the angles B, C, for the resolution of all cases of right angled triangles. This method of notation is deemed of so much importance, that both the English and French mathematicians have claimed for their respective nations, the honour of its invention.* It would be amusing, if it were not too humiliating, to see the learned of two great nations equally illustrious for every thing grand in conception, lofty in sentiment, and noble in action, contending and wrangling with each other, about the credit to be derived from the invention of a new method of trigonometrical notation.

The principle upon which the resolution of right angled triangles is founded, leads to the resolution of all other triangles.—The theorem, that “in any triangle, the sines of the angles are to each other as the sides opposite to these angles,” is demonstrated both from what precedes, and by means of a geometrical construction. This resolves all cases of oblique angled triangles except two; one is, *when two sides and the included angle are given*; and the other, *when the three sides are given*. The solution of the first of these cases is shewn to depend on the theorem, that, “the sum of two sides of a triangle is to their difference, as the tangent of half the sum of the opposite angles to the tangent of half their difference.” This half difference added to half the sum, gives the greater, and subtracted from the half sum, gives the less. When all the angles are determined, the finding of the third side, falls within the preceding case. A method of finding immediately the third side, by letting fall a perpendicular upon one of the given sides from the opposite angle, is given, the investigation of which is as difficult as can well be admitted into an elementary treatise of trigonometry. The resulting formula is $c = \frac{a-b}{\cos. a}$, in which a and b are the known sides, and $\cos. a$ is capable of being calculated. From the expression, $c = \sqrt{a^2 + b^2 - 2ab \cos. C}$ which occurs in the preceding investigation, a formula is deduced, giving an angle in terms of the sides, but this not being well adapted to logarithmic calculation, is transformed into $\sin \frac{1}{2} C = \sqrt{\frac{(s-a)(s-b)}{ab}}$; in which s is the sum of the sides.

Examples are given of the solution of right and oblique angled triangles; and plane trigonometry is concluded with the investigation of three questions which may be regarded as the basis

* Quarterly Review, vol. v. p. 344.

of the art of drawing plans. The second of these relates to reducing an angle from one plane to another, embracing the reduction of angles to the plane of the horizon, of which there is also a solution given by M. Lacroix in spherical trigonometry. The third question has for its object, the determination of a point by means of the angles comprehended between three straight lines drawn from this point to three given points. The author has confined himself to the case of this very interesting problem, in which the angles are in the same plane, and to this he has given a graphical solution, and one of the methods in which it may be solved by the application of the trigonometrical calculus.

The part embracing spherical trigonometry next claims our attention. The basis of this is a memoir of the celebrated Euler, published in 1799, in the transactions of the Academy of Sciences of St. Petersburg. Its original form was entirely analytical, but M. Lacroix has presented it with such alterations as make it depend on a single construction and a single equation. This equation is $\cos. a = \cos. b \cos. c + \cos A \sin b. \sin c$. Two other equations entirely similar to this, having reference to the sides b and c are obtained at sight, and from these, the whole treatise is deduced by a series of transformations, with the utmost ease and clearness. Nothing can be more elegant than this mode of treating a science, in which every thing is made to depend on a single principle, and such a degree of simplification and generalization forms the perfection of writing on scientific subjects. It is thus, that M. Lagrange has treated mechanics, making this noble science depend on the single principle of the virtual velocities. Thus too, the revolution of the earth in its orbit, as well as the effects of its diurnal motion, and that of the sun, the revolution of the satellites about their primaries, and of these about the sun, the configuration of the planets in consequence of the motion to which they are subjected, the alternate swelling and depression of the ocean, with numberless other minor phenomena, are all referred to the simple and universal law of gravitation, the full development of which constitutes the noble science of physical astronomy.

The number of formulas given by M. Lacroix, is much greater than that usually found in elementary treatises of spherical trigonometry. On account of the very convenient method of notation, in which the large letters designate the angles, and the small letters the corresponding sides, many of these are obtained simply by *inspection*, and without any labour of calculation. Thus this notation becomes an instrument for the abridgment of labour, while it contributes greatly to the beauty of the formulas which are obtained. Let no one smile at the idea of a mathe-

mathematical formula possessing beauty, for every one who traces out and understands those in question, must admit, that in their structure they comprise a high degree of proportion and symmetry, that they express the relations of things, and that their end is utility; and these in every system of the fine arts, are numbered among the elements of beauty. The treatise concludes with the problem of reducing an angle on an inclined plane to the plane of the horizon, (the same problem which was given in plane trigonometry) in which the superiority of spherical over plane trigonometry is made very manifest.

The translator has made the part on spherical trigonometry still more valuable by giving in a note of seven pages, Lord Napier's theorems for the solution of all cases of right-angled spherical triangles, and all but two of oblique-angled triangles. These theorems are especially valuable, as they furnish very important aid to the memory. In what relates to oblique angled spherical triangles of this note, the translator has availed himself of the improved method of Dr. Bowditch, contained in a memoir on the application of Napier's rules, and published in the third volume of the *Memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences*.

But it is our duty to take notice of the errors and defects of the works which come before us, as well as of their excellences, however slight these imperfections may be. Several errors of the original, are transferred without correction to the translation. At p. 32, near the beginning of Art. 36, A is printed according to the original, instead of B. In books designed for elementary instruction, slight errors become important, because they are frequently the means of discouraging learners. On p. 57, the second factor of the numerator of the second formula contains an error which is copied from the original. Instead of $\sin. \frac{1}{2}(a+c-b)$, it should be $\sin. \frac{1}{2}(a+b-c)$.

The following have also escaped the translator. In the last part of the note attached to p. 33, a new figure is introduced and a proportion drawn out with a view to demonstrate the expression, $\cos. a = \frac{1}{\sqrt{1+\text{tang. } a^2}}$; when the same formula had

appeared on page 25, in the shape of $\cos. a = \frac{R^2}{\sqrt{R^2 + \text{tang. } a^2}}$.

On p. 40, Art. 44, a mistake of great importance occurs in the translation. The first paragraph of this article should read thus. If we take arbitrarily the sides BC and BA and pursue the course I have just pointed out, we can calculate the triangle

A'C'B. *with the view of knowing* (dans la vue de connaître) the angle $C'BA'$ formed by the lines, &c. The translation, by *knowing the angle $C'BA'$* &c. leads the reader who cannot consult the original to conclude, that the determination of the angle $C'BA'$ is necessary to the calculation of the sides of the triangle $A'C'B$, and that the determination of this triangle is the object of the problem; whereas the design of the problem is to find the angle $C'BA'$ by means of the sides of the triangle $A'C'B$, the method of determining which, has before been shown. The proper course is, to calculate the three sides of the triangle $A'C'B$, and to make use of them in determining the angle $C'BA'$.—The examples of the solution of right and oblique angled triangles, which commence on p. 35, are the occasion of much unnecessary embarrassment and discouragement to the learner. This arises from the circumstance, that they are copied directly from Lacroix, without being adapted to the tables which the translator has introduced in the next volume, and to the construction of which every part of the course should have had reference. Instead of this, the logarithmic expressions contain seven places of decimals, while the tables contain but five. Besides, the table of logarithmic sines, tangents, &c. is only calculated for degrees and minutes, and, therefore, the expressions for angles should have been limited to degrees and minutes, except in a very few instances merely sufficient to shew the learner, that by taking proportions, the logarithmic expressions for degrees, minutes and *seconds*, and vice versa, might be obtained. On the contrary, nearly every example is encumbered with seconds. The difficulties in mathematical learning are so numerous, that the learner should not be embarrassed by any that are not necessary. But it is time to proceed to the second part of the volume.

Bezout, its author, was one of the numerous individuals who have had their attention directed to particular branches of science, and their pursuits in life determined by fortuitous circumstances. Some elementary books on geometry fell into his hands, which attracted his notice, and especially, the perusal of Fontenelle's *Lives of the Academicians*, led him to determine on acquiring the reputation which is the result of a successful cultivation of the sciences. We have lately seen genius defined to be "patience in a man of talents," but we think it is rather that intense and enthusiastic ardour which ensures the exercise of patience in its highest degree, which calls all the mental faculties into vigorous exercise, and which constitutes a prominent feature in the character, we believe we may say, of every man, who has ever been distinguished for scientific discovery and invention,

or indeed, who has ever arrived, where serious obstacles beset his path, at any species of distinction. As in other cases, the ardour with which young Bezout was inspired, was crowned with brilliant success.

Even before he was twenty-eight years of age, he presented two memoirs to the Academy of Sciences on the integral calculus. These memoirs acquired him so much reputation, that in the year 1763, the Duke de Choiseul appointed him examiner to the Marine, and at his request, Bezout drew up a course of mathematics for the use of those who were destined to the navy. His elementary treatises have passed through several editions, and were formerly much used for initiating the young into the elements of mathematics. On the death of Camus, he received the appointment of examiner to the royal corps of artillery, and his private studies were much interrupted by his duties in the way of examination. His attention to the marine and artillery schools compelled him to take frequent journeys, but harrassing as we may suppose these duties to have been to a man ardently engaged in the most difficult departments of his favourite science, they were performed with exemplary diligence, and with the greatest regard to the welfare of his pupils. A circumstance related of an examination held by him at Toulon, presents his character in an amiable point of light. Two of his pupils were prevented from attending it in public in consequence of the small-pox, and by this misfortune their progress must have been delayed an entire year, had not Bezout, at the risk of taking the infection, examined them in their own apartment. The part which is here presented to the American public by Mr. Farrar, is taken from his "*Cours de Mathématiques à l'usage de la Marine et de l'Artillerie*:" Paris, 1805. The work was, however, originally published more than half a century ago. Bezout died in 1783.

Algebra is a language, which representing quantites by characters, and operations by conventional signs, serves to express in a general manner, the relations which must exist between the given and the unknown parts of a problem, in order that the conditions required by the problem may be satisfied. It is of little consequence, whether the given and the unknown parts are numbers as in the problems of arithmetic, or motions and masses as in questions of mechanics, or, finally, lines, surfaces and solids as in the investigations of geometry. That algebra may be able to express them, it is only necessary, that the relations which they bear to each other, should be capable of being defined and reduced to operations which admit of calculation. In fact, when this reduction is practicable, the question proposed

is proved by that circumstance, not to depend on the geometrical, physical or mechanical nature of the elements which are combined, but only upon the mutual relations established between them by addition, subtraction, division, or any other operation of calculation. It results from this, that if in each kind of quantities, which are combined, whether they be lines, surfaces, solids or masses, we choose one of them at pleasure to serve as a unit of its kind, all the others which it is necessary afterwards to combine either with each other, or with the unit itself, are only collections of the original unit; so that all the calculable relations to which we subject them, become in truth numerical problems. This is the reason why algebra is applied to them always in the same manner, whatever may be the absolute nature of the quantities so compared.

The first step to be taken to apply algebra to the resolution of the problems of linear geometry, must, therefore, be, to fix on a particular length of line which is to be used as the unit of all other linear dimensions. Then, all these lines will be represented by numbers entire or fractional, rational or irrational, and we may perform upon them all the operations of arithmetic. In this way, we may conceive lines added to, or subtracted from each other, multiplied into, or divided by each other; and this is the only point of view under which we can understand the meaning of such operations when they are performed upon lines.* This method of proceeding will enable us, *mutatis mutandis*, to express and combine every species of quantity whatever, and to subject them to all the operations which are necessary to arrive at a desired result.

Our author first treats of the geometrical construction of algebraic quantities. To this end, he makes use of expressions made up for the occasion, instead of the more natural and effectual method of giving an algebraical solution to geometrical problems, and then explaining how a construction in geometry may be substituted in place of the numerical solutions to which students in the preceding part of their course had been accustomed. The style, however, in which he presents the subject, is clear, a valuable quality in all Bezout's writings. The next thirty-two pages are entirely taken up in the solution of problems, and upon these and upon the manner of their solution, we shall make some desultory remarks. As in algebra, so here, no certain rule can be given for putting a problem into an equation; but the difficulties in both branches, though similar, are not equal, a problem in geometry being in general less easy

* Blot, *Essai de Geom. Anal.* p. 2.

to put into an equation than an ordinary problem in algebra. In the latter, it is most commonly sufficient to translate by the aid of algebraic signs, the *expressed* conditions of the enunciation; or if not, the *implied* conditions which are easily deducible from them. Besides, the given and the unknown quantities in algebraic problems are evident upon mere inspection; while in a geometrical problem, which is almost always reduced in the last resort, to determining the position of one or of several points, much attention and sagacity are frequently necessary to determine the nature of the relations, which, when algebraically expressed, will lead to a simple and elegant construction of the problem. It is true that it is always easy to find in the figure which the enunciation suggests, and with the aid of the constructions which naturally present themselves, a first essay at solution, by recurring to the principal relations of geometry, such as the properties of right-angled triangles, of similar triangles, or of lines in and about the circle. But that which requires special address;—that which constitutes particularly the art of the analyst, is, to discover the most direct course by which to pass from the known to the unknown quantities, and to select among all the relations which connect them, those which are most suitable for calculation, and to fix on constructions capable of leading to simple equations and elegant results.

In the course of the solution of these problems, the interpretation of negative results is given, a subject which has been considered abstruse and perplexing. The principal difficulty appears to us to have arisen from confounding the mathematical *relations*, which in their nature are as permanent as the universe itself, with the language which has been invented with a view to investigate these immutable relations, and which is entirely matter of convention. The laws of algebraic combination sometimes lead to results which are of difficult interpretation, but however the case may be, it is certain that fact and the dictates of common sense should not be violated in giving them a signification. Chiefly after Bourdon, we shall attempt a summary of the rules which respect the interpretation of negative results.

1st. The sign — sometimes indicates, as in algebra,* that the enunciation of the question requires to be changed in certain respects.

2d. It happens sometimes that the equations of a problem give, with respect to signs, a number of results, of which a single

* *Algèbre*, par Lacroix, Paris, 1818, p. 89.

one only is capable of satisfying the enunciation ; the others are solutions of other problems which have a relation more or less intimate with the proposed question. The difficulty consists then, in discovering among these different expressions those which refer to the question itself, and those which are foreign to it, or which refer to it indirectly.

3d. As often as in the resolution of a problem, the unknown quantity represents the distance from one fixed point to another reckoned upon a fixed right line, and we obtain for the expression of this unknown quantity, results, some of which are positive and others negative ; if it is agreed to reckon the positive values in one direction departing from a fixed point, the negative values must be reckoned in the opposite direction. This rule is the same with that which we formerly applied to the different trigonometrical lines in the circle.

4th. We may always make negative solutions disappear, by referring the point sought to another fixed point, whose distance from the first fixed point is sufficiently great to assure us that all the points capable of satisfying the enunciation, will be on the same side with respect to this second point, and this is always possible since the line upon which these distances are reckoned, may be indefinitely produced. Negative results arise entirely from this circumstance, that the origin of the distances was at first chosen in a position intermediate between the points sought ; and the sign — indicates the difference of position of these points with reference to the first fixed point.

5th. If, in the resolution of a question, whether it be a problem or a theorem, we wish to take into view, distances between a first fixed point and other points situated with this upon the same line but in different directions, and we regard as positive the distances reckoned in one direction, we must regard as negative those which are reckoned in the opposite direction.

In the solution of problems, every thing depends on a happy selection of unknown quantities. A remarkable instance of this is seen in a problem given in Lacroix's *Application de l'Algèbre à la Géométrie*, p. 106, taken originally from Newton's *Arithmetica Universalis*. To be understood, however, the solution must be read, as it does not admit of being represented. To those who are desirous of perfecting their skill in the solution of questions, we can recommend nothing superior to Newton's treatise just mentioned, and Carnot's *Géométrie de Position*.

The problems of which we have hitherto spoken, are of the kind called determinate, because the unknown quantity is susceptible of but a finite number of values, but algebra applied to

geometry would be of small comparative importance, if the sphere of its operations were thus limited. The chief excellence of the method is not seen, and its power of expression is scarcely felt, until we come to apply it to the researches of indeterminate geometry.

We may consider all lines, whether right or curved, as susceptible of being represented by equations between two variables; and, reciprocally, any equation between two indeterminates may be interpreted geometrically, and may be considered as representing some line, all the points of which in succession, it can furnish the means of tracing. Lacroix represents all the conic sections under the general formula;—

$$Ay^2 + Bxy + Cx^2 + Dy + Ex = F.$$

This method, so fertile in consequences, in the hands of modern analysts, that it has changed the whole face of mathematics,* may even be generalized so as to apply to equations with three variables, which represent surfaces as is the case in the treatises of Lacroix and Biot.

The two branches of the application of algebra to geometry, which are here brought into view, to wit, the one limited to determinate, and the other embracing indeterminate geometry, are not only distinct in their nature and object, but they are distinguished in the *history* of the mathematics. The invention of the last branch belongs to the celebrated Des Cartes. Before his time, algebra had only been applied to determinate problems of geometry. The first applications of this kind, had even been simply numerical, being limited to finding and calculating arithmetically the numerical value of the unknown quantities, according to their final algebraic expression. Towards the end of the fifteenth century, Vieta, a celebrated French analyst, thought of representing these expressions by geometrical constructions. These constructions, however, were inadequate to interpret the values of the unknown quantities in the case of indeterminate equations. Des Cartes made an immense advance, by shewing that such equations represent geometrical loci, and it is scarcely too much to say, that by this discovery, he created the application of algebra to geometry, the constructions of which, in the hands of Vieta, were confined to a particular class of problems. Any problem of geometry is always reduced to finding a certain number of points, lines or surfaces, the position or configuration of which may satisfy certain given conditions. We may even consider the investigation of points as a problem

* Lacroix, Application, &c. p. 116.

of the intersection of lines. If we have a general method of finding the equation of lines according to the enunciation of the geometrical conditions which they are required to satisfy; and, reciprocally, if we are able to discover the form as well as the course of the lines, when the analytical equation which expresses them is given, there will be no problem of geometry, however complicated, which we shall not be able at once to write algebraically, and in this way to reduce to a combination of purely analytical equations. It was by the aid of this secret, that Des Cartes, at the age of twenty years, passing through Europe in the simple style of a soldier of fortune, resolved at sight and as matter of amusement, all the geometrical problems which the mathematicians of different countries were in the habit of sending to each other by way of public challenge, according to the custom of that period.* In 1617, while in the Dutch army under Prince Maurice, being quartered at Breda, some one had affixed on the corner of the street a mathematical problem, requiring the solution of it. Des Cartes observing several persons reading this card, which was in Flemish, requested one of them to translate it into Latin. The person addressed at once complied, but imposed the condition that he should send him the solution of the problem. The air of Des Cartes in accepting the condition was so determined as to excite the surprise of the other party, who could scarcely believe that a young officer could solve a problem so difficult. From the card which he received, Des Cartes learned that he had been conversing with Isaac Beeckman, the Principal of the College of Dordrecht. The next day he went to Beeckman's house with the problem solved, and shewed him the construction of it. In consequence of this singular interview, they became correspondents and friends during the remainder of their lives.

Returning from this digression, we have a few more words to say respecting Bezout's treatise and its translator. The remainder of the volume is occupied in discussing the conic sections, the most obvious properties of which are demonstrated in a style which has little to recommend it, except that the learner will follow it without difficulty.

From the circumstance that the Cambridge course is made up from several writers, there is not that uniformity in the style and in the use of terms which it is desirable to maintain. In the algebra, p. 31, an objection is made to the use of the term dimensions, while it occurs frequently in this volume.† In p.

* Biot, *Essai de Geom. Anal.* p. 75.

† Vide p. 72.

80, the sentence "to express by equations the ratio of the given quantities first employed to those which we would introduce," is obscure, and if it were not for the plainness of the subject, would be unintelligible. It would not be difficult to increase the list of errata which is given at the end. In p. 95, at the top, the second and third lines should read thus, "I take their half sum and designate it by x , since their difference $DE=c$ is given," &c. Or it may be altered thus,—“I take their sum and designate it by $2x$, since their difference $DE=c$ is given,” &c. This error is in the original as well as in the translation. In the translation, p. 77, instead of "by the method," &c. we should read "according to the method," &c. (*selon la methode*, &c.) In p. 76, (original 294) near the foot of the page, the translation perverts the sense, and is also inconsistent with itself. The original is not plain, but should probably be rendered thus: "we treat here, however, only of general rules; we can often construct in a manner much more simple *than* by always setting out from the same principles," &c. In p. 130, near the foot, the translation "making with each other an angle equal to that of the conjugate diameters," is not the sense of the original.*

We have already intimated that the treatise before us, is very far behind the actual state of the branch of mathematics of which it professes to treat. During the fifty years which have succeeded its publication, numerous and very important improvements have been introduced. To prevent its falling too far in the rear, M. Peyrard introduced into the edition of 1805, no less than seventy pages of additions, some of which should certainly have been retained by the translator. We are particularly surprised, that he should have permitted himself to publish a treatise for the use of our colleges, which does not even contain the equation of a right line. We are disposed, however, to acknowledge a certain degree of obligation to the translator. If the treatise which he has published is imperfect, still he has contributed to make known a branch of mathematics which had hitherto received almost no attention in this country. We presume this treatise will soon be superseded by one far more complete.

Our remarks in this paper are particularly designed for Mr. Farrar's volume; but we must not close without a short notice of those of Bourdon and Biot. The first of these is very extensive and of very great value, and contains the system prepared by the author for the use of the royal colleges of France. The first chapter is employed in explaining those methods of

* Vide p. 375

application which vary with the nature of the problems, but which by their simplicity, often have the advantage over general methods. After having laid down the principles relative to the construction of algebraic expressions, several questions are resolved, the discussion of which is suitable to initiate young men into the manner of interpreting the singular results of algebra applied to geometry. After this, come plane and spherical trigonometry, the discussion of which concludes the first section of the work. The third chapter introduces analytical geometry, properly so called, that is, the method which consists in resolving the questions of geometry by the aid of equations of a point, of lines, and of surfaces. It embraces all the principles relative to the point, the right line and the circle situated upon a plane. Although the circle is only a particular case of one of the curves of the second degree, the author has presented a distinct view of it, in order to accustom learners, by an analytical investigation of properties which are already known to them, to read in equations and the results of their combinations, whatever these equations and these results are capable of representing. The problem of tangents is resolved by a general method, which the author says is no where else to be found.

The problem of the transformation of the coordinates in two dimensions serves as an introduction to the next chapter, which is chiefly employed in general views upon curves of the second degree. With a view to avoid considerations which are too abstract, he gives purely geometrical definitions of the ellipse, the hyperbola and the parabola, which are constructed according to these definitions, and the equations of which are afterwards investigated. After tracing the analogies of these curves, he demonstrates by the transformation of the coordinates, that these are the only curves which any equation of the second degree with two variables is able to represent. The identity of the curves of the second degree with the sections of a cone and a plane are then established. The fifth chapter, which is the most important, comprehends the principal properties of the conic sections. The analogy between the equations of the ellipse and the hyperbola, leads to an abridgment of labour and to the avoiding of tedious repetitions, by discussing the properties of these curves in connexion. The relations between the ordinates and abscissas of these curves, their quadrature, the properties of supplementary cords, the relation of these cords with conjugate diameters, tangents and their properties with respect to radii vectores, the properties of the ellipse and of the hyperbola referred to a system of conjugate diameters, of the hyperbola

referred to its asymptotes, &c.; such are the principal views belonging to the two first curves. With respect to the parabola, whose analogy to the ellipse and the hyperbola is more distant, the author treats of it separately. The sixth chapter, which is in some measure a supplement to the preceding, embraces the classification of the curves of the second degree by the separation of the variables, the construction and discussion of particular equations; the investigation of the centre, the axes, the diameters, the asymptotes, &c. of the curve corresponding to a given equation; the determination of a conic section according to certain conditions; in fine, the construction of determinate equations of the third and fourth degrees with a single unknown quantity. The seventh and eighth chapters comprise analytical geometry in three dimensions. The seventh treats of the point, the right line and the plane considered in any manner in space; while the eighth contains a succinct view of surfaces of the second degree preceded by the problem of the transformation of the coordinates in three dimensions, and some general views upon certain curve surfaces, such as the sphere, cylindrical and conical surfaces, conoidal surfaces, and surfaces of revolution.

The "Essai" of M. Biot occupies nearly the same ground with Bourdon's Treatise, the contents of which we have been sketching, and we, therefore, presume it will not be necessary to enter into a particular description of it. It is chiefly designed for those who are preparing for the French Polytechnic school, and was composed by the author for his scholars while he taught in the central school of the department of Oise. The first edition appeared in 1802, but the succeeding editions have received many and great improvements. His method of treating the subject is much more abstract than that of Bourdon, and his work, to be read with ease, requires considerable acquaintance with mathematics. The evidence is frequently of that species, which is not easily described, but to which one must become accustomed, before he can peruse with understanding, the works of Lacroix, Monge, Lagrange and La Place. If, however, the instrument in the hands of Biot, is more difficult to be wielded, than as it is presented by several authors, it is on the other hand, in the same proportion more powerful. He has introduced some historical notices and general views in various places, of which we have freely availed ourselves when they suited our purpose. It is our opinion, that the perusal of Bourdon first, and of Biot afterwards, will be the best course for those who wish to become thoroughly initiated in the elements of analytical geometry.

Since writing the above, the last edition (1826) of Professor Farrar's volume has fallen into our hands. We immediately examined it, in the expectation that the errors which we have noticed, would be corrected in it. But it appears, that although it had been used at Cambridge from 1820 to 1826, only one of the errors which we have pointed out, has been discovered.

ART. III.—*A Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews*. In two volumes. By MOSES STUART, Associate Professor of Sacred Literature in the Theological Seminary at Andover. Andover, 1827.

IT is not without reason, that even in our enlightened days, as we are pleased constantly to call them, great importance should be attached to the claim of antiquity. To advance its long and continued existence as the sanction for a custom, is only another method of stating that the experience of ages has tested its utility and proved its wisdom. We are not ashamed to confess our veneration for old opinions, whilst at the same time we think with St. Cyprian, that "custom ought not to hinder that truth should prevail, for custom without truth is but agedness of error."

In this country, the glory of our career will depend upon the skill with which we may unite the wisdom of the past with the increasing knowledge of our own times. To adapt old and well-tried principles and forms to the new wants and changing fashions of society, should be the object and end of all innovation. In the search after this necessary and desirable adaptation, we should not, without judgment, follow the ancients, for "not because they went before us in time, therefore in wisdom, which being given alike to all ages, cannot be prepossessed by them," nor should we, still worse, be led astray by our own vanity, and abate as nuisances all customs which militate against our own untried opinions.

In the formation and regulation of our schools and colleges, we have ample scope for a fair trial of our skill at improvement.

We have commenced our literary course untrammelled by long venerated usages, disconnected from all political or religious bias, and assisted by the experience of a civilized and enlightened nation, engaged in the same pursuits, feeling the same wants, nay, speaking the very language which we inherit. We believe that the European systems of education are not suited in all their details to our state of society; we believe that, in the course of ages, many abuses have become incorporated therein, which the enlightened men of that continent would rejoice to remedy. We see at this time in England, the liberal party engaged in the laborious and expensive design of rearing new establishments in London, to supply the deficiencies and get rid of the abuses of the old universities. With these advantages and this past and passing experience, there must be some defect in ourselves, some weak point in our national character, if we cannot so organize our literary institutions, as to enable them to meet the wants of the community and the improvements of the age in the nature and measure of instruction, as well as in the modes of training youth for the business of life.

The history of education, including the progress of literary institutions, would furnish materials not merely for an interesting essay, but for a most important book. We shall not attempt it here—it will be sufficient to point out one or two remarkable changes in American seminaries, suggested by the valuable work before us. The first colleges erected in this country, were designed exclusively for the education of Ministers of the Gospel. Our later institutions have been established upon a more enlarged plan, but we have not got what, in European phraseology, can be termed an University. Legal, medical and theological lectures are attached to several of our colleges, but the most distinguished institutions for the three learned professions, are all separate and exclusive. We have now sixteen medical colleges, many law schools, and at least twelve theological seminaries. The concentration of professional knowledge, and the increase of competent practical instructors in these institutions, is felt and acknowledged; all are doing good to their country and rising into reputation. The work at the head of our article, confines our remarks at this time to the theological establishments recently founded and growing up in the United States.

Most of these seminaries recommend themselves by their excellent arrangements for the promotion of liberal learning among clerical men. Without any disparagement to the clergy as a sacred body, we may be permitted to say, there has been

a strong tendency—in former periods at least—to a decline in learning and study among them, and we fear this is still the case in some parts of our country. Such a decline is very much to be deprecated, not only by the religious public, but by the whole community, for the clergy will always exert, for good or for evil, a powerful influence on society. Hence, we heartily congratulate ourselves and our countrymen on the bright prospect opened upon us by the establishment in the United States of so many theological schools.

The standard of clerical learning was high with the first settlers of New-England: they have left testimonies and monuments well known to the learned world. And, heretofore, in all parts of our country, divines have ranked among our most learned men. But if we examine the preparation required in many parts of the country for admission to the sacred office, even at the present day, we shall wonder rather at the learning than the ignorance of our clergy. Our theological seminaries are, we hope, well calculated to remedy the evils arising from this state of things, and are already producing a favourable change.

The seminary at Andover is one of the oldest in the United States, if not actually the first established upon an extensive plan. In the thorough course of study there pursued, theology is based on classical and biblical learning, and the students are led to form their opinions in matters of *doctrine* from a careful scriptural exegesis. The first year at this institution is devoted to the acquisition of the original languages of the Scriptures. During the second year, this learning is applied to the careful and critical investigation of the Bible. The third and last year is spent in rhetorical exercises, as preparatory to public speaking. Instead of blind subscription to a creed, nothing is required at Andover, save testimonials of a character suited to the holy profession the candidate would undertake. The professors set an example of the freedom and industry of research, which they inculcate on their pupils; the many able works which they have produced, have excited their students, even while in the seminary, to successful literary efforts.

The author of the work before us superintends in the most liberal and able manner, the fundamental portion of the course of study required at Andover, and by his valuable publications, (among which is an excellent Hebrew Grammar) has not only assisted and lightened the labours of theological students, but has given a powerful impulse to literary improvement among our clergy. When Professor Stuart began his career, the researches of the German critics had excited a general apprehension of danger to the cause of religion, and even of Christian

truth itself. Students in theology were cautioned not to meddle with writings infected with error and infidelity. But Professor Stuart fearlessly entered into the investigation of the positions of these German commentators, and has shown as the result of a bold, candid and honest examination, that their biblical and theological learning, so far from inculcating dangerous novelties, furnishes the clearest and strongest proofs of important truth. In the work before us, as in many of his former publications, he has made good and judicious use of their discoveries, not tamely following and retailing their opinions, but challenging their errors, and proving his own strength, by meeting them on their own ground, and opposing them with their own weapons.

The genuineness and authority of our sacred books, their origin and history deserve the attentive examination at least of those who profess to instruct us out of the oracles of truth.—They at least should be able to give satisfactory reasons for founding their doctrinal systems on these records. No one of the books of the New Testament has been the subject of so much doubt and dispute, especially as to its origin, as the Epistle to the Hebrews; nay, its very direction or title is not a little contested. Professor Stuart, in the work before us, has patiently and candidly investigated all the doubts which envelope this epistle, and has given an interest and an animation to his various inquiries, which no general reader can expect. Above all, he has herein set a noble example of the purity and gentleness which becomes the biblical critic. Not a censorious expression, not an unkind remark, not one uncharitable imputation on the feelings or motives of his antagonists will be found in his pages. No work can be more free from every thing like the *odium theologicum* as it has been termed.

Professor Stuart exhibits to his readers the questions involved in his Commentary upon the Epistle to the Hebrews in the following words:—

“No part of the New Testament has occasioned so much difference of opinion, and given rise to so much literary discussion among critics, as the Epistle to the Hebrews. The principal reason of this seems to be, that this epistle does not exhibit, either in the beginning of it or elsewhere, any express evidence of having been addressed to any particular church, nor any designation of the author's name.”——“Every topic which its literary history could suggest has been the subject of animated discussion. It has been disputed whether it is an Epistle, an Essay, or a Homily; whether it was written by Paul, Apollos, Barnabas, Clement of Rome, or by some other person; and whether it was originally written in Hebrew or Greek. There has also been a difference of opinion as to the place where, and the time when, it was written.

On every one of these topics, critics have been and still are divided.—Nor has this division been occasioned merely by a difference in theological opinions.”—*Introduction*, p. 1.

The first volume is taken up with a full examination of all the questions exhibited in the paragraph just quoted, and a list of aids, critical and exegetical, to the study of this epistle, is subjoined. The second volume contains 1st, a new translation of the epistle. 2dly, a general view of its contents. 3dly, a Commentary, in which every local difficulty is considered and explained, and the whole is concluded by twenty elaborate dissertations on some of the peculiarly interesting or obscure passages in the epistle.

On the first question suggested in the introductory remarks, Professor Stuart observes :—

“ However, if this must be disputed, we can easily satisfy ourselves respecting it. The address every where is like that of an epistle, viz : in the second person plural ; with the single exception, that the writer occasionally uses a *κοινωνός*, that is, he includes himself with those whom he addresses, and so employs the *first person plural*. But this is a practice so common in epistolary correspondence, that it occasions no difficulty in the case under consideration.

“ It is true, the mode of address would be the same in regard to the particular just noticed, if the epistle had originally been a homily. But other particulars render such a supposition utterly inadmissible. The epistle every where supposes the persons addressed to be *absent* from the writer, not present before him, as in the case of a homily. How could he, in a *homily*, ask them to ‘ pray that he might be *restored to them* ?’ Heb : 13 : 19. How could he promise to ‘ *to make them a visit*, in company with Timothy, if he should come speedily ?’ 13 : 23.

“ I add, that I am unable to see how any one can well imagine, (as Berger does, and as Origen long ago conjectured), that the hand of a *commentator* is discernible in this epistle. The whole tenor of it, from beginning to end, contradicts this. Did ever any writing come more warmly and fully from the heart ? Here is no patchwork ; no congeries of heterogeneous materials ; no designed, exegetical *commentary* ; no trace of a copyist or reporter. It is one uniform, unbroken, continuous work ; produced by the mighty impulse of one and the same mind, fraught with knowledge of the subject which it discusses, glowing with benevolent feelings toward those who are addressed, and agitated with alarm at the danger to which they are exposed. Sooner should I think of dividing into parcels the *Iliad*, the *Eneid*, or the *Paradise Lost*, and assigning respective parts to different poets, than of introducing the hand of a copyist, or a mere commentator, into the Epistle to the Hebrews. Be it written where, when, or by whom it may have been, *one* mind performed the great work, and stamped it with characteristics too plain to be obscured, too deep to be erased.” Vol. i. p. 6.

After shewing that the subject of his Commentary is really an *epistle* or *letter*, our author considers at length the question. To whom was it addressed? Internal evidence is produced to prove that there was some particular body of "believing" Hebrews, to whom the writer addresses himself, as, for example, when he asks their prayers "that he may be speedily restored to them," &c.

"To the believing Jews of *every* country, it could not have been primarily and immediately addressed. It is altogether improbable that *all* such, in every country, were in special danger of apostasy, when this letter was written. * * * The writer speaks of the great fight of afflictions and the loss of property, to which those had been subjected for the sake of religion whom he addresses, 10: 32—34; occurrences which surely had not taken place, in *every* church where Jews were found.

"A still more convincing argument, in favour of the sentiment just advanced, is drawn from what the writer himself has stated, at the close of his letter. He asks the prayers of those whom he addresses, that he may be speedily restored to them, 13: 19; and promises, if Timothy return in a short time, that he will in his company pay them a visit, 13: 23. He could not mean that he would, in company with Timothy, visit *all* the churches where Jews were to be found throughout the world. And could Timothy be known to them all? Or could the circumstances of Timothy, and of the writer himself, be so well known by them all, as the manner of address here necessarily supposes?

"These considerations render it quite clear, that whosoever the Hebrews were that are named by the present inscription, they must have been those of some particular church and country." Vol. i. p. 8.

To what church then was this letter sent? To a body of Jewish converts, certainly—but where? On this point, a great number of ingenious conjectures have been offered; our readers will find some of them stated by almost every commentator. Professor Stuart considers separately, and at sufficient length, all the most plausible hypotheses yet published. This "tedious and appalling" task, to use his own phraseology, he has performed in a manner which, we think, has forever settled the controversy.

We have not before us all of the works against which his arguments under this head are directed, but as far as we have been able to consult those within our reach, we discover in every page of his work the clearest proofs of candour in his investigation. In tracing this part of his subject, we shall be brief.

The theory of Storr is, that this epistle was directed to Jewish converts in Galatia; the epistle to the Galatians, commonly so called, being directed only to the *Gentiles* of the Galatian church. Noesselt (following the steps of Semler) maintains that this

letter was written to the churches in Macedonia, or rather the church in Thessalonica. Bolten advances the improbable supposition that it was directed to Hebrews who had fled into Asia Minor, from persecutions in Palestine. To Weber we owe the suggestion that it was written to the church at Corinth. Ludwig proposes Spain, and Wetstein Rome, but they scarcely offer any reasoning to support these conjectures. Last of all, Mr. Stuart proceeds to the opinions of Lardner and Michaelis—the later of whom, by the way, has endeavoured to shake the authority of this epistle. Their hypothesis is, that it was addressed to the Hebrew church of Palestine. The arguments of these able scholars, Mr. Stuart reviews at some length. He justly considers them as insufficient to produce a full conviction; yet to their opinion our author himself inclines, and the grounds of his belief he states clearly and forcibly under the following heads:—
 1. The inscription. 2. The internal testimony of the work itself.

1. The inscription, though confessedly not *a manu auctoris*, most naturally leads to the supposition and helps to confirm it. "Why was such a title given to the epistle in question? The obvious answer is, because the editor or transcriber who gave it, supposed that the epistle was intended for the Hebrews. And whoever the author of the title was, it is quite certain that he lived at an early period; nor can there be any reasonable doubt, that he gave it such a title as agreed with the general tradition and common opinion of the Christian church at that period." The "*usus loquendi*" of those times is then exhibited, to prove that the term Hebrews was uniformly employed to designate the Jews of Palestine, or those who had imbibed their opinions and spoken their language. On this point, our author is at issue with Carpzoff, and the most learned Eichhorn.

"In Acts 6: 1, the Palestine Christians are expressly called 'Εβραῖοι, in contradistinction from the foreign Jews who are called 'Ελληνισταί; there arose a murmuring of the HELLENISTS against the HEBREWS, because they were neglected in the daily administration. In conformity with this passage, (which is fundamental in the question now under consideration), the dialect of Palestine is repeatedly called 'Εβραῖς or 'Εβραϊκός in the New Testament; e. g. Acts 21: 40. 22: 2. Luke 23: 38. John 5: 2. 19: 13, 17. Agreeably to this, 'Εβραΐζω means, to speak or write Hebrew; as Josephus says, τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος διηγγυλὸς 'Εβραΐζων, Bell. Jud. vi. 2, i. e. he narrated Caesar's history, in the Hebrew tongue. To have a knowledge of the Hebrew language, and to speak it, was deemed among the Jews a matter of great importance or a very valuable acquisition, Acts 21: 40. 22: 2. Hence Paul, when speaking of the ground of precedence which he might claim above the false teachers at Philippi, says, that he is a Hebrew of the Hebrews,

i. e. one of full Hebrew descent, and acquainted with the Hebrew language. Although he was born at Tarsus, he was brought up at the feet of Gamaliel in Jerusalem, Phil. 3 : 5. To this same fact he seems to appeal again, in a similar case, 2 Cor. 11 : 22, *Are they Hebrews? So am I.*—

"Yet Eichhorn has ventured to assert, that the name *Hebrew* never has any reference to *language*, but always to *religion* or *origin*. His proof is, first, a passage from Eusebius' Hist. Ecc. III. 4, in which the historian asserts, that Peter addressed his epistle, *εἰς τοὺς ἐξ Ἑβραίων ὄντας ἐν διασπορᾷ Πόντον*. But this implies simply, that those whom Peter addressed were descended from the Hebrews, or belonged to those of the circumcision. Another passage to which he appeals, is in Philo, (de Abrahamo, p. 388 D. edit. Par.) where he says, that *Sarah advised Abraham to take as a concubine [Hagar], who by descent was an Egyptian, ὅτι ἐς ἀγαθὸν Ἑβραίων, but by choice a Hebrew*; which he construes as meaning, *who had embraced the religion of the Hebrews*. But the antithesis here does not admit of this sense. By *descent* she was of the *Egyptian nation*, but by *voluntary choice* she attached herself to the *Hebrew nation*, is plainly the meaning of the passage; so that it fails altogether in affording ground for the conclusion which Eichhorn aduces from it." pp. 43-45.

2. The internal testimony of the epistle agrees with and supports this supposition. The remarks of Mr. Stuart on this point are acute and discriminating, and sustain his opinions with as much power as can be expected in a case in which certainty is unattainable. We cannot do justice to his train of reasoning in an abridgement, we shall select however, two or three passages to illustrate his views.

"In the latter part of Paul's ministry, his disputes abroad about Judaism appear to have generally subsided, and he was every where received by the foreign churches with great cordiality and affection. It was only at the first planting of the churches abroad, at the period when the transition was to be made from Judaism to Christianity, (which was indeed a great transition in respect to *externals*), that disputes arose, and passions were awakened, which occasioned much trouble and anxiety to the apostle. More light, and a better understanding of the nature of Christianity, appeased these disputes, wherever Judaism had not the strong grasp which the *constant practice of the ritual* gave it.

"Not so in Palestine. The very last visit which the apostle made there, before he was sent a prisoner to Rome, occasioned a tumult among the zealots for the law; who even joined in persecuting him. "Thou seest, brother," said the other apostles to him, "how many thousand Jews are become believers, and they are all *ζηλωταὶ τοῦ νόμου*," *zealots for the observance of the law*, Acts 21 : 20; the correctness of which sentiment was abundantly confirmed by the sequel. That the *zealots for the law* here means particularly the Jews of Palestine is evident from v. 21 which follows.

"That the Palestine Christians adhered with far greater tenacity to the Jewish ritual than the Jews abroad, is clearly shown moreover by the fact, that, while the foreign Jews soon abandoned altogether the rites of Judaism, the zealots for the Mosaic ritual in Palestine even separated at last, from the community of other Christians, rejected all the epistles of Paul from the canon of the New Testament, and retained in all their strictness the ceremonies of the law. I refer to the sects of the Nazarenes and Ebionites, the first heresies that rent asunder the church of Christ; and which would not bear at all with the catholic spirit of Paul's preaching and epistles.

"All these circumstances united, have strongly impressed me with the idea, that the whole texture and manner of the Epistle to the Hebrews almost of necessity implies, that those to whom it was originally addressed, were habitually attendants on the services of the temple, and intimately and *personally* acquainted with all its rites and ceremonies. Of course, I must regard them as belonging to Palestine, or its near neighbourhood.—

"It is a striking fact also, that *only Jews* are addressed throughout the epistle. Where were the churches abroad that consisted only of Jews? I am aware, this argument may be met by asking the question; Could not the writer address the Jewish part of a church abroad, and not the Gentile? The *possibility* of this cannot be denied. The *probability* that it was so, does not, in this case, seem to be very great. For is it not natural to suppose, that the Gentile part of the church would have been more or less infected with the feelings of the Jewish part; and that some of them, at least, would have also been in danger of apostacy? Could the writer, who shews such deep solicitude to prevent this awful catastrophe, fail to have warned his Gentile brethren against their danger; and to have exhorted and encouraged them to persevere? If this be *possible*, we must still grant, when we consider the characteristics of the writer, that it is at least highly *improbable*.—

"Again, the persons addressed, are requested to "call to mind their sufferings in former days, when they were first enlightened, and when they took joyfully the spoiling of their goods, and suffered other evils from persecution," 10: 32, 34. This, indeed, may *possibly* have been true of other churches abroad; but we have no historical information of persecutions abroad, in the earliest age of Christianity, which were permitted by the civil government to proceed so far as to destroy or confiscate property, and to imprison persons for any length of time. Palestine was the place for such occurrences, from the very first. I am aware that Paul went with a commission to Damascus, that he might cast Christians into prison. But the very terms of that commission, directed him to bring those whom he should apprehend "bound to Jerusalem." Acts 9: 2.—

"If it can be rendered probable that Paul wrote the epistle to the Hebrews, I should think it almost certain, that it must have been written to Jews in Palestine; for throughout the whole epistle, there is not one word which shews the writer to have been the instrument of their conversion, or even to have been their religious teacher. What church abroad could be thus addressed by Paul? For what one had not been

either planted or nurtured by him? I do not deny the possibility of there having been some one; but the evidence that there actually was, at the time when our epistle was written, I have not been able to find.

And besides this, it is peculiar to the Epistle to the Hebrews, that not one word is said, which implies that their teachers were lacking in any thing, pertaining either to the knowledge or the duties demanded by their office. All is commendation. How natural is this, and easy to be accounted for, if these teachers were apostles or immediate disciples of Christ himself; and such were the teachers of the churches in Palestine. On the whole, this is a circumstance which increases the probability of the opinion that I am assaying to defend." Vol. i. pp. 49-54.

The objections to this opinion are examined carefully and at some length, and the following is the result of Mr. Stuart's researches:—

"I have now examined all the objections against the opinion, that the Epistle to the Hebrews was directed to Palestine, with which I have met, and which seem to be of sufficient magnitude to deserve attention. I am unable to perceive that they are very weighty; and surely they come quite short of being *conclusive*. On the other hand, the positive proof, I acknowledge, is only of a circumstantial nature, and falls short of the weight which direct and unequivocal testimony in the epistle itself would possess. But uniting the whole of it together; considering the intimate knowledge of Jewish rites, the strong attachment to their ritual, and the special danger of defection from Christianity in consequence of it, which the whole texture of the epistle necessarily supposes, and combining these things with the other circumstances above discussed, I cannot resist the impression, that the universal opinion of the ancient church respecting the persons to whom our epistle was addressed, was well founded, being built upon early tradition and the contents of the epistle; and that the doubts and difficulties thrown in the way by modern and recent critics, are not of sufficient importance to justify us, in relinquishing the belief that Palestine Christians were addressed by the Epistle to the Hebrews. Thousands of facts, pertaining to criticism and to history, are believed and treated as realities, which have less support than the opinion that has now been examined." Vol. i. pp. 67-68.

Our author subsequently gives some very plausible reasons for supposing that this letter was sent first to the CHURCH IN CESAREA, called by Josephus "the greatest city of Judea," where Cornelius the first Gentile convert had been stationed, and where St. Paul himself not only 'abode' at one time 'many days,' but had been kept at another two whole years, a kind of prisoner at large. The probability of this supposition is supported by the coincidences between the allusions in the text, and the character and circumstances of the writer and of the

church at Cesarea. Mr. Stuart views it as designed to be a *circular* epistle, sent first to Cesarea, and then extended to all the Palestine churches.

The following passage exhibits the ground of Mr. Stuart's conjecture, and the ingenuity with which he brings internal and collateral testimony to support another of those surmises, which, however probable, do not admit of proof. For it cannot be denied, in this instance, that the silence of the church at Cesarea, in the time of Origen and Eusebius, bears heavily upon this theory. Both of those fathers lived in that city, and while discussing particularly the origin and authenticity of this epistle, never intimate the existence of any such tradition.

"From the Epistle to the Hebrews it no where appears, that the *writer* was the *first* teacher of the church whom he addresses, but the contrary is plainly implied. Now history tells us that Peter planted the church at Cesarea, and not Paul, Acts x. The teachers of the church addressed in the Epistle to the Hebrews, are applauded without any exception as to their doctrine or behaviour; and so this might well be, for the first teachers at Cesarea were apostles and primitive evangelists. Philip the evangelist was stationed there, when Paul made his last visit to Jerusalem, Acts 21: 8 seq.; and this Philip had four daughters, who were prophetesses, i. e. teachers of the Christian religion. Does not this shew a flourishing state of the church there? The persons to whom the Epistle to the Hebrews is addressed, had often bestowed charity to relieve the necessities of Christians, and particularly of those who were imprisoned, Heb. 10: 34. 6: 10. How aptly this fits the circumstances of Paul among the Cesareans, it is easy to perceive. He was a prisoner among them for the space of two years. Well might he say, "*ye had compassion τοῖς δεσμοῖς μου, on my bonds,*" as the common text reads; or (which comes after all to the same thing) *τοῖς δεσμοῖς, on the imprisonment.* Paul's gratitude for this, probably led him to speak of it repeatedly; and so it stands in the Epistle to the Hebrews. The eulogy, which the writer of that epistle bestows on those whom he addresses, certainly becomes very significant, on supposition that it was written by Paul under such circumstances. * * * *

"The Epistle to the Hebrews presents images drawn from the Grecian games and public shows, 10: 32. 12: 1 seq. At Cesarea, Herod the Great had instituted all the Grecian games, and built a splendid theatre; so that such allusions would be very forcible and pertinent, if addressed to those who lived there. The writer of our epistle mentions Timothy, to the church whom he addresses, as his special friend, and one in whom they would feel a deep interest; and as Timothy, it cannot well be doubted, was at Cesarea with Paul more or less of the time that he was a prisoner there for two years, the church at that place must have been well acquainted with him. Paul requests their prayers, that he himself may be restored to them, 13: 19; and the frequent visits which he had made the Cesareans, the strong attachment they had manifested to him, and the long residence he had made among them, cor-

respond well with a request so plainly founded in their affectionate regard for him, and in his for them." Vol. i. pp. 70, 71.

The next division relates to the antiquity and canonical authority of the epistle. (p. 74.) The internal marks of its antiquity, and the testimony gathered respecting it are fully exhibited, and every objection is considered. Eichhorn is here the ablest adversary Mr. Stuart has had to contend with.

"The sum [however,] is, that the Epistle to the Hebrews was written a short time before the destruction of Jerusalem; that in about thirty years, at most, it had acquired such currency and credit, that the church at Rome, the metropolis of the world, in a letter addressed by their Bishop to the church at Coriuth, made repeated appeals to it as a book of divine authority, and in such a way as to imply a knowledge and acknowledgment of it, by the Corinthian church, similar to their own; that Justin Martyr, about A. D. 140, evidently appealed to its contents as sacred; that about this time, or not long after, it was inserted among the canonical books of the New Testament by the churches of the east and the west; and that consequently it must have had, at a period very little after the apostolic age, a currency and credit not at all, or at most very little inferior to that of other acknowledged books of the New Testament. *Better evidence than this, of early and general reception by the churches, it would be difficult to find, in respect to a considerable number of books in the New Testament; with less than this, we are obliged to content ourselves, respecting several of them.*" Vol. i. pp. 89, 90.

Who wrote the Epistle to the Hebrews? A far more important discussion arises when we come to consider this question. It is known that doubts upon this subject existed in the earliest period to which our ecclesiastical annals reach, and have been occasionally revived, even to the present day. In the Greek church an opinion prevailed among some of the ablest theologians, that the sentiments and doctrines were those of St. Paul, but that the epistle as it now exists, was either dictated by St. Paul, and clothed in language by some other person, by Luke or Clement, or was written by St. Paul in Hebrew, and translated into Greek by one of the above-named companions of the apostle. Origen considered the style of this epistle as more conformable to the Greek idiom, than that of the other epistles of St. Paul. In the western or Latin church, doubts were still more prevalent. Many of the early fathers considered it as the work of Barnabas, and it was not until the time of Jerome and Augustine, that it was finally received by the western church as an authentic epistle of St. Paul. All, however, considered it as a *book* of high authority, as worthy of St. Paul, even if not actually written by him, and it is quoted and alluded to by writers in the second century, as one of the Ca-

nonical Books of the Christians. Mr. Stuart reviews all of these opinions, and while he maintains the generally received belief that this epistle was actually written in its present form by St. Paul, he acknowledges the doubts in the Greek church, and the tardy acquiescence of the Roman.

The proofs adduced to support this belief, are drawn by Professor Stuart from the ancient opinions of nearly all the writers of the Greek, and many of those of the Latin church; from the characteristic features of the epistle in its sentiments, its style, and its expressions; and even from the topics discussed, and the manner in which these topics are frequently managed.

This inquiry is the most elaborate, and we think also, the most satisfactory in the whole volume. In considering how the topics are discussed, Professor Stuart points out many of those characteristic peculiarities that abound in the acknowledged writings of St. Paul. The abrupt transitions, the suspended opinion, the interrupted syllogism, in which having announced a major, and sometimes also a minor proposition, the writer diverges to the consideration of some subjects brought to his view by the position he has advanced, and, after an interval of some time, after an exposition through some verses, perhaps, even chapters, he returns suddenly to his pointed and legitimate conclusion. There is found also, the same manner of quoting the ancient scriptures of the Hebrews, which is used in the Epistle to the Romans, and over the whole is diffused the glowing and energetic fervour of St. Paul. Hence, the ancients who doubted whether the epistle was actually written by St. Paul, declared that it was worthy of him, and that whoever wrote it, had caught the thoughts, the spirit, and frequently the expressions of the apostle. When referring to topics introduced in this epistle, it is shewn that there are none contradicting the doctrines contained in the other writings of St. Paul, that many are in strict accordance with his acknowledged opinions, and if some are peculiar and not introduced into his other epistles, it is because the subject is peculiar. It is evidently addressed, as the inscription would lead us to conjecture, to persons strongly attached to the worship of the temple, and the ceremonials of the Jewish law. In speaking of the comparative insignificance of the Mosaic ritual; in comparing the types and symbols of that religion, with their fulfilment in the promised Messiah; the imperfection of the Levitical priesthood with a high priest, "holy, harmless and undefiled;" in contrasting the glories of the temple, with the far greater glories of that "more perfect tabernacle,"—"the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem;" and the choirs

of earthly worshippers with "the general assembly and church of the first born, which are written in heaven, and God the Judge of all, and the spirits of just men made perfect;" it is not surprising that the tone of the address should become elevated, fervid and sublime, that the sentiments should partake of its distinct and local application, and that the phraseology should differ sensibly from the style of those exhortations in which the more general and familiar topics of Faith, Hope and Charity, are freely discussed.

Yet, even when examined under this aspect, the discrepancies are shewn to be less striking than would be previously expected. On comparing this epistle as Mr. Stuart has most laboriously done with others of St. Paul, it is found, notwithstanding the purer Greek idiom ascribed to it by Origen, to contain as many Hebraisms as his other writings, and its peculiarities, notwithstanding the nature of the subject, to be not more numerous.

We have never seen an instance of verbal criticism, a comparison of idioms, phrases and peculiar expressions more patiently and carefully, nor in our opinion more successfully conducted than in the many pages which Mr. Stuart has devoted to this subject. In reviewing, as he does individually, the objections of Bertholdt, Schulz, Seyffarth, &c. and comparing the peculiarities in this epistle, he has demonstrated, that the words and expressions which have been considered as not Pauline, may nearly all be justified by a comparison with the other writings of the Apostle, and that the ἀπαξ λεγόμενα, the words or phrases which occur but once, of which so much has been said, are not more numerous than in other epistles, not so numerous for instance as in the 1st to the Corinthians.

"It often struck me, while engaged in the toilsome and protracted labour of examining the preceding objections made against the Pauline origin of our epistle, by Schulz and Seyffarth, that the only just method of weighing the whole force of the arguments, which they deduce from peculiarities of phraseology and the choice of words by our author, would be, to carry the same principles of reasoning along with us, to the examination of one of Paul's *acknowledged* epistles, and see whether as great a list of expressions and words, foreign to the other acknowledged epistles of Paul, might not be found, as in the Epistle to the Hebrews." p. 241.

Professor Stuart selected as a subject of comparison the first Epistle to the Corinthians "because, like that to the Hebrews, it presents several topics that are peculiar to itself," and the results of his examination are, that while the length of the Epistle to the Hebrews is to that of the first to the Corinthians as ten

to thirteen, the ἀπαξ λεγόμενα in the former, are, according to the reckoning of Seyffarth, one hundred and eighteen; in the latter, according to Mr. Stuart, two hundred and thirty—or, in a proportion of twelve to eighteen.

“Certain is it, then, that if the number of ἀπαξ λεγόμενα in our epistle proves that it was not from the hand of Paul, it must be more abundantly evident that Paul cannot have been the author of the first epistle to the Corinthians, which has a proportion of one half more ἀπαξ λεγόμενα than our epistle.”—Vol. i. p. 249.

This comparison relates to single words that have been but once used, but our author gives in addition (p. 242 to 247) from the 1st Corinthians a catalogue of upwards of two hundred phrases that are equally peculiar. Shewing, that if this epistle had been anonymous, it might, with more propriety, by the same canons of criticism have been rejected from among the writings of St. Paul.

The conclusion of this most elaborate investigation is, that while many persons have been and are struck on reading the Epistle to the Hebrews, with a style which differs in its colouring somewhat from that of the acknowledged writings of St. Paul, yet this difference is not greater than a difference in circumstances, subject and time might reasonably be expected to produce in the composition of the same individual. As this, however, is the most important discussion connected with this portion of the New Testament, it is, perhaps, but justice to our author to present his own strong and satisfactory deductions.

“I might proceed still further, and collect a large number of favourite expressions, often repeated, in this epistle, but which seldom or never occur in the other Pauline epistles. Many such I have noticed, in the course of my investigations; many more than Dr. Schulz has been able to collect from the Epistle to the Hebrews. And if the two Epistles to the Corinthians were to be the subject of investigation, instead of the first only, the list of ἀπαξ λεγόμενα and ἀπαξ λογιζόμενα, and of favourite idioms, and peculiar ideas, might be swelled to an enormous catalogue. I have observed, as I feel quite well satisfied, more ἀπαξ λεγόμενα in the second Epistle to the Corinthians in proportion to its length, than in the first; and quite as many peculiar phrases. In a word, after such an investigation as I have been through, I am bold to say, that there is not a single epistle of Paul's which may not be wrested from him, by arguments of the very same kind, as those by which the genuineness of our epistle is assailed, and in all respects of equal validity.

“Unfortunately for the cause of criticism, so just and obvious an investigation has not hitherto been entered upon. Most of those who have doubted the genuineness of the Epistle to the Hebrews, have seemed to consider it as quite proper to make out from it all the *specialities* possible, and then to reason from them, without any fear of mistake. I have

examined their arguments in detail, because I wished to shew how many hasty and incorrect assertions have been brought forward as arguments. I have now exhibited the application of the *principles*, on which their whole argument stands, to one of Paul's epistles, the genuineness of which no critic calls in question. The result is so plain, that it cannot be mistaken.

"But," it will be asked, 'can we never reason, in any case, from *dissimilarity of language* in different compositions, to *different persons as authors*?' No doubt we may, in some cases. But not unless the difference be greater, than in the case before us. It has been shown above how many striking traits of resemblance to the other letters of Paul, there are in our epistle. While these remain, the discrepancy can never be made out to be great enough to build a sound argument upon it. If the question were to be asked, Whether the author of the Epistle to the Romans could have written the first Epistle of John? the answer would be easy, nay almost absolutely certain, from *internal evidence*.—But after all the striking resemblances which can be shewn between our epistle and Paul's letters; after proving from actual examination, that the list of peculiarities, in one of his most conspicuous and acknowledged epistles, is much greater than in our epistle; after making all the reasonable abatements which must be made, from the peculiarity of the subjects which are discussed in our epistle, and of the condition of those to whom it was addressed; after reflection upon the acknowledged fact, that every writer's style is more or less altered by advancing age; by the circumstances of haste or leisure in which he writes; by the topics themselves which he discusses; by the degree of excitement which he feels at the time; above all, taking into consideration the fact, that every writer who travels to many different countries, resides in many different places, and is conversant with a great variety of men and of dialects, is much more liable to change his style somewhat, than he who always resides in the same place, and is conversant with the same men and books; after taking, I say, all these things into consideration, can any man have reasonable grounds to be satisfied, that the peculiarity of style and diction in our epistle is such, that its Pauline origin is to be rejected on account of them? I will not undertake to answer for others; but for myself, I can say with a clear and an abiding conviction, I do not feel that such an argument can stand before the impartial tribunal of criticism." Vol. i. pp. 251, 252.

Mr. Stuart then briefly discusses the claims of the other persons, to whom, at different times, this epistle has been ascribed—Barnabas, Luke, Clement of Rome, and Apollos—and produces abundant reason to show that to neither of them can the epistle be imputed with nearly as much probability as to Paul himself. Indeed, it seems impossible, judging from their writings which remain, that it could have been written by either Barnabas or Clement; to Apollos it was never ascribed by any of the ancient churches, and with regard to Luke, in whose favour there are stronger presumptions than in that of any other person except St.

Paul, it may be sufficient to say, that his birth and education, and even his continual wanderings with St. Paul, renders it improbable that he could have acquired that knowledge of the Jewish religion, its rites, ceremonies and observances; of the Jewish feelings and modes of thinking, and even of the rabbinical learning which is displayed in this treatise. It would seem as if a native Jew, and one brought up in the schools of Jerusalem, could alone have understood so thoroughly the opinions of his countrymen.

The last question discussed in the first volume, relates to the language in which the epistle was originally written. On this point there has been a difference of opinion both in ancient and modern times. Clement of Alexandria, and Eusebius, both say that Paul wrote to the Hebrews in the Hebrew language, and that Luke or Clement (of Rome) translated it into Greek. Jerome also remarks, "*Scripserat ut Hebræus, Hebræis, Hebraice.*" By the Hebrew language, there can be little doubt that the Jerusalem or Aramean dialect of the age of the Apostles, and not the ancient Hebrew, was intended. Into this discussion it is not important to enter. Mr. Stuart remarks, that if the epistle was designed for general circulation, to write in Greek was altogether the most feasible mode of accomplishing this, and then adds:—

"When Paul wrote to the *Romans*, he did not write in *Latin*; yet there was no difficulty in making his epistle understood, for the knowledge of Greek was very common at Rome. If Paul understood the Latin language, (which is no where affirmed, and he had not resided, when he wrote our epistle, in any of the countries where it was commonly used), still he understood Greek so much better, that he would of course prefer writing in it.

"For a similar reason, if no other could be given, one may regard it as more probable, that he would write the Epistle to the Hebrews in the Greek language. At the time of writing it, he had been abroad twenty-five years at least, in Greek countries, and had been in Palestine, during all that period, only a few days. The Jews abroad, whom he every where saw, spoke *Greek*, not Hebrew. In Greek he preached and conversed. Is it any wonder, then, that after twenty-five years incessant labour of preaching, conversing, and writing in this language, he should have preferred writing in it? Indeed can it be probable, that, under circumstances like these, he still possessed an equal facility of writing in his native dialect of Palestine?" Vol. i. p. 281.

"I would add merely, that the vivid colouring and animation of the whole epistle, the impassioned and energetic expression of it, and its native, unconstrained appearance, all contribute to prove, that it was originally written in the same language in which it now appears." Vol. i. p. 285.

Besides it deserves to be noticed that in the quotations in this epistle from the Old Testament, the septuagint version is constantly used, and is followed even in some passages in which it departs from the original. This would scarcely have occurred to one writing in the Hebrew language.

We have followed our author through this volume, with great, we had almost said with unmingled satisfaction. If our convictions have not always been as strong as those expressed by Mr. Stuart, we have certainly not been able any where to suggest an hypothesis more probable, than the one he defends. If his discussions should be considered in some instances prolix, it may be replied, that intending this commentary as a work of reference, he may have considered it a duty to notice every doubt which has been thrown on this epistle, and the charge of tediousness, dullness, of fastidious criticism and insufficient research, must be alleged against those who have rendered this laborious examination necessary. This volume is honourable to the literature, the talent, and the patient industry of our country, and we hesitate not to join with other journalists in expressing our opinion that this work must rank among the permanent commentaries on the writings of St. Paul, and that no one hereafter will examine critically, faithfully and thoroughly, the Epistle to the Hebrews, without consulting the volumes of Professor Stuart.

In our notices on the second volume, we shall be brief. The translation varies frequently in its expressions from the common version, and does not always improve it. Into a close examination of the translation however, we shall not enter, tempting as the subject may be. It is here, and in the commentary succeeding it, that we should be most likely to differ from Mr. Stuart. Our differences, perhaps, would in few instances, be of much importance. On two or three particular phrases or passages, we shall offer some remarks.

The quotation in Hebrew 1 : 9, which Mr. Stuart has translated "Therefore, O God, thy God hath anointed thee," instead of the common reading, "Therefore, God, even thy God," will startle we believe some unlearned readers—and while he admits that the phrase is equally susceptible of the old translation, we are surprised that he should have followed the opinion of Theophylact, and introduced a change that, to say the least, seems unnecessary. In chapter 2: 1, we should prefer for *καταβήσαντες*, lest we should "suffer them to pass away," which is after all only a change of words with the present translation, rather than the phrase of Mr. Stuart, "lest we should slight them." This ap-

pears to be no improvement, and we are the less disposed to adopt it from the extreme difficulty of ascertaining the exact meaning of the original—a difficulty sufficiently exhibited by our author in his commentary on this verse. In chapter 10: 26, we think the authorised version “for if we sin *wilfully*,” is more expressive, even if not more literal than “voluntarily,” which Mr. Stuart has substituted. In the commentary it is remarked that the original means *deliberately, with forethought, with settled intention*, either of which, if he did not like the present expression, we should have preferred to the one he has adopted.

We had intended to examine many of the variations which he has suggested as improvements on the received version, but we wish not to exhaust the patience of our readers, and many of them are only modifications of the present expressions, and would require a small dissertation to shew the grounds of our difference. It is beneficial on the whole to the cause of truth and to sound learning, to have the meaning of every important passage in the Scriptures examined and ascertained by men of competent learning. Every translation of any portion of the Scriptures made with candid and upright intentions, and with a critical knowledge of the language in which they are written, tends to render our knowledge of them more accurate, and to remove the errors which ignorance and presumption sometimes throw over the doctrines they contain.

The Dissertations (Excursus) attached to the second volume, upon questions of great importance which arise out of expressions in this epistle, will, we think, be read with pleasure by every reader—every learned one we must add. If in these discussions he touches subjects that separate the different denominations of Christians, he does it in such a manner that those who differ from him, will read them without offence. Into controversies between churches we wish not in this work to enter, we shall consider them all as of one family, even if they will not so consider themselves. This will not, however, prevent us from occasionally presenting the views which different sects may give of their own opinions. There are many such in these disquisitions, which, if time permitted, we would gladly offer to our readers. In opposition to a notion very common among the orthodox commentators, Mr. Stuart observes in Excursus XX.—

“Nor does that scheme of interpretation, which admits a *double sense* of Scripture, relieve our difficulties. This scheme explains so much of the Psalm, as will most conveniently apply to David, as having a *literal* application to him; and so much of it as will conveniently apply to the Messiah, it refers to him. Truly a great saving of labour in investigation, and of perplexity and difficulty, might apparently be made, if

we could adopt such an expedient! But the consequences of admitting such a principle should be well weighed. What book on earth has a *double* sense, unless it is a book of designed *enigmas*? And even this has but *one real* meaning. The heathen oracles indeed could say, *Aio te, Pyrrhe, Romanos posse vincere*; but can such an *equivocal* be admissible into the oracles of the living God? And if a *literal* sense, and an *occult* sense can, at one and the same time, and by the same words, be conveyed; who that is uninspired shall tell us what the *occult* sense is? By what laws of interpretation is it to be judged. By none that belong to human language; for other books than the Bible, have not a double sense attached to them." Vol. ii. pp. 382-383.

The first dissertation upon the Text, Heb. 1: 2, "Δι οὗ καὶ τοῖς αἰῶσι τοῖς πρώτοις" "*By whom also the worlds were made,*" is the most elaborate, and exhibits some of the author's peculiar opinions. In the following extract, in which Mr. Stuart tries to obviate the objections made against the term "person," and which may be equally made against the word "Trinity," and in the discussion connected with this subject, we doubt whether his views will be entirely satisfactory to any party, or his reasoning considered as conclusive:—

"The views which have now been presented, may serve to explain the reason why many find it so difficult, or (as they think it) impossible, to admit the true divinity of the Logos. 'How can he,' say they, 'be the second *person* in the Godhead, and yet be *one* with the first? How can he be *with* God, and yet be *God himself*?'

"And truly, it must be confessed, that this cannot be, provided the words in question are to be construed altogether *more humano*, i. e. in their *logical, common, usual* acceptation. But is it analogous, is it proper, to construe them thus? Does it develope a spirit of candid and fair inquiry, to insist that these terms shall be construed *altogether according to their common acceptation*, when there is not, as we have seen above, a single term significant of a divine attribute, which we ever construe in such a manner?

"If this be correct, (and I may venture to say it cannot be reasonably disputed) then I see no very urgent reason why the use of the word *person*, in order to designate a distinction in the Godhead, should be rejected. It is true, it is not a word which is applied by the Scriptures to the Godhead, (for *πρόσωπον* in Heb. 1: 3 does not mean *person*); it is also true, that many well meaning individuals have been misled by it in regard to their conceptions respecting the Deity, and that those who reject the doctrine of the Trinity, have made great use of this word in order to render the sentiments of Trinitarians obnoxious: so that one might almost wish the word had never been introduced into ecclesiastical usage. But when the matter is examined to the bottom, it will be found that objections of a similar nature might be urged against the application of any *anthropopathic* expressions to God. The simple and the untaught may be easily misled by them; and often are so. How many, for example, believe that God is really angry, repents, &c. *more*

humane, because such expressions are found in the Scriptures? Shall all such expressions be laid aside, because they are misunderstood or perverted? And if so, where shall we stop? for we have seen, that all which is used in order to describe God, must be taken, of course and by necessity, in a *qualified* sense. The *abuse* of a thing is no valid argument against the *use* of it." Vol. ii. p. 322.

But in the following observations we doubt not there will be a very general acquiescence :—

"As for the illustrations attempted by divines, ancient and modern, of the physical nature of the distinctions in the Godhead, drawn from finite, material, created objects, the bare mention of them is enough to shew, that they must be imminently exposed to error. Who can draw any perfect analogies between *created* and *uncreated* beings, in regard to their *physical* nature and properties? And all the terms, and names, and dogmas, which have resulted merely from *such* comparisons, may be rejected in a mass, *salvè fide et salvè ecclesiâ*; and they ought to be rejected, if we would not expose the awful mystery of the doctrine in question to doubts, if not to rejection, by men who are not influenced in their opinions by tradition, nor by the authority of the schools. When the simple *Biblical* view of this subject is embraced, and the simple exposition of the sacred writers maintained, without adding to it any explanations or definitions merely of our own invention, then may more unity of opinion on this subject, be expected among professed Christians; and then will truth be less exposed to assault, from those who reject it."——

"The effort to explain *every thing*, to define *every thing*, has led to the unhappy consequence of introducing scholastic phraseology and definitions, in respect to every thing about the doctrine of the Trinity. This not only bewilders many, but makes others believe that they have a knowledge of *things*, because they can use abundance of technical *words*; while the opposition of another class, who can detect the inconsistency and emptiness of these terms, is excited against the whole doctrine. The day, however, is coming, if not already arrived, when mere *names* will be regarded by the church as of little worth, provided they do not convey *intelligible ideas*. For the good of the church, also, it may be hoped, that the time is very near, when men will learn to stop, in making their inquiries, *WITHIN the boundaries of human knowledge*, and *neither to assert nor deny that, about which they know nothing and can know nothing*. Well was it said by a very sensible writer, 'He who will not undertake to explain what is incomprehensible, but will seek to know where the boundaries of this begin, and simply acknowledge them when and where he finds them;—he does most to promote the genuine knowledge of truth by man.'" Vol. ii. pp. 330-332.

While with the style of these volumes we have generally been pleased, as correct and sometimes polished, we have been surprised to find such words as "correlate," "derivate," which are frequently used—"Heaven wide," "Latinizing English,"

“hold to an opinion”—and to find a sentence like the following, which is at least careless :—

“More reasons offer themselves in *favour* of the *supposition* that our epistle was originally sent to the church at Cesarea, than in *favour* of any other *place*. I cannot, therefore, but regard it as a probable *event*.” Vol. i. p. 73.

Neither is the following sentence more correct :—

“*The Church* at Cesarea, in the time of Origen and Eusebius, (both of whom lived there) *do not* appear to have retained a tradition that our epistle was directed *to them*.” Vol. i. p. 72.

These, however, are trifling blemishes, which may be easily removed.

We must again express our gratification in being called upon to notice such works issuing from the American press. We hope the labours of Professor Stuart will continue to adorn the institution where he is placed, and to benefit the church at large. And we trust that his good example will be followed by many in all sects and of all denominations.

ART. IV.—*Manuel du Fabricant de Sucre et du Raffineur*. Par M. M. BLACHETTE et ZOE'GA. Paris. 1826.

THE cultivation of the Sugar Cane is becoming a subject of so much interest, has awakened so many hopes, and excited such sanguine expectations throughout the Southern States, that as members of that portion of the union, and feeling deeply all circumstances connected with its prosperity, we consider it in some measure incumbent on us to devote a few pages to this important topic.

Since the early part of this century, the public attention in Georgia and Carolina has been occasionally directed to this object. Mr. Spalding, of Sapelo, in Georgia, introduced the culture of the Sugar Cane on his plantation as early as 1805, and succeeded in our climate, even in his first experiments.

But his success was not so decided as to give a general impulse to the agricultural capital of the country, and one or two failures discouraged some who were disposed to engage seriously in a flattering, although expensive culture.

From the year 1815 until 1819, a new excitement was given to popular opinion, and numerous experiments were made both in Georgia and Carolina. Several circumstances, however, operated against the culture at that time, and checked this incipient enterprize. It is scarcely necessary to mention any other depressing cause, than the fact that, during this period the old staples of our country, with whose culture and management we had become familiar, were at higher prices than at almost any preceding period, and were so profitable to the cultivator, as to render it almost a work of supererogation, or an act of folly for him to seek for his labour a more productive employment. But in addition, it must be stated, that none of those who at that time engaged most extensively in this culture, were conspicuously successful. This again depressed the hopes of the sanguine, and the belief that the two South-Eastern States would become a sugar raising country, again died away. A few, however, still persevered. Experience, perhaps, was slowly teaching them some useful lessons; perhaps, favourable seasons rendered their experiments more successful. The powerful causes which operated against this culture in 1816 and 1817, now operate in its favour. The decline in the value of cotton has caused the planters throughout the country to look around anxiously for new articles of production, new employments for their labourers, and, within the last two years, the cultivation of the Sugar Cane has been recommended to the landed proprietors in the South-Eastern States with a zeal and with a weight of authority which is producing great effect. Numbers, beyond all former example, if not planting the cane as a crop for market, are at least raising a few acres of it for domestic use, and as the means of supplying themselves with seed plants, if at any time circumstances shall render it prudent to extend the cultivation.

It would be idle to disguise the difficulties which still surround this new staple in our country, and retard its progress. It is not merely to one successful experiment, or to one favourable season that we must look. We ought, if we are wise, to take the average of years, and inquiring into the failures which have taken place, ascertain, if possible, whether the causes of these failures can be obviated by skill, by improvements in culture, in machinery, in manipulation, or whether we must bend before them as before an unalterable law of nature.

The cultivation of the Sugar Cane differs in one respect from that of the other staples we have been accustomed to raise. Its preliminary expense is greater, and must be incurred even before it can be ascertained that the investment will be profitable. This, perhaps, more than any other cause, has prevented this plant from having already become an article of common occurrence in our fields. If any one commences the planting of cotton as a new crop, he is not obliged to advance even the small cost of gins and gin-houses immediately, he can sell his cotton in the seed, have it cleaned on toll, or can keep it without injury until it shall be convenient to prepare it himself for market. If he cultivates rice, he can send it to be beat on toll, without involving himself in the heavy expense of mills, or can sell it as rough rice. But no such resource awaits the cultivators of sugar. No public toll, no mills are established in the country to grind and manufacture the cane. None will be established, for the season for manufacturing is short; every one would press his crop to the mills at the same moment, no one would wait, knowing that his cane will perish if not immediately prepared for market. Every planter must have his machinery ready by the time his cane is ripe, or his crop for that season will be lost. Now, as this machinery is expensive—a good mill, with its necessary appurtenances and buildings, costing not less than eight thousand dollars—the prudent and cautious will not embark in such an experiment, until by the experience of the adventurous, they conceive themselves assured of ultimate success. Hence has arisen so much vacillation on this subject. It is true that mills can be erected for a sum less than the one we have stated, but they will be imperfect, too weak to grind mature cane rapidly and effectually; they will, consequently, lose much time, cause much waste, extract less sugar than might be procured from the cane, and frequently by delay, deteriorate the quality of that which is obtained. Experience, we suspect, will prove that the cheap mills are not economical. Every one who will reflect must perceive, that in an operation like the manufacture of sugar, it is important not only that the operations should be expeditious in order that a fluid so much disposed to ferment as the juice of the sugar cane, should be conveyed to the boilers without delay, but that the machinery should be sufficiently powerful to express the juice thoroughly; otherwise a portion, and that, perhaps, the portion most abounding in saccharine matter, may be left in the cane, and that which is expressed for the boilers, be not only diminished in quantity, but materially injured in quality.

The certainty and necessity of incurring a heavy expense has been one great obstacle to the general and extensive culture of this plant. The difficulty and uncertainty of obtaining an adequate return has been another. It cannot be concealed that from some peculiarity of soil or climate, there has been great difficulty in procuring sugar of a good quality from the cane along the Atlantic border of the Southern States. If a few have succeeded, many have failed. We need not name persons or places—they are generally known. Sugar makers from the Mississippi have been brought to the Alatomaha, and have disappointed their employers; planters from the West Indies have not been more successful. While syrup, molasses, rum, have been produced in great quantities, sugar has been but sparingly obtained, and frequently very inferior in its quality. Hence has arisen a common opinion in the country, that the juice of the cane is too weak to yield sugar advantageously in our climate, or what is perhaps equivalent, that it does not mature.

When a portion of saccharine matter is diffused through any fluid, it would seem to be a very simple operation to separate it by evaporation, or by some equivalent process. This would be the case if the saccharine particles were only diffused in water or in some fluid which formed with them only a mixture, not a chemical compound. But it will happen that in almost all of the combinations which appear to us as simple or common, there are many affinities that are not easily detected nor readily resolved. There are certainly some peculiarities in the juice of the sugar cane in our climate, which render a treatment differing from that employed in Louisiana or the West Indies expedient. Whether these arise from the soil, the shortness of our season, or from other causes, we cannot yet determine. This is one of the cases in which science must be called in to our aid; one of those incidents in which the power of science over the material world, ought to be made manifest. The experience of Mr. Spalding appears to have proven, that cane raised on the light rich lands of the islands, such as is adapted to the sea-island cotton, produces the richest juice, and that from which, under our present system, the sugar can be most easily extracted. But in this soil the crop is liable to suffer from drought, and is frequently very scanty. On the very rich tide lands on the other hand, where the cane grows with prodigious luxuriance and yields much juice, great difficulty has been found in separating the sugar from the feculent matter intermingled with it, and in clarifying it sufficiently for market. In treating this juice by the common process, long boiling is necessary to evaporate the superfluous fluids, and more lime than is com-

monly employed has been thought or found necessary to neutralize the acids (acetous, malic, or oxalic), that may be intermingled with the saccharine particles, and to precipitate or coagulate the extraneous matter. Both of these processes injure the quality of the sugar. By long boiling it is frequently burnt; the addition of lime in the least excess, darkens the colour. Hence, the result is frequently a residuum that will not granulate well, or will neither be dry enough nor bright enough to bear any value in market. We appeal to the experience of those who have engaged in this culture for the accuracy of these remarks.

When encountering obstacles of this nature, it will be wise not to confine our views or our processes to the common and familiar practices of our neighbours, but to examine all the resources which other nations engaged in similar pursuits have employed, and call to our aid their experience and their knowledge. We wish not by any observations we have made, to discourage the cultivation of this plant in Georgia and Carolina; on the contrary, we believe confidently that means may and will be devised to surmount the impediments that have hitherto opposed, with us, the successful manufacture of sugar, and to render it one of the staple productions of our country; but we must not be deceived, or suppose that we have no lessons to learn on this subject, and that we are about to engage in a project which has no anxieties.

We shall not at this time occupy much of our attention with the management of the plant itself, To the skill and industry of our planters this may be securely left. On this point we will at present merely remark, that the Sugar Cane although it does not ripen its seed in our climate, is certainly an exhausting crop, and when in the treatises we have read on the culture of this plant in the East and West Indies, we have noticed how much attention is paid to the manuring of land, naturally more fertile than our uplands, and favoured by a tropical atmosphere, we have seen, we must acknowledge, with regret, as leading to disappointment, the extravagant calculations that are made by writers in some of our public prints, of the probable production even of our poorest lands. We look, we must confess, to our lowlands as the only soil in our country calculated for the permanent production of this plant, although by the application of manure it may make a profitable article in any good soil, and alternate advantageously with other crops.

The work which we have prefixed to this article is one of those Manuals which are now published in Paris on every important

branch of science or of art. Although drawn up in a cheap and popular form, they generally embrace the latest improvements in each department, and are frequently edited by men distinguished in the literary world. The one before us contains not only a brief account of the cultivation of the Sugar Cane, and the processes by which sugar is extracted from its juice, but accurate details also of the treatment necessary to procure sugar from the juice of the maple and the beet. It is the latter portion of its contents that has rendered this work interesting to us. To the culture and manufacture of the beet, much attention is still paid on the continent of Europe, and from the manipulations introduced for separating sugar from the crude and comparatively weak juice of this vegetable, some hints may be derived, useful to us in the important experiment in which we are about to embark.

We shall briefly review the processes which our authors recommend in the manufacture of sugar, in the first instance from the juice of the cane—in the next place, from that of the beet, and will notice the peculiarities and improvements that appear to be worthy of attention. The objects of the work are thus stated :—

“The methods to be pursued in the culture of the plants which furnish sugar, the processes employed to extract it from them, and to refine it, have been the objects of the researches of a great number of authors. The labours of Messrs. De Caseaux and Dutrone upon the Sugar Cane, those of Messrs. Achard, Chaptal and Mathieu de Dombasle, upon the beet, hold incontestably the highest rank, and these writers serve as guides to the cultivators and refiners.——

“After the works of these learned men, we may still cite many memoirs on the fabrication and the refining of sugar, which are not destitute of merit. Unfortunately these memoirs are scattered through works voluminous or little known, which planters or refiners have little leisure to consult. They, therefore, sometimes remain ignorant of the ameliorations introduced into their art, because they are not found in works of general reference.——

“These authors have, on the other hand, only written each on a special subject, and no one has traced the steps to be pursued in the culture of all the plants which produce sugar, the different processes to be adopted for its extraction, according to the plants from which it is to be derived, the operations for refining it, or the changes which these processes have undergone in latter years.——

“We have, therefore, undertaken to reunite all of these labours, to compare them together, and to present them under a form at once convenient and cheap.” p. v.

The first portion of this Manual is devoted to the Sugar Cane. We shall not follow our authors into their preliminary discus-

sions on the nature of sugar, or their chemical details, excepting so far as these may influence the operations of the manufacturer.*

The Sugar Cane is one of the many luxuries for which the world is indebted to India. It is supposed now to grow spontaneously along some of the rivers of that country and of Persia, but where it has so long existed in a cultivated state, it is not easy to determine whether it is strictly indigenous. From old drawings of the Chinese, Humboldt infers that the manufacture of sugar has been known in that country from a high antiquity, perhaps from time immemorial. From the Persians it was communicated to the Greeks and Romans, but to them it was only known as a medicine, not as a condiment, and perhaps was only seen in its impure or unrefined state, although the expression of Paul *Æginetus* "*sal Indicus, colore quidem concretioneque, vulgari sali similis, gustu autem et sapore melleus*" would seem to indicate that it had been seen in Europe in its purified form. By the Saracens, the plant itself was transported to Cyprus, Sicily and Spain; from thence, it was carried to Madeira and the Cape de Verd Islands, and in these delightful climes, the Fortunate Islands of antiquity, it flourished so well, that Europe was supplied from them during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, with the greater part of the sugar which, in those simple and frugal days, it consumed. In the first voyages of Columbus it was brought to the western hemisphere, and disseminated so speedily throughout the islands and coasts within the tropics, as to have rendered it now doubtful whether it was not also a native of this continent. It is scarcely necessary to add, that it has long since become the most important article of culture in tropical America; and, that its production in these fruitful soils has been so immense, that Europe is now supplied almost exclusively from this continent, and sugar which was once administered to the sick in grains or drams as a delicious and salutary balsam, is now become a daily, almost a necessary article of domestic consumption throughout the civilized world.

* In this view, the following facts may merit notice—"Solutions of sugar exposed during a long time to a temperature of sixty or eighty degrees of the Centigrade thermometer, (140 to 176 Fahr.) become coloured, and the sugar that they contain loses the property of cristallization.—

"Alkalies, such as lime, potash, barytes, &c. mingled in solutions of sugar combine with it, without alteration. These compounds, of a taste bitter and astringent, cannot be cristallised—acids, by disengaging these bases, restore to the sugar of these solutions its primitive qualities. Experiments have shewn, that if a combination, such as we have described, with lime, is left undisturbed for some months, it deposits, first, carbonate of lime in acute rhomboids, and afterwards the sugar is decomposed and transformed into a mucilaginous substance." p. 5.

Three varieties of the cane are at present cultivated in America. The Creole, or that which was brought originally from Madeira. The Otaheite, brought about the close of the last century from the islands of the Pacific ocean, and the Ribbon, probably a variety of the "*Saccharum Violaceum*," which is said to have been introduced from Batavia about the year 1782. The two latter varieties are those which are cultivated with us. The Otaheite cane is more luxuriant in its growth, larger in size, produces most juice, and is more easily ground. The ribbon cane, for which the United States are indebted to the late John M'Queen of Savannah, a man much regretted by many friends, a persevering though not a successful cultivator of this plant, is more hardy, matures earlier, yields a richer juice, though in smaller quantity, and is said, from its woody texture, to resist gales of wind more successfully than the other varieties. The comparative merit of these two kinds, in our climate, is yet to be determined by fair experiment. Both may be valuable, for, as remarked by our authors, "one kind of cane will succeed badly in a particular soil, or even in a country which will agree perfectly well with another variety."

It is, we believe, generally known, that in the West-Indies the cane is planted in holes or trenches from six to ten inches deep, for the purpose of applying manure more efficaciously as is supposed to the plant, and of enabling it to extend deeper roots. This practice of the West-Indians, which is the most laborious part of their culture of the Sugar Cane, the experience of our planters in Louisiana has proved to be unnecessary. On another point, that of irrigation, we have yet to determine whether our climate will render inexpedient the practice of the East and West-Indies.

"It is an immense advantage to the proprietor of a sugar plantation to have at his command a quantity of water, sufficient to water the young canes during seasons of drought. The organization of the Sugar Cane manifests evidently that it consumes much water during its vegetation, and in the elaboration of its juices, and that it must consequently demand, in order to prosper, that it should be supplied with water from time to time. Accordingly this plant prefers humid soils, and experience teaches, that it vegetates with strength and activity in proportion as it receives water, either from rain or by irrigation." p. 31.

In India, it is considered important that the cane-plants in the early stages of their growth should be watered at least once a week, and much labour is bestowed on their lands to enable the proprietors to direct into the trenches in which the cane is planted, the scanty streams of water which the country supplies during a dry season. With us, the prejudice, (for it can be no

more) is, that water used freely, even in its early state, will impoverish the juice of the plant so as to render it very difficult to extract from it afterwards its saccharine portion. The correct theory, it appears to us would be, if we may be permitted to theorise on a subject of which we have no practical knowledge, to apply water where it can be commanded, as in our tide lands for instance, liberally to the plants in their young state, so as to enable them to attain their full growth by the middle or end of August, and then to keep them very dry that they may mature their juices against the season of harvest.

It appears from the remarks in this work that the cane in the West-Indies differs from ours somewhat in habit, and that without attaining a greater size, in general scarcely an equal stature, it forms many more joints. The authors from whom they compile, speak of canes which grow in soils most favourable to their prompt and full developement, as reaching the height of eight or nine feet, and forming from forty to fifty joints. That in unfavourable soils, twenty to twenty-eight joints are found in a length not exceeding two feet, and that the common production of their cane is from twenty-five to thirty-two mature joints. In our climate, the number of joints is far short of this average.

In the West-Indies, the cane is permitted to grow from ten to sixteen months—in the United States, it can only grow for eight. In Louisiana, this is found amply sufficient. On the maturity of the cane, the following remarks are perhaps important :—

“ From these observations on different soils, Mons. De Caseaux concludes, that if in some, the cane may be permitted to remain until the fifteenth or even the sixteenth month, it acquires nothing after the thirteenth or even after the twelfth. He assures us that repeated experiments have demonstrated that an equal number of joints from canes of ten and fifteen months old have produced the same quantities of sugar.

“ With regard to the maturity of the cane, Mons. De Caseaux regards the withering and fall of the leaf as the *only proof*, and, at the same time, as a sufficient proof of the maturity of the joint to which it was attached—so that the two last joints which have shed their leaves of two canes, cut the same day, are exactly at the same maturity, although one of these plants may be fifteen months old, and the other but ten.

“ Another remark of Mons. De Caseaux is, that the *dryness of the season* which, (in the West-Indies) continues to increase from the month of January to April, and *not the age of the cane*, is the reason that in January, one thousand and six hundred parts of juice yield commonly two hundred parts of sugar and molasses; in February, two hundred and thirty to two hundred and sixty; in March, two hundred and sixty to three hundred, and in April, sometimes three hundred and twenty. After this period, the sugar [juice ?] ferments very quickly, and burns easily if the refiner is not skilful. Mons. De Caseaux considers the

cane as having attained its greatest comparative maturity when its juice is composed of four parts of water and one part of sugar and molasses, these two substances in equal proportions." p. 39.

The first machines employed to express the juice from the Sugar Cane were similar to the cider or bark mill. The cane was crushed by a heavy wheel rolling over it. Even now in India, mortars are used, in which the cane, cut into short pieces, is bruised and pressed by a heavy pestle rolling around. It is needless to remark how tedious and inefficient such efforts must have been. Gonzales de Velosa first constructed the mill with cylindrical rollers, which, with some modification, is now used.

"The cylinders of the sugar mills were formerly of hard wood, afterwards they were covered with iron; at present, however, in large plantations, they are formed entirely of iron. They possess thus more solidity, and the pressure exercised on the cane can be much greater.

"The denomination of large and small cylinders that is sometimes given to the rollers arises from this, that formerly the middle roller was actually larger than the other two. At present, they are all made of the same diameter;—until lately, the surface of the cylinders was perfectly smooth, they now begin to groove them slightly, by which means the cane is more easily seized and forced along. The distance between the first and second cylinder is scarcely more than a line or a line and a half; the second and the third cylinders between which the cane passes for the second time, approach as near as possible, without absolutely touching. The cane, after having undergone this second pressure, is broken and entirely deprived of juice. In this state, it is called trash, [bagasse] is tied up in bundles, placed under sheds to dry, and used as fuel in the operations of the sugar house." p. 46.

On the economical use of different impelling powers, the following observations may merit attention:—

"To give motion to the sugar mills, there are employed, according to circumstances, streams of water, wind or animals. But since the improvements introduced by Watt have rendered the use of steam engines common, planters have begun to employ them as the impelling power in their mills. This has been principally done in the English colonies. Indeed, in situations in which there is not at command a current of water of sufficient power, steam engines are, in all respects, preferable to cattle or the wind. When cattle are employed, a certain number must be devoted exclusively to the mill. Those which labour in the common operations of the plantation are all wanted at the moment of harvest to bring home the cane—separate teams must thus be supported through the year.

"The cane ought to be expressed as soon as possible after it is harvested, for if it remains even some hours, fermentation may commence. In this view, wind-mills present great inconveniences, because, from the unsteadiness of the wind there is no security that a given quantity of work can be done in a determinate time." p. 44.

The improvement which our authors consider as the most important of the recent changes in the mill, is the arrangement of the cylinders in a horizontal position, and so placed that their centres form a triangle. This was considered a century ago as a desideratum. But in the trials then made, the engineers persisted in placing the cylinders one above the other ; the operations on this plan were not effectual, and the attendance troublesome. But now when the motion is impressed on the upper cylinder which rests on the two lower, the canes pass from one to the other without the assistance of a labourer, the feeding can be made regular and easy, and the trash is all discharged on the side opposite to that on which the feeder stands.

The object of the mill is, to express the juice from the cane thoroughly and rapidly. When this is accomplished, a new series of manipulations must commence to separate effectually the saccharine particles from the extraneous substances which are mingled with it.

“ The juice of the cane obtained by the processes already described, is an opaque fluid, of a dull olive grey colour, its taste is sweet, it has the balsamic odour of the cane, is slightly viscid, and its specific gravity varies from 1,033 to 1,106, according to the quality of the cane from which it is extracted, and the nature of the soil in which it grew.

“ In this state it is composed of two parts, the one liquid, the other solid. This last is suspended in the first, and may be separated by repose. This solid portion is composed of fragments of the parenchyma and bark of the plant, mingled mechanically, and of a green substance, very abundant, extremely fine, and scarcely differing in density from water. This substance is known under the name of green fecula ; it occurs in many other vegetables, particularly in the leaves of the cabbage.—

“ The liquid part, which, when separated from the fecula, takes the name of “ purified juice” [vesou] is composed in variable proportions, of water, of crystallizable sugar, of sugar not crystallizable, of gum, of albumen, of some fermenting principle, and of some saline substances held in solution. Mons. Proust also detected in it a small portion of the malic acid. Left to itself, the juice immediately after expression, begins to ferment, hence the necessity of subjecting it immediately to the processes necessary to purify it. The fermentation, which in this stage takes place, is the acetous. The juice, deprived of its fecula, would still ferment, but the vinous or alcoholic fermentation then occurs.” p. 53.

It would be tedious to follow our authors through all the details and successive labours of a “ sucrerie,” a sugar manufactory, nor without a sketch or a ground plan would it easily be made intelligible. They first describe the works such as they were formerly established on the great estates in the French colonies ; the improvements, which, in later days, have

reached the proper degree of heat when the first bubbles begin to burst through the thick bed of scum and froth which forms upon the surface. The thermometer of Reaumur will then indicate about 80° , 212° F. At this moment the fire is extinguished by closing a register, which excludes the air. The liquor is left to itself for one or two hours to give the fecula time to reunite and rise to the surface in the form of scum. When this action is accomplished, by means of a syphon or a cock near the bottom of the boiler, all the liquid is drawn off, while the scum has acquired so much tenacity that it will sink and settle without breaking. The syrup thus withdrawn, is carried by a trough to another boiler, where the evaporation is continued, and the scum which afterwards rises, is taken off. Lime water is added, either if the liquor is not clear, or if it should appear to be necessary to dilute the syrup, which by its viscosity, may prevent the separation of extraneous substances. The subsequent operations are not peculiar.

"The object which is proposed by this mode of clarifying is, to separate, better than can be done by skimming, the substances suspended in the fresh juice. These, by ebullition, would acquire a rotatory motion which would mingle them continually with the fluid and retard their separation. The time during which the sugar is exposed to the action of fire, is by this means much abridged, and this secures real advantages." p. 97.

In all the processes described in this work, a preliminary step is to mingle with the fresh juice in the first boiler a certain portion of lime. The quantity is no where specified, at least when treating of the juice of the cane, but the proportion is represented as depending on the quality of the juice, the nature of the soil from which it was derived, and other circumstances which experience only can determine. While a certain quantity of lime is considered absolutely necessary in these operations, the effect and influence of that lime is no where definitely stated. Even the most able chemists differ as to its effects. The following remarks occur on this subject:—

"The opinions on the part which alkalies perform in the operations by which sugar is obtained, are numerous, and present many discrepancies. Some chemists, among whom may be cited Bergman, and the generality of planters, have believed that their effect was to neutralize some acid, whose existence in the syrup opposed its crystallization.

"Mons. Thenard* thinks, and this was also the opinion of Duhamel,† that the effect of the lime is to render the scum more firm, and thus contribute to its separation by uniting with it the green fecula and forming with the froth a compound which will collect more readily than the fecula alone will do. We ought to add, that this also was the view of M. Dutrone.‡ In a memoir on the action of alkalies on sugar, M.

* Thenard, *Traite de Chimie Elementaire*, tom. iv. p. 10, 4th edit.

† *Encyclopedie Methodique au mot Sucre*, tom. vii. p. 246.

‡ *Precis sur la Canne*, pp. 87-184.

Daniel* supposes that the lime acts by rendering more soluble the colouring matter united to sugar, and that in this manner it facilitates the purification and cristallization of sugar. This opinion approaches nearly to the belief generally admitted before Bergman, of the combination of alkalies with some fat substance that was thus separated from the sugar.

"If we could believe Dr. Higgins,† the green fecula is held in solution in part by the water, and in part by carbonic acid. This acid is disengaged when the liquor is heated to the temperature of about 50° and this herbaceous matter separates then in green flakes, which collect in form of froth. Lime facilitates this separation as well by uniting with the carbonic acid, as by forming an insoluble combination with the fecula.

"Of these opinions, that of Bergman and that of Thenard may be equally well founded, if we suppose with the first the presence of an acid in the juice expressed from the cane.

"In effect, at the time of harvest, all the canes and even all the parts of the same cane have not reached the same point of maturity. The saccharine matter has not attained a uniform degree of elaboration, and almost all vegetable substances before they have arrived at complete maturity, contain a quantity more or less considerable of malic acid. M. Proust has, in fact, recognised the existence of this acid in the juice of the cane.

"Besides, as the expressed juice begins almost immediately to ferment, nothing prevents the supposition, that in the interval of time which passes between the cutting of the cane and the moment when the juice arrives in the boilers, there may be the developement of a small portion of the acetic acid.

"We ought to remark at the same time, that in some localities, [we may cite among others several plantations in Jamaica, in which the juice of the cane is very rich in sugar,] the separation of the acum and fecula is made without the addition of lime.

"One of the inconveniences attached to the employment of lime, especially when used in powder, as is commonly practised, is its precipitation to the bottom of the boilers, where it becomes attached, and injures them in a short time.

"An excess of lime in the syrup [vesou], is detected by the colour. It becomes at first yellow, and then passes, if the dose of lime is too strong, to a reddish brown. It diffuses besides a strong odour of ley, and its flavour becomes alkaline. This happens in the greater part of sugar works, where lime is generally added in proportions too great.

"Inconveniences, not less serious, result from its presence in the syrup, when exposed to cristallize, because from the property we have noticed in sugar of being decomposed by lime, one part would be gradually converted into mucilage. This is often remarked in the refineries of Europe, in which cases, from sugar very beautiful in appearance, only a very small portion of cristallizable sugar can be obtained." pp. 87-91.

* *Annales de Chimie et Physique*, tom. x. p. 219.

† *Phil. Magazine*, vol. xxiv. p. 308.

The processes which we have described, or to which we have alluded, are necessary to produce sugar in that state in which it is known in commerce, as brown or muscovado sugar. In the French and Spanish colonies, it was usual to carry these operations a step farther, and prepare the clayed or white sugar. When it is intended to make "clayed sugar," the heat in the fourth or baking vessel (*chaudière a cuire*) is raised for some time four or six degrees of Reaumur more than will be necessary if the object is only to make muscovado sugar. The syrup is then placed in moulds of earthenware, where it remains for fifteen or eighteen hours to cristallize. The moulds are afterwards carried into a laboratory calculated for the business, and placed over pans which receive the drainings of the sugar. In twenty-four hours the liquid part of the sugar being separated and other pans placed under the moulds, the claying commences.

"This operation is performed in the following manner. After having levelled the sugar in the moulds, clay diluted in water to the consistence of pap, is poured over it. There is in each draining house one or more basins of masonry, five or six feet square, and four or five deep, in which the clay for this purpose is tempered with a sufficient quantity of water.

"The water separates slowly from the clay, filters through the sugar, renders more fluid the syrup which it still retains, and carries it along with it into the pan beneath. When the first cake of clay becomes dry, it is replaced by a new portion, and the operation is repeated a third time. After this, the mass of sugar is left in the mould for twenty days, that the syrup may drain off entirely. The sugar is then taken out of the forms, exposed for some hours to the sun, and afterwards carried to the stove, where it remains fifteen to twenty days to harden and dry." p. 65.

We have adverted to this operation because during the last year an improvement is said to have been made in Georgia by Mr. M'Intosh, and patented, which promises to produce some beneficial effects. In his process,* diluted clay is mingled with the juice of the cane in an early stage of the manufacture, in the first or second boiler, and assists in that stage of the work to clarify the syrup and facilitate the cristallization of the sugar. Some who have tried this process, speak favourably of the result. We may hope that by degrees, all the difficulties we have encountered in the manufacture of sugar, will gradually be removed by the ingenuity and skill of our countrymen.

* See an interesting paper from Mr. Spalding on the Sugar Cane, in the *Southern Agriculturist* for February, 1829.

"The operation of claying is not practised in the English colonies. All their sugar is prepared and shipped in the state of muscovado. The English planters are of opinion that the portion of sugar which drains off with the water and molasses, is so considerable as not to be compensated by the difference of price. The loss of weight occasioned by claying, is about 40 per cent. It is true that by concentrating again the molasses, it would yield the greater part of this 40 per cent. but then the molasses would fail for the distillery, and be of a very inferior quality. Bryan Edwards is of opinion, that the practice of the English planters of shipping their sugar in the state of muscovado, and distilling the molasses, is more advantageous than the system of claying." p. 99.

The second part of this manual is appropriated to the manufacture of sugar from the maple. As this portion contains no information but what has been derived from the United States, and has long been familiar to our readers, we shall not enter into any details on that subject.

The third and most considerable, and in our opinion the most interesting portion of the work, is that devoted to the production of sugar from the beet. In describing the processes introduced into this manufacture, the authors write as if familiar with the operations they record, and they enumerate some improvements which have recently been adopted in the purification and crystallization of the juice of the beet, which, perhaps, may be beneficially applied to our own wants.

We shall pass over the many details which our authors give of the varieties, culture, gathering, preserving, macerating and pressing of the beet root. These are foreign to our purpose. It may be worthy of notice, however, that the juice of the beet, according to the analysis of M. Dubrunfaut, contains twenty-three distinct substances, from among which, the crystallizable sugar must be separated.*

Margraff, a distinguished Prussian chemist, was the first who ascertained the existence of sugar in the root of the beet. He

* M. Dubrunfaut detected in the beet the following ingredients:—1. Water. 2. Woody Parenchyma. 3. Crystallizable Sugar. 4. Sugar not crystallizable. 5. Vegetable albumen. 6. Gelatine. 7. A black azotic matter. 8. A fatty substance, solid at the temperature of the atmosphere. 9. A fixed oil. 10. An essential oil. 11. A resin, green and bitter. 12. A gummy substance. 13. One or two colouring principles, yellow and red. 14. A free acid, whose qualities were not determined. 15. Oxalate of Ammonia. 16. Oxalate of Potash. 17. Oxalate of Lime. 18. Hydro-chlorate of Ammonia. 19. Sulphate and phosphate of Potash. 20. Silica. 21. Alumina. 22. Traces of the oxydes of Iron and Manganese. 23. Traces of Sulphur. It is obvious from this mere recapitulation, that more substances might have been enumerated. 2, 4, 7, 13, and some others, are probably compounds. The Sugar Cane has not to our knowledge been yet carefully analysed. It would, we doubt not, exhibit as many distinct substances, and show how advantageously chemical knowledge may be applied to the separation of its several ingredients.

was led to suspect this fact by the taste of the beet, and by the cristalline appearance which it presented when examined under a microscope. His first experiments, which are detailed in a memoir read before the Academy of Sciences at Berlin, in 1747, although rude and unskilful, yet enabled him to announce the discovery. His process was simple—over a certain quantity of the root dried and powdered, he poured twice the quantity of highly rectified spirits, and exposed the mixture to a slow heat over a sand bath, until it began to boil, he then filtered it into a glass vessel which he closed, and at the end of some weeks, discerned cristals, which presented all the physical and chemical characters of sugar from the cane. The alcohol which remained, contained sugar in solution, and a resinous substance.

Other roots were in succession tried; several yielded sugar, but none in proportions equal to that of the beet. When the existence of sugar in these roots was once established, many plans were tried to extract it in a manner easy and economical. It is needless to trace his steps. He was aware of the possible importance of his discovery, and recommended it to farmers as opening a new branch of national industry. But the low price of sugar, and the imperfect state of chemical knowledge, which rendered his best attempts comparatively expensive, discouraged all serious efforts, and his researches were almost forgotten when, nearly a half century afterwards, M. Achard, also of Berlin, resumed the subject, and improved the ancient processes so much as to create a strong presumption that sugar on a large scale, might be extracted profitably from this vegetable.

The first experiments, however, were not successful. Inattention to many collateral circumstances which required consideration, ruined several establishments, and made the opinion common, as perhaps, is now the case with us in regard to the Sugar Cane, that the extraction of sugar from the beet root, though true in theory, could not advantageously be reduced to practice. Yet the moment was favourable, and the Emperor Napoleon, besides granting premiums for the most successful experiments and sending instructions into every department of his empire, established schools of chemistry in Paris, Wachenheim, Douai, Strasburg, Castelnaudary, for the express purpose of improving the fabrication of this sugar; and four imperial establishments were created, sufficient to manufacture from the crop of 1812, two millions of kilogrammes of raw or muscovado sugar.

These enterprises were just beginning to prosper when the political events of the year 1814 appeared to overwhelm them.

They were not only exposed to the free competition of a reviving and no longer interrupted commerce, but became a subject of ridicule to all who were desirous of throwing into discredit the institutions of Napoleon. Some, however, who had devoted much attention to this manufacture, particularly the distinguished chemist Chaptal, Messrs. Mathieu de Dombasle, and Crespel-Delisse of Arras, continued their labours, and have ultimately demonstrated, that the sugar extracted from the beet can, under favourable circumstances, compete with that produced by the cane.

The process recommended by M. Achard is nearly as follows. The juice, as expressed from the beets is received in large vats. Sulphuric acid is added in the proportion of two and a half grammes of acid to each litre of juice. The juice thus acidified is suffered to remain for twenty-four hours. At this time, the surface of the liquid ought to be clear and limpid, but the lower part will be still turbid by the deposition of albuminous substances, coagulated by the acid and by other impurities. The whole is then thrown into a boiler, over the bottom of which has been uniformly spread a thin layer of chalk. The boiler ought not to be filled more than to two thirds of its height to leave room for the froth which is formed during the effervescence caused by the decomposition of the chalk. The juice is stirred that the combination of the acid and alkali should be more complete. The sulphate of lime, formed by this combination, being nearly insoluble, is precipitated, and forms much of the sediment which falls to the bottom.

The proportion of chalk used, according to M. Achard, is much greater than is necessary to saturate the sulphuric acid mingled with the juice, but he considers it better to use this substance freely, than not to saturate the acid. The chalk used in this operation ought to be very pure, for sometimes it is combined with ingredients that might injure the clarification of the juice.

M. Achard at first proposed that a small quantity of quick-lime should be added after the effervescence to neutralize any portion of the carbonic acid gas which might remain in the liquid. It has been found, however, that this gas will always be driven off by the heat to which the juice must be exposed.

When this first process is terminated, fire is kindled under the boiler, and when the liquid reaches the temperature of 30° R. 99° F. skimmed milk is added in the proportion of ten to fourteen parts for every one thousand of juice. The mass is then stirred, and the boiler covered, when the thermometer rises to 79° R. 209° F., the fire is extinguished, and the fluid suffered to cool to

50° or 60° 62-75 F. The boiler is then uncovered, and a black crust which is found floating on the surface, carefully removed.

These preparatory measures of M. Achard have been modified by M. Crespel, of Arras. Besides some changes in the vats not important to us, the milk used by M. Achard has been replaced by bullock's blood, and the carbonate of lime by slacked lime. He has also ascertained that it is not necessary that the acid should remain some time in the juice before the application of alkalies. His process is the following : to 1800 litres of juice while cold, 2600 grammes of sulphuric acid diluted in three times their weight in water, are added ; after having been sufficiently agitated, four kilogrammes of quick lime, mixed with water until it becomes fluid, are poured in, and the mixture stirred again. Fire is then applied. When the heat is raised to 70° Reaumur, animal charcoal which has been once before employed in clarifying sugar, is added, afterwards bullock's blood diluted with water ; the whole is well mingled, and the fire is withdrawn to permit the liquid to settle, afterwards the clear juice is drawn off by a cock placed some inches above the bottom.

A second process is detailed, which resembles so much the usual practice of the West India planter, that it is called the "process of the colonies." This we shall not repeat. A third, which our authors represent as the one now generally adopted in the French manufactories, and recommended by M. Chaptal and Mathieu de Dombasle, we shall extract from the work before us.

"The alterations which lime, when employed in excess, produces in sugar, have caused persons to seek the means of protecting themselves from the injury occasioned by its presence in the juice after it is clarified. It has been advised to neutralize it by an acid, and sulphuric acid is preferred, because it is cheap, and because it forms with lime an almost insoluble salt.

"After having supplied the juice with lime as we have already mentioned, in the proportion of about five grammes to each litre, in the cauldron for defecation, the clear liquid is poured out into the boilers for evaporation. Into the liquid, which is then more or less alkaline, according to the quantity of lime which has been employed, sulphuric acid diluted with water is poured until the lime is very nearly neutralized, taking care, however, that the liquor preserves a little vestige of the alkali, an excess of the acid being more injurious than an excess of lime. The degree and point of saturation can easily be discovered by paper tinged blue with turnsole, which is changed to red by an excess of acid ; paper dyed yellow by the curcuma, which alkalis turn to red, or by the syrup of violets which they change to green, will detect the excess of lime.

"Some manufacturers, and their method is, perhaps, to be preferred, add the sulphuric acid in the cauldron for defecation after the admixture of lime; by this means, the deposits occasioned both by the action of lime and by the sulphuric acid are united, the operation is simplified, and in the evaporating vessels nothing remains but to clarify and concentrate the liquid." p. 183.

We have given these various practices that it may be seen how the same principle may be modified and applied under different circumstances. It would seem from the result, as if both acids and alkalis may be beneficially applied. Each may correct in turn some quality in the juice that would obstruct the perfect cristallization of the sugar. So anxious are the manufacturers at the same time to prevent any waste, that the scum taken from these cauldrons is filtered, then placed in sacs and pressed, to force out all the juice that may adhere to it.

By this purification, the syrup freed from a part of the foreign substances with which it was combined, has lost in its density as measured by the areometer, one or two degrees, it is then evaporated until it is reduced to one-fifth or one-sixth of its volume. As the water evaporates, light flakes of extraneous matter which were held in solution and injured the transparency of the liquid, separate from it and rise to the surface. To favour the formation of the scum, the heat is kept moderate, and sometimes a little blood or the whites of eggs are mingled with the liquid. When no more scum rises the fire is increased.

When the liquid marks 26° on the areometer when boiling, or 30° when cold, it is sufficiently concentrated. The contents of two evaporating boilers are poured into one, which are then clarified, that is to say, freed from any foreign matter which the syrup may still retain.

"The first thing to be done before the clarification commences, is to examine the liquid and ascertain if it contains an excess either of acid or of alkali. This, if it exists, must be corrected, until the syrup shall be found very slightly alkaliescent. This verification being made, to every hundred litres is added five kilogrammes of animal charcoal; the liquid is made to boil, and is well agitated, the scum that forms on the surface is broken up, the sediment stirred, and this is continued until the charcoal is thoroughly diffused and suspended. The syrup has then the appearance of a black and turbid mass. The ebullition is continued for some minutes. In the meantime, for each hundred litres of syrup, either one litre of blood, or two litres of milk, or five eggs are diluted with water, and this mixture is poured into the boiler, taking care to stir the whole violently, until the boiling which had been arrested by the addition of this cold liquid, commences anew. This is again suffered to continue for a short time. It is known that the quantity of blood or eggs which

has been added is sufficient, if the syrup, when held up against the light, is perfectly transparent, while the charcoal floats in it in grains or clots. If the syrup does not exhibit this appearance, more blood or eggs must be added. When perfectly clarified, it must be filtered through woollen cloth, and kept as warm as possible that the filtration may be more rapid.

"The deposit which remains on the filtre, and which is composed of animal charcoal, of the albuminous substances which have been employed, and which have been coagulated by the effect of heat, and of matters separated from the syrup, is impregnated so strongly with sugar, that it is found advantageous to separate it, by washing this residuum. The animal charcoal which has once served to clarify syrup, can be made useful again by employing it in the first boiler, (as we have already mentioned) to aid in freeing the juice from its fecula; from this boiler it is thrown away with the scum." p. 187, et seq.

Several modes of applying the animal charcoal to the syrup are mentioned, but none of the variations are important. M. Chaptal throws this substance gradually into his boilers, and finds it sufficient to clarify the liquid without blood or eggs. The syrup when clarified and cooled, marks 30° on the areometer. This density is not sufficient to cause the sugar to cristallize, nothing, or scarcely anything, however, at this stage of the process remains mingled with the saccharine particles but water, and this, in other vessels, is soon made to evaporate. In this operation, if any scum appears, it is carefully removed, sometimes if it should seem necessary, the white of an egg is added, the heat is raised to 80° – 91° of Reaumur, (about 250 Fahrenheit), and the evaporation continued until about 40 per cent. of the fluid which entered these last vessels has been dissipated. Care is necessary after the heat is increased to 85° to prevent, by moderating the fire, the syrup from burning. The syrup is now emptied into coolers and permitted to cristallize.

To promote the cristallization, or as it is called, the formation of the grain, when poor syrup has been obtained, a thin layer of brown sugar is sometimes placed on the bottom of the cooler before the concentrated syrup is poured in. It is well known that a solid body placed in a solution, serves as a nucleus, around which the molecules of a cristallizable substance will readily collect.

The draining presents nothing which it is necessary to notice. But the molasses which drains from the sugar is concentrated and clarified anew to extract from it all the cristallizable sugar which it has retained, and which amounts sometimes to one-sixth part of the whole quantity. The molasses which is obtained after a second cristallization, is only fit for the distillery.

The important functions which animal charcoal performs in all the recent processes for the purification of sugar, has rendered it interesting to ascertain the manner in which it acts. It is to Lowitz that we are indebted for a knowledge of the antiputrescent properties of charcoal, and its power in destroying or at least abstracting all colour from the substances with which it is mingled. At first, it was supposed that charcoal from wood was the most efficient, but M. Figuier, an apothecary of Montpellier, in employing animal charcoal in the refining of vinegar and some other articles, proved its superiority, and Mr. Derosnes, in 1812, applied it to the refining of sugar. The most happy results crowned his efforts, and since this time the use of this clarifier has been universally adopted in the refineries, and has even passed to the apothecaries and confectioners.

To induce men of science to direct their attention to the operation of this charcoal, the Society of Pharmacy in Paris, offered a premium in 1821 for the best dissertation on this subject. In the essay of M. Bussy, to whom the premium was adjudged, we are informed, that "animal charcoal contains only 10 per cent. of carbon, which alone exercises a discolouring power, the remainder consists of phosphate, carbonate and sulphate of lime, sulphuret and oxyde of iron, and a little silice; that the discolouring property is inherent in carbon, but can only be made manifest under particular circumstances, among which, porosity holds the first place; that the superiority of animal charcoal arises from its great porosity, which may be increased by the influence of the substances with which it is calcined, as potash; that potash in this connection does not merely augment the porosity of the carbon by the subtraction of the foreign matters which it may contain, but that it acts on the carbon itself, and attenuates its particles. For this reason, a discolouring charcoal may be obtained from vegetable substances if treated with potash."

While it is stated that the use of animal charcoal has entirely superseded that of vegetable charcoal, which was previously employed, the comparative effect of these two substances is nowhere mentioned. If the carbon of vegetables prepared in the usual manner, possesses at all the discolouring principle, the quantity required would be of little importance in a country like this where it can be so easily obtained.

The latter portion of this manual is devoted to the refining of sugar in its technical meaning, or the manufacturing of loaf sugar. Into these details we shall not enter. We have yet to surmount the first steps in this pursuit. In all of these operations, however, the effects of animal charcoal are constantly

conspicuous. In the debates in Congress, during its late session, on increasing the drawback on refined sugars, it was strenuously maintained that the New-Orleans sugar was not fit for the refineries, but that the manufacturers were obliged to import for their business, *dry* sugar from the West-Indies.—The following observations on this subject merit attention :

“ The operations of the refinery, (say our authors) have been greatly simplified by the application of animal charcoal to the purification of the sugar. Before this substance was used, it was not every kind of sugar which came from the colonies that could be employed in the fabrication of loaf sugar, and of those which were used, each kind was treated separately. It would even happen that there were several shades in the same hogshead. It was, therefore, necessary to open and separate as exactly as possible the different qualities of sugar, and put each apart. Now this operation has become altogether useless.” p. 230.

We have entered into many details in following this work, perhaps, we may have been tediously minute, but it appeared to us, that at the present moment, when the attention of so many persons are directed to the culture of the Sugar Cane, a statement of the different operations by which sugar has been separated from the substances with which it is naturally mingled, might be beneficial. If it has been found useful to acidulate the juice of the beet, as well as to treat it with alkalies, the same process may, perhaps, be advantageously applied to that of the cane. The contents of these fluids are, as we have seen, very various, and must be neutralized or abstracted by different agents. Charcoal may correct many of those principles which obstruct the perfect cristallization of sugar in our country. Indeed, while science continues to pursue and analyse all the modifications of matter, we can feel no surprise at the daily improvements of which we hear, and even in this very occupation, of which we have been treating, it will not be extraordinary if, by some skilful application of re-agents, the phrase “ sugar not cristallizable,” should be obliterated from our vocabulary, and all the saccharine portion of any and every vegetable be readily obtained, in its pure and cristalline form.

Of this work itself, as to composition and manner, we have not much to say. It is incorrectly written, and not always clear. Still we wish that books, containing this species of elementary knowledge, were common in our language, and were generally diffused through our country.

ART. V.—*Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship*. A Novel, from the German of Goethe. 3 vols. 12mo. Wells & Lilly. Boston, 1828.

THIS is a novel of striking interest and great power: confessedly the work of no ordinary genius. The author appears to have exhausted in its preparation, the resources of a mind prolific in invention, and replete with all that learning, a familiarity with the fine arts, and an acute and matured criticism could furnish to the perfection of a favourite enterprize. No one at all acquainted with the greater or lesser mysteries of elegant composition, can fail to pronounce it, πολλῆς μὲν τέρας τέλειταιόν ἐπιγίνημα. Accordingly, it is not surprising that critics of every name and degree in Germany, have united their suffrages, with those of the universal public, in pronouncing this work a classical production. In a question of literary reputation, such a decision is final and sovereign, and leaves the breathless reviewer, panting after disquisition, no other alternative than to enlarge or contract his rules to the dimensions of the object before him. When the canons of the lofty epic depart from Homer, it is quite as fair, certainly much safer to condemn the former to the bed of the torturer, rather than the latter, from whom they have derived their very being, their form and features.

With all this humility and condescension on our part, we are yet obliged to confess that we are not very sanguine in our expectations, that Wilhelm Meister will ever become popular with the mere English readers of either hemisphere. There are circumstances in the plot, which, however artfully combined and wrought into a whole, are essentially abhorrent from our manners and prejudices. It is true that nature is separate and above every thing that is merely conventional, and when fairly exhibited to view, will triumphantly assert her supremacy. Nevertheless, it is too much to hope, that the mass of such persons, as are interested in tales of fiction, will previously undertake the hardest of all tasks—that of unlearning all their early associations and predilections, for the purpose of enjoying any literary performance, however bruited. To most readers, all the great productions of Attica, for it is she who has chiefly monopolized the admiration of mankind, are as sealed books. It is impossible for any one, who has not made a study of the French character, to entertain any strong affection for the offspring of the French muses. Goethe, with his rich and varied,

and glorious Teutonic dialect, must not expect a more indulgent fate. He is aware of this, for although aspirants of every quality and degree, have attempted to transfuse the spirit of his genius, they have only diluted it, until it became vapid. With every disposition to be grateful and courteous to his admirers, the secret has been reluctantly wrung from him, that he cannot discover his own features in their imitations. He does not complain of this, but good humouredly ascribes it to some idiosyncrasy of mind, which must for ever prevent the English from thoroughly imbibing the peculiar thoughts of his countrymen. He might have extended his observation; for we hold it not too much to assert, that all master pieces in literature are untranslatable. It is not to be denied indeed, that productions of great merit, may occasionally result from these abortive attempts at translation; for the most part, however, in such imitations, the deformities may be traced to the original with much more precision, than the excellencies.

What will our readers say of an attempt to excite interest and convey instruction in the example of a hero, who neglects the business and the duties of life, to attach himself to a company of strolling players, and who, with such frail coadjutors, attempts to revolutionize and reform the drama? Whether it be from an overwhelming conviction, that the realities of life are sufficient, and more than sufficient, to weigh down the energies of the stoutest and the wisest of us all, or from an avidity of power, which clings to aristocratical distinctions, as proofs of superiority, the more valuable, because they confer a cheap eminence upon those who have no chance of elevation in any other way, we cannot exactly decide. Certain it is, however, that whilst the stage has furnished a favourite amusement to the inhabitants of all civilized nations, the profession of an actor, even in the most exalted perfection of his powers, has never been regarded in any other light than as a *pis aller*. From Roscius to Garrick, the craft has been tolerated, but never recognised as one of the legitimate departments of human exertion. Johnson always considered the latter as a "shadow," and laughed at his style of living, as too "splendid for a player." Of the former, Cicero says in one and the same breath, that he was the only actor fit to be seen on the stage, and yet so respectable a man as to be alone worthy of not appearing there.*

Even the levelling influence of our democratical institutions, has not availed so far as to confer on those, who minister to the

* "Est enim, cum artifex ejusmodi sit, ut solus dignus videatur esse, qui in scena spectetur, tum vir ejusmodi est, ut solus dignus videatur, qui eò non accedat." *Pro P. Quintio*, xxv.

"gaiety of nations," a rank commensurate with the supposed dignity and difficulty of their calling. To be thoughtless, seems to be inseparable from a profession, which is unavoidably migratory in its habits, and if it be attended with high character, men at best want the opportunity of testing its excellence. In a life without system, decency is perhaps the ultimate term of human virtue. Hence players, like travellers, although they elicit admiration, seldom succeed in commanding durable esteem.

Aware of all these drawbacks, Goethe has, notwithstanding, contrived to make a tale, in which the interest is well sustained, and which is, incidentally, the vehicle of many capital observations on art and on the conduct of life. Ordinary writers endeavour to command notice by the dignity of the events which they develope. This writer, on the contrary, in a miraculous conformity with nature, seeks to demonstrate how trifles, light as air, in their infinite combinations and aggregations, make up at last, the important and sum total of our destinies. Whilst all on the surface appears to be obedient to his direction and will, an under current is continually diverting the hero from his course, and conducting him to a goal, which no human sagacity could have anticipated.

Wilhelm Meister is represented as the son of a wealthy merchant, who, owing to the strong impression made upon his mind, at an early age, by the exhibition and management of a set of puppets, contracts an enthusiastic predilection for the stage. In his visits to the theatre, he forms a dangerous *liaison* with a youthful actress named Mariana, who, notwithstanding certain temptations to which she is exposed, and in spite of contrary appearances, yet entertains an ardent attachment for him, and is repaid, on his part, with enthusiastic admiration and devotion. Circumstances, however, are against the heroine and the moon-struck lover, whilst serenading his mistress, is petrified with horror at the spectre of a man gliding from her habitation at a very suspicious hour of the night. A fever is the consequence, and after a lingering illness, which is followed by a tender and pensive melancholy, the youth is persuaded by his father to visit busy life again, and re-assume his place at the desk and in the ware-house. His passion for the stage, and his admiration for beauty are, for a time, so far repressed, as to present no obstacle to the attainment of every mercantile accomplishment. He becomes an adept in the permutations and combinations of numbers, and a very cognoscente in samples. The whole firm, especially the good papa, are lost in admiration of the hopeful transformation, and no business is deemed too important to be entrusted to one so confirmed in his principles, and of such assi-

duous habits. Accordingly he is despatched upon a tour for the purpose of collecting monies and liquidating balances. Every thing proceeds in due course, except that his old theatrical associations are revived, through sympathy for an unfortunate retainer of the boards, who had eloped with the daughter of a respectable tradesman, and was overtaken and brought back under circumstances of great ignominy. Meister had, on a former occasion, exerted himself and arranged an accommodation among all the parties concerned, to their mutual satisfaction.— Before he had well allayed the struggles of his latent enthusiasm, provoked into fresh action by this adventure, he halts, on his return homeward at a small town, in which a company of rope dancers and the remnants of a routed company of comedians had quartered themselves. With every good purpose to the contrary, this circumstance, working upon his ruling passion, by vast but imperceptible strides, completely remodels his plans and pursuits. One of those unaccountable, electric affinities, a certain *je ne sais quoi*, precipitates him into an acquaintance with Philina, a bewitching votary of Thalia; then the poor comedian and his rib, beforementioned, make their appearance in search of employment and of bread; next, the cruelty of the coryphaeus of the dancing corps, leads him to purchase the freedom of an unfortunate female child, who had been attached to it; gradually, other retainers of the sock and buskin enter upon the scene. Wilhelm, as possessing the needful, joined to a great facility of temper, is, without a formal vote, yet by common consent, elevated to the rank of a theatrical arbiter. His first intention reached no further, than to enjoy the society of this crowd for a few days, and then to bid them adieu. The importunity of Meliza, the unfortunate wretch, whom he had before succoured, induces him to rescue the company's wardrobe from the grasp of the pawn broker. Next follows, an engagement to celebrate the revels at the chateau of a nobleman in the vicinity of the town. Meister, won over by the condescending notice of the count, and the still more attractive smile of the countess, consents to make one of the troop. From this visit, the ramifications of the story, assume an air of great complexity, and yet of great clearness, each thickening the plot, and adding interest to the narrative, without affording the slightest clue to the catastrophe. In all these, there is an exhibition of the most minute and exact observation of nature, and a familiarity with the resources of art, which are, in the highest degree, admirable. Much, indeed, strikes and even revolts us, at first, as too romantic; subsequent reflection, however, superinduces the conviction, that it is only the romance of real life; a bird's eye

view of the human microcosm, in which the clear obscure of mortal things is bodied forth in bold relief, too significant to be mistaken ; too intensely stirring, not to vibrate through the diapason of our sympathies.

The piece opens with the return of Mariana from the theatre, where she is met by her old nurse Barbara, who endeavours to secure the favours of this poor girl for a wealthy wight, called Norberg, and fortifies her arguments by a display of all the pretty things, which he had sent for her foster child's acceptance. A deeper and more uncontrollable passion, however, had seized upon Mariana's heart, and fortified its avenues against the access of all but one favoured object. This fortunate individual was Wilhelm, who, to great weakness and irresolution of character, joined a fund of tenderness, which, from the age of Helen downwards, has been found one of the surest weapons in the armoury of love. The person of woman, like that of any other slave, may, licitly or illicitly, without or with consent, be sold to the highest bidder, but there is but one price at which affection can be purchased, that of a fair and exact equivalent. The Greek proverb expresses this beautifully.

Χάρις ἐστὶ χάρις ἢ τιμὸν οὐδὲν ὀνεί.

Goethe knew this well, as appears from his *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, where he has so naturally and bewitchingly described his own experience and his own disappointments. Indeed, this is not the only instance in which we find him drawing living waters from the gushing fountains of his own sensibility. The following extract might have been marked more strongly, it would then, however, have degenerated into caricature : at present all is natural, and as it should be :—

“ ‘Visit!’ rejoined Barbara; ‘you surely do not look for Meister, the young, soft-hearted, callow merchant’s son?’ ‘Just for him,’ replied Mariana.

“ ‘Generosity appears to be growing your ruling passion,’ said the old woman with a grin; ‘you connect yourself with minors and moneyless people, as if they were the chosen of the earth. Doubtless it is charming to be worshipped as a benefactress.’

“ ‘Jeer as thou pleasest. I love him! I love him! With what rapture do I now, for the first time, speak the word! *This* is the passion which I have mimicked so often, when I knew not what it meant.—Yes! I will throw myself about his neck; I will clasp him as if I could hold him forever. I will show him all my love; will enjoy all his in its whole extent.’

“ ‘Moderate yourself,’ said the old dame coolly; ‘moderate yourself! A single word will interrupt your rapture: Norberg is coming! Coming in a fortnight! Here is the letter that arrived with the packet.’

"'And though the morrow were to rob me of my friend, I would conceal it from myself and him. A fortnight! An age! Within a fortnight, what may not happen, what may not alter!'"

"Here Wilhelm entered. We need not say how fast she flew to meet him; with what rapture he clasped the red uniform, (Mariana had been acting the part of an officer) and pressed the beautiful wearer of it to his bosom. It is not for us to describe the blessedness of two lovers. Old Barbara went grumbling away; we shall retire with her, and leave the happy two alone." Vol. i. p. 4.

The following sentiments find a response in almost every human bosom. The instructions of nature, though effectual, are mysterious: the union of two hearts in one blended and exalted emotion, is perhaps the most exquisite gratification which falls to our lot. Yet so chequered and so curiously wrought is the web of our being, that this feeling is as capricious as it is captivating, and we seem destined to love the more intensely, because this trance is unalterably limited in its duration, and fated never again to return. Our emotions, unless blunted by familiarity, would eventuate in the collapse of our system, and our virtue and usefulness are never secured until we engraft upon them those sober habits which fit us for the great end of living—action. We shall afterwards see, that it is in this, that the apprenticeship of Meister consists:—

"If the first love is, indeed, as I hear it every where maintained to be, the most delicious feeling, which the heart of man, before it or after, can experience, then our hero must be reckoned doubly happy, as permitted to enjoy the pleasure of this chosen period in all its fulness. Few men are so peculiarly favoured; by far the greater part are led by the feelings of their youth into nothing but a school of hardship, where, after a stinted and chequered season of enjoyment, they are at length constrained to renounce their dearest wishes, and to learn for ever to dispense with what once hovered before them as the highest happiness of existence."

Wilhelm's passion for that charming girl now soared aloft on the wings of imagination: after a short acquaintance, he had gained her affections; he found himself in possession of a being, whom, with all his heart he not only loved, but honoured: for she had first appeared before him in the flattering light of theatric pomp, and his passion for the stage combined itself with his earliest love for woman. His youth allowed him to enjoy rich pleasures, which the activity of his fancy exalted and maintained. The situation of his mistress too, gave a turn to her conduct, which greatly enlivened his emotions. The fear lest her lover might, before the time, detect the real state in which he stood, diffused over all her conduct an interesting tinge of

anxiety and bashfulness; her attachment to the youth was deep; her inquietude appeared but to augment her tenderness; she was the liveliest of creatures while beside him.

When the first tumult of joy had passed, and our friend began to look back upon his life and its concerns, every thing appeared new to him; his duties seemed holier; his inclinations keener; his knowledge clearer; his talents stronger; his purposes more decided. Accordingly, he soon fell upon a plan to avoid the reproaches of his father, to still the reproaches of his mother, and, at the same time, to enjoy Mariana's love without disturbance. Through the day he punctually transacted his business, commonly forbore attending the theatre, strove to be entertaining at table in the evening; and when all were asleep, he glided softly out into the garden, and hastened, wrapt up in his mantle, with all the feelings of Leander in his bosom, to meet his mistress without delay.

"What is this you bring?" inquired Mariana, as he entered one evening with a bundle, which Barbara, in hopes it might turn out to be some valuable present, fixed her eyes upon with great attention. 'You will never guess,' said Wilhelm.

"Great was the surprise of Mariana, great the scorn of Barbara, when the napkin being loosened, gave to view a perplexed multitude of span-long puppets. Mariana laughed aloud as Wilhelm set himself to disentangle the confusion of the wires, and show her each figure by itself. Barbara glided sulkily out of the room.

"A very little thing will entertain two lovers; and accordingly our friends, this evening, were as happy as they wished to be." Vol. i. p. 8.

Risum teneatis? is, we are sure, the first suggestion that will strike the mind of most readers, at the view of the last particular. We confess that it at first raised a very visible angle upon our critical eyebrows. A little recollection, however, convinced us that all was right; all just as it should be. Meister's early attachment to scenic exhibitions, doubtless enhanced the delusion with which he regarded Mariana. With a soul wholly absorbed in the idolatry of her charms, it was natural that he should offer to the idol the object, which had first awakened his mental enthusiasm; the sacrifice of his earliest and deepest associations. Othello, in a different style, but in obedience to the same immutable law, says,

"I often did beguile her of her tears,
When I did speak of some distressful stroke
That my youth suffer'd."

The one character excited interest by his Cannibals and Anthropophagi, the other by his puppets.

There is a long history of these nimble machines, which we have not time to extract. Great praise, however, is due to the faithfulness and minuteness with which the progress of an early inclination for a particular art is traced through all the successive stages of its growth.

The mingling of two mighty passions into one overpowering torrent of emotions in the heart of Meister is well conceived and expressed in the following passage. Mariana's image seems to flit before us with distressing excitement. What, indeed, can more justly challenge the homage of our sympathies, than the spectacle of a lovely female depressed by fortune below the level, to which her lofty spirit tells her, she ought to aspire; each virtuous purpose chased away by circumstances which she cannot command; falling upon insincerity, where her only struggle is to be unalterably devoted; forced into the society of two lovers, whilst her heart surrenders itself to the undivided sway of one, and above all, conscious that sincerity and pure attachment are exactly the excellencies, which, from the nature of her profession, she is least likely to obtain credit for.

"Thus Wilhelm passed his nights in the enjoyment of conscious love; his days in the expectations of new, happy hours. When desire and hope had first attracted him to Mariana, he already felt as if inspired with new life; felt as if he were beginning to be another man: he was now united to her; the contentment of his wishes had become a delicious habitude. His heart strove to ennoble the object of his passion; his spirit to exalt with it the young creature whom he loved. In the shortest absence, thoughts of her arose within him. If she had once been necessary to him, she was now grown indispensable, now that he was bound to her by all the ties of nature. His pure soul felt that she was the half, more than the half of himself. He was grateful and devoted without limit."

Mariana, too, succeeded in deceiving herself for a season; she shared with him the feeling of his liveliest blessedness. Alas! if the cold hand of self-reproach had not often come across her heart! She was not secure from it even in Wilhelm's bosom, even under the wings of his love. And when she was again left alone, again left to sink from the clouds, to which passion had exalted her, into the consciousness of her real condition, then she was indeed to be pitied. So long as she had lived among degrading perplexities, disguising from herself her real situation, or rather never thinking of it, frivolity had helped her through; the incidents she was exposed to had come upon her each by itself; satisfaction and vexation had cancelled one another; humiliation had been compensated by vanity; want by frequent,

though momentary superfluity; she could plead necessity and custom as a law or an excuse; and hitherto all painful emotions from hour to hour, and from day to day, had, by these means, been shaken off. But now, for some instants, the poor girl had felt herself transported to a better world; aloft, as it were, in the midst of light and joy, she had looked down upon the abject desert of her life, had felt what a miserable creature is the woman, who inspiring desire, does not also inspire reverence and love; she regretted and repented, but found herself outwardly or inwardly no better for regret. She had nothing which she could accomplish or resolve upon. Looking into herself and searching, all was waste and void within her soul; her heart had no place of strength or refuge. But the more sorrowful her state was, the more vehemently did her feelings cling to the man whom she loved; her passion for him even waxed stronger daily, as the danger of losing him came daily nearer.

"Wilhelm, on the other hand, soared serenely happy in higher regions; to him also a new world had been disclosed, but a world rich in the most glorious prospects. Scarcely had the first excess of joy subsided, when all that had been long gliding dimly through his soul, stood up in bright distinctness before it. She is thine! She has given herself away to thee! She, the loved, the wished for, the adored, has given herself away to thee in trust and faith; she shall not find thee ungrateful for the gift. Standing or walking, he talked to himself; his heart constantly overflowed; with a copiousness of splendid words, he uttered to himself the loftiest emotions. He imagined that he understood the visible beckoning of Fate reaching out its hand by Mariana to save him from the stagnant, weary, drudging life, out of which he had so often wished for deliverance. To leave his father's house and people, now appeared a light matter. He was young and had not tried the world; his eagerness to range over its expanse, seeking fortune and contentment, was stimulated by his love. His vocation to the theatre was now clear to him; the high goal which he had raised before him, seemed nearer while he was advancing to it with Mariana's hand in his; and in his comfortable prudence, he beheld in himself, the embryo of a great actor; the future founder of that national theatre, for which he heard so much and various sighing on every side. All, that till now, had slumbered in the most secret corner of his soul, at length awoke. He painted to himself a picture of his manifold ideas, in the colours of love, upon a canvass of cloud; the figures of it, indeed, ran sadly into one another; yet the whole had an air but the more brilliant on that account." pp. 32, 33.

It has often been supposed that enthusiasm is a weed, which is almost peculiarly confined to the stimulating and inexhaustible soil of religion. The Germans, more philosophically, pronounce it capable of starting up, whenever there is excessive fertility of any kind. Superiority in any art or science, with them depends

upon an inward revelation of the correct, the beautiful, the sublime, or a certain predestination to ultimate perfection. Without this inward light, this secret call, men may become retainers to an art, but can never expect to arrive at distinction. They may imitate what has been done before; they may be useful workmen or expert mechanics, but the form of beauty must be for ever veiled from their eyes. Like every other waking dream of lofty and ardent minds, this, too, contains a large infusion of truth. All experience shews, that the *beau idéal*, like the beauty of the sex, does not permit of divided adoration. Even Milton, poet, orator, philosopher, theologian and politician, and gifted and respectable as he was in each, was eminently and professionally a poet. It is only in this latter department, that his *divine* is acknowledged to be sovereign: in the rest, his opinions are demurred to as those of a man, who is only one among equals.

“Este procul vigiles curæ, procul este querelæ
Invidiæque acies transverso tortilis hirquo
Sæva nec anguiferos extende calumnia rictus;
In me triste nihil foedissima turba potestis,
Nec vestri sum juris ego; securaque tutus
Pectora, vipereo gradiar sublimis ab ictu.”

This is the language of a man who expressed the hope, that “by labour and intense study, which I take to be my portion in this life, joined with the strong propensity of nature, I might, perhaps, leave something so written to after times, as they should not willingly let it die!” We are not ashamed to say, that in contemplating this and similar examples, we are not sanguine enough to form very lofty anticipations of the future success of our native muses. Every thing in our physical situation, every thing in our political institutions, renders us a matter of fact and calculating people. Our legal equality causes us to regard even virtue and genius with a jealous eye, and in the absence of all indulgence for eccentricities, we want that thrilling sympathy with mental agony, which would lead us to reward merit with a liberal hand. A nation which visits every aberration from what is received, with the tortures of the scorpion, must not expect to be dazzled or illumined with the corruptions of the mind. The sun of every day life is sufficient, and they who find it otherwise, may, by a voluntary exile, seek a happier clime, provided they are not consumed in the transit, by the heat of their own internal fires. But our author shall speak for himself.

“Unhappy Melina! (says Wilhelm) not in thy condition, but in thyself lies the mean impediment over which thou canst not gain the mas-

tery. What mortal in the world, if, without an inward calling, he take up a trade, an art, or any mode of life, will not feel his situation miserable? But he who is born with capacities for any undertaking, finds in executing this, the fairest portion of his being. Nothing upon earth without its difficulties! It is the secret impulse within; it is the love and the delight we feel, to help us to conquer obstacles, to clear up new paths, and to overleap the bounds of that narrow circle in which others poorly toil. For *thee*, the stage is but a few boards; the parts assigned thee are but what a task is to a schoolboy. Thy spectators thou regardest, as on work-days they regard each other. For thee then, it may be well to wish thyself behind a desk, over ruled ledgers, collecting tolls, and picking out reversions. Thou feelest not the co-operating, co-inspiring whole, which the mind alone can invent, comprehend and complete; thou feelest not that in man there lives a purer fire, which, when it is not fed, when it is not fanned, gets covered by the ashes of indifference and daily wants; yet not till late, perhaps never, can be altogether quenched. Thou feelest in thy soul no strength to fan this spark into a flame, no riches in thy heart to feed it when aroused. Hunger drives thee on, inconveniences withstand thee; and it is hidden from thee, that, in every human condition, foes lie in wait for us, invincible except by cheerfulness and equanimity. Thou doest well to wish thyself within the limits of a common station; for what station that required soul and resolution couldst thou rightly fill! Give a soldier, a statesman, a divine thy sentiments, and as justly will he fret himself about the miseries of his condition. Nay, have there not been men, so totally forsaken by all feeling of existence, that they have held the life and nature of mortals as nothing, a painful, short and tarnished gleam of being? Did the forms of active men rise up living in thy soul; were thy breast warmed by a sympathetic fire; did the vocation which proceeds from within diffuse itself over all thy frame; were the tones of thy voice, the words of thy mouth, delightful to hear; didst thou feel thy own being sufficient for thyself—thou wouldst then, doubtless, seek place and opportunity to feel it in others.”*

In the excess of his raptures, Wilhelm forms a plan of life in which he hopes at once to possess his mistress, and to abandon himself to the delirium of his favourite pursuit. What the stage would be, were it recognized as a matter of national importance, it is impossible to pronounce with certainty. In the following passage, Goethe has ventured to suggest, that the pulpit and the theatre are natural allies. Our divines, we know, will revolt at this, yet it is quite certain that, both in ancient and modern times, the stage received its first motion from the impulse of religious feeling. The object of both is to persuade, by powerful addresses to the feelings. Hence the obvious intention of the ecclesiastics in their mysteries, was to aid the mind by

* We suspect, though we have not the original at hand, that the latter part of this passage should read—thou wouldst, doubtless, seek a place and an opportunity to observe it in others—viz. on the stage as an actor.

the eye as well as the ear. Where all pomp and every felicitous exhibition of art is proscribed, devotion must become unimpassioned. To attempt to render instruction by the ear, as powerful as that by the eye, is hopeless. Both the pulpit and the theatre have for their object to embolden mankind to the practice of virtue. For ourselves, we are at a loss to conceive any moral effect more stirring, than that produced by the enactment of a finished drama. As for the objection derived from the character of some preachers of virtue on the stage, we consider it quite accidental. To render a calling useless, it is only necessary to degrade its professors. Until physicians had annulled the prescription which doomed them to a servile station, their knowledge was only on a par with that of jugglers and conjurors. But Wilhelm Meister may speak for himself.

"No, my darling, I am not downcast about the issue. What is begun with so much cheerfulness much reach a happy end. I have never doubted that a man may force his way through the world, if he is really in earnest about it; and I feel strength enough within me to provide a liberal support for two, and many more. The world, we are often told, is unthankful; I have never yet discovered that it was unthankful, if one knew how, in the proper way, to do it service. My whole soul burns at the idea, that I shall at length step forth and speak to the hearts of men, something they have long been yearning to hear. How many thousand times has a feeling of disgust passed through me, alive as I am to the nobleness of the stage, when I have seen the poorest creatures imagining they could speak a word of power to the hearts of the people. The tone of a man's voice singing treble sounds is far pleasanter and purer to my ear: it is incredible how these blockheads, in their coarse inaptitude, deform things beautiful and venerable.—

"The theatre has often been at variance with the pulpit; they ought not, I think, to quarrel. How much is it to be wished that both, in the celebration of nature and of God, were intrusted to none but men of noble minds! These are no dreams, my darling! As I have felt in thy heart that thou couldst love, I seize the dazzling thought and say—no, I will not, but I will hope and say—that we two shall yet appear to men as a pair of chosen spirits, to unlock their hearts, to touch the recesses of their nature, and prepare for them celestial joys, as surely as the joys I have tasted with thee deserved to be named celestial, since they drew us from ourselves, and exalted us above ourselves." pp. 70–71.

We have already suggested, that Wilhelm Meister is not only an entertaining fable, the parts of which are combined with inimitable dexterity, concealed under the appearance of the greatest simplicity and most unstudied negligence, but that it is, at the same time, the vehicle for delivering many striking opinions concerning art and life. With all this diligence, although

the reader sometimes falters to ponder and review, it is exactly in the way that he would halt in human affairs, a little space, a breathing time, to collect and arrange his scattered thoughts, and draw them to some useful close. He is never oppressed with a painful sense of the supervisorship exercised over him; he never suspects himself to be in leading strings. It is certainly requisite, that in works of fiction, the useful and agreeable should be mixed; without this, they would soon cease to interest; for all, even the gayest, feel too overwhelmingly the conviction, that existence was not given to be trifled away. Yet this mixture of the elements must not be patent; just as in a banquet, the appetite and the palate are tickled to satiety, without any exhibition of the subterranean fires and more than cyclopean labours by which it was produced. Fielding abounds in disquisition, but he avows that he uses it merely as a foil. In the following passages, the reflections are not only important, but appear in the sequel, to be necessary to the completeness of the whole. Wilhelm meets with a stranger, who inquires the way, and on invitation, repairs with him to a neighbouring tavern. It turns out that this person is the very same who had inspected the cabinet brought together by our hero's grandfather, previously to its being disposed of. At first, this scene appears disjointed and misplaced: in the event, it is artfully made the means of softening down to the smoothness of probability, features of the catastrophe, which, without it, must have been pronounced harsh and unnatural.

“ ‘I am sorry (says the stranger) the place should have lost such an ornament to it as your grandfather's cabinet was. I saw it but a short time prior to the sale; and I may say, I was myself the cause of its being then disposed of. A rich nobleman, a great amateur, but one who, in such important transactions, does not trust to his own solitary judgment, had sent me hither and requested my advice. For six days I examined the collection; on the seventh, I advised my friend to pay down the required sum without delay. You were then a lively boy, oft running about me; you explained to me the subjects of the pictures; and in general, I recollect, could give me a very good account of the whole cabinet.’

“ ‘I remember such a person; but I should not have recognized him in you.’

“ ‘It is a good while ago, and we all change more or less. You had, if I mistake not, a favourite piece among them, to which you were ever calling my attention.’

“ ‘O! yes; it represented the history of that king's son dying of a secret love for his father's bride.’

“ ‘It was not, certainly, the best picture; badly grouped, of no superiority in colouring, and executed altogether with great mannerism.’

“ ‘This I did not understand, and do not yet ; it is the subject that charms me in a picture, not the art.’

“ ‘Your grandfather seemed to have thought otherwise. The greater part of his collection consisted of excellent pieces ; in which, represent what they might, one constantly admired the talent of the master. This picture of yours had accordingly been long in the outermost room—a proof that he valued it slightly.’

“ ‘It was in the room where we young ones used to play, and where the piece you mention, made on me a deep impression, which, not even your criticism, greatly as I honour it, could obliterate, if we stood before it at this moment. What a melancholy object is a youth that must shut up within himself the sweet impulse, the fairest inheritance which nature has given us, and conceal in his own bosom the fire which should warm and animate himself and others, so that his vitals are wasted away by unutterable pains ! I feel a pity for the ill-fated man that would consecrate himself to another, when the heart of that other has already found a worthy object of true and pure affection.’

“ ‘Such feelings are, however, very foreign to the principles by which a lover of art examines the works of great painters ; and most probably you too, had the cabinet continued in your family, would have by and by acquired a relish for the works themselves ; and have learned to see in the performances of art, something more than yourself and your individual inclinations.’ ” Vol. i. pp. 75-77.

The last observation is one which every aspirant to connoisseurship in the arts ought to keep constantly in view, and yet it is one, which is as constantly neglected by those who are new to such inquiries. Even Reynolds was disappointed at the first glance which he threw over the wonders of Rome. “It is necessary,” says the great hierophant of ancient art, “to search for the cause of this phenomenon in our passions, excited in most men by the first aspect of things : the heart is already wholly engrossed with its object, at the moment when the mind seeks to appreciate it. Then it is no longer beauty which charms us, it is pleasure which seduces us. Conformably with this remark, young people, in whom the effervescence of the passions is very perceptible, regard as divinities persons who are in reality only moderately handsome ; the traits of whose physiognomy however, breathe forth languor and desire. They would be but little moved at the sight of a beautiful woman who shewed decorum and reserve in her deportment and actions, even although she possessed otherwise the shape and majesty of Juno.” It is well known that Goethe is as remarkable for his matured taste in the arts, as for very varied acquirements in every branch of knowledge. His *virtu* is, however, never pedantic nor repulsive. *Ars adeò latet arte sua*—his art is so unobtrusive that an inattentive reader might easily mistake the master for an ordi-

nary saunterer in a picture gallery. His thoughts are so limpid and transparent, that like water, they appear to be destitute of strength or taste.

The following is in a different vein, and exhibits the practical wisdom, which a powerful and well-regulated mind never fails to derive from the consideration of the most thorny question. Meister, alluding to the loss of the cabinet, makes use of the term "destiny." Upon which his unknown companion replies:—

"It gives me pain to hear this word "destiny" in the mouth of a young person, just at the age when men are commonly accustomed to ascribe their own violent inclinations to the will of higher natures."

"Do you then believe in no destiny? no power that rules over us, and directs all for our ultimate advantage?"

"The question is not now of my belief; nor is this the place to explain how I may have attempted to form for myself some not impossible conception of things, which are incomprehensible to all of us; the question here is, what mode of viewing them will profit us the most? The fabric of our life is formed of necessity and chance; the reason of man takes its station between them, and may rule them both: it treats the necessary as the ground work of its being; the accidental, it can direct and guide, and employ for its own purposes; and only while this principle of reason stands firm and impregnable, does man deserve to be named the god of this lower world. But woe to him who, from his youth, has used himself to search, in necessity, for something of arbitrary will; to ascribe to chance a sort of reason, which it is matter of religion to obey! Is conduct like this, aught else than to renounce one's understanding, and give unrestricted scope to one's inclinations? We think it a sort of piety to move along without consideration; to let accidents that please us determine our conduct; and, finally, to bestow on the result of such a vacillating life the name of providential guidance."

"Was it never your case that some little circumstance induced you to strike into a certain path, where some accidental occurrence ere long met you, and a series of unexpected incidents at length brought you to some point, which you yourself had scarcely once contemplated? Should not lessons of this kind teach us obedience to destiny, confidence in some such guide?"

"With opinions like these, no woman would maintain her virtue, no man could keep the money in his purse; for occasions enough are occurring to get rid of both. He alone is worthy of respect, who knows what is of use to himself and others, and who labours to control his self-will. Each man has his own fortune in his hands, as the artist has a piece of rude matter, which he is to fashion to a certain shape. But the art of living rightly, is like all arts; the capacity alone is born with us; it must be learned and practised with incessant care." Vol. i. pp. 76, 77.

This is certainly widely different from the mode in which this important subject has been handled by some modern specu-

latists, otherwise possessed of the best intentions. With them, opinions are not of the slightest consequence, and every man is irrevocably doomed to have his opinions made for him by circumstances over which he has not the slightest control. Yet these philanthropists appear to take an absorbing interest in the good of the whole. Does the question never occur to them—have we any mode of meliorating the actions of men, except by first informing their opinions? If this be the only conceivable course, and every thing be ordained by destiny, how shall we commence? We hear continually of the world being wrong in religion, in politics, in education, in the conduct of life. Is it not implied in such assertions, that the innovator considers his opinion better than that of the whole world beside? Why should Mr. Owen, of Lanark, compass sea and land to make converts, if he does not deem his opinion of the very highest importance? To a certain extent we are certainly necessitated; inasmuch as we can neither fly like birds, nor swim like fishes, nor be entirely passive like stones; neither can we choose the place of our birth, nor reverse what is past. Yet we have a modified power over the future, and this is essentially derived from our opinions. So immense indeed is this power of opinion, that it frequently transforms our natural inclinations into their opposites. The history of persecution is a running, though not a very amiable commentary upon the overwhelming importance which men attach to the habitual thoughts of each other. To say that this false estimate of opinions is the very evil complained of, is an answer totally insufficient. Two men quarrel about what they both pronounce insignificant, and the stronger is plied with this argument in favour of forbearance. If the question of truth be abandoned and changed into one concerning benevolence, why does not the weaker party, in pure charity, yield the point? We hold it to be almost too obvious for further discussion, that single acts are no certain evidences of general conduct, and that when we endeavour to ascertain what we may reasonably expect of others in future, our only directory must be found in their opinions.

Quis tulerit Gracchos de seditione querentes? What Roman would have admitted Clodius to a *tête-à-tête* with his wife, or have selected Verres for his banker? The clouds before rain and the sunshine afterwards, do not more plainly indicate the state of the atmosphere, than a man's opinions prognosticate his actions. An honest search after truth is what the world has a right to demand of every man who claims its respect. The proper conclusion upon this subject, therefore, as it appears to us, is not that the opinions are of no consequence, but that in

attacking them, intellectual weapons are the only efficient missiles. When opinions run over into acts, the warfare must be changed. However the state of a man's intellect might be suspected, who should hold all distinctions of property to be factitious and unjust, he might yet be tolerated, until he reduced his notions to practice. Society has, undoubtedly, erred in declaring many practices important, which might better have been abolished, but, in such cases, time, the great innovator, is the only sure physician. When men shall have previously determined what opinions and acts are essential to the peace and improvement of society, it is not too much to expect that persecution will die a natural death.

But to return to Wilhelm Meister. As before stated, a suspicion enters his mind of the unfaithfulness of his mistress, and he determines to renounce her. A severe illness supervenes upon the disappointment of his hopes. Convalescence slowly succeeds, and it is, during this period, that his thoughts revert to the early progeny of his muse. He commits the whole race to the flames. Werner, his friend and early companion, but a sober man of business, endeavours to intercede in their behalf, but without effect. Our author here embraces an opportunity of introducing a noble commentary on the well-known lines of Horace, at once so true and mortifying; so necessary, yet so hard to be acted up to. Where every thing is so appropriate, it is not easy to condense or abridge. The observations contained in the following extract have the double merit, which rarely attaches to the labours of critics or judges of any description: they are not only just, but we are forced to see their justness.

“‘Why,’ said Werner, ‘must these labours, because they are not excellent, be annihilated?’

“‘Because either a poem is excellent, or it should not be allowed to exist; because each man, who has no gift for producing first-rate works, should entirely abstain from the pursuit of art, and seriously guard himself against every deception on the subject. For it must be owned, that in all men there is a certain vague desire to imitate whatever is presented to them; and such desires do not prove at all, that we possess the force within us necessary for succeeding in these enterprizes. Look at boys, how, whenever any rope-dancers have been visiting the town, they go scrambling up and down, and balancing on all the planks and beams within their reach, till some other charm calls them off to other sports, for which perhaps they are as little suited. Hast thou never marked it in the circle of our friends? No sooner does a dilettante introduce himself to notice, than a number set themselves to learn playing on his instrument. How many wander back and forward on this bootless way! Happy they, who soon detect the chasm that lies between their wishes and their power!’

“ ‘How immensely, my dear friend, do you err in believing that a work, the first presentation of which is to fill the whole soul, can be produced in broken hours, scraped together from other extraneous employment. No, the poet must live wholly for himself, wholly in the objects that delight him. Heaven has furnished him internally with precious gifts; he carries in his bosom a treasure that is ever of itself increasing; he must also live with this treasure, undisturbed from without, in that still blessedness, which the rich seek in vain to purchase with their accumulated stores. Look at men, how they struggle after happiness and satisfaction! Their wishes, their toil, their gold, are ever hunting restlessly; and after what? After that which the poet has received from nature; the right enjoyment of the world; the feeling of himself in others; the harmonious conjunction of many things that will seldom exist together.’

“ ‘What is it that keeps men in continual discontent and agitation? It is, that they cannot make realities correspond with their conceptions, that enjoyment steals away from among their hands, that the wished for comes too late, and nothing reached and acquired produces on the heart the effect, which their longing for it at a distance led them to anticipate. Now, fate has exalted the poet above all this, as if he were a god. He views the conflicting tumult of the passions; sees families and kingdoms raging in aimless commotion; sees those inexplicable misgivings of the understanding, which frequently a single monosyllable would suffice to explain, occasioning convulsions unutterably baleful. He has a fellow-feeling of the mournful and the joyful in the fate of all human beings.—When the man of the world is devoting his days to wasting melancholy for some deep disappointment; or in the ebullience of joy, is going out to meet his happy destiny, the lightly moved and all-conceiving spirit of the poet steps forth, like the sun from night to day, and with soft transitions tunes his harp to joy or woe. From his heart, its native soil, springs up the lovely flower of wisdom; and if others, while waking, dream, and are pained with fantastic delusions from their every sense, he passes the dream of life, like one awake, and the strongest of incidents is to him a part both of the past and of the future. And thus the poet is at once a teacher, a prophet, a friend of God and men. How! thou wouldst have him to descend from his height to some paltry occupation? He who is fashioned like the bird to hover round the world, to nestle on the lofty summits, to feed on buds and fruits, exchanging one hough for another, *he* ought to work at the plough like an ox; like a dog to train himself to the harness and draught; or, perhaps, tied up in a chain, to guard a farm-yard by his barking?” Vol. i. p. 80, 81.

Werner, who is a very *home-spun* fellow, listens, as might be anticipated, to this rhapsody, with great surprize. “All true,” he rejoined, “if men were but made like birds, and though they neither spun nor weaved, could yet spend peaceful days in perpetual enjoyment. If at the approach of winter, they could as easily betake themselves to distant regions, could retire before scarcity, and fortify themselves against frost.”

“ ‘Poets have lived so,’ explained Wilhelm, ‘in times, when true nobleness was better revered, and so should they ever live. Sufficiently provided for within, they had need of little from without; the gift of communicating lofty emotions and glorious images to men, in melodies and words that charmed the ear, and fixed themselves inseparably on whatever objects they referred to, of old enraptured the world, and served the gifted as a rich inheritance. At the courts of Kings, at the tables of the great, beneath the windows of the fair, the sound of them was heard, while the ear and the soul were shut for all beside; and men felt as we do when delight comes over us, and we stop with rapture if among the dingles we are crossing, the voice of the nightingale starts out touching and strong. They found a home in every habitation of the world, and the lowliness of their condition, but exalted them the more. The hero listened to their songs; and the conquerer of the earth did reverence to a poet, for he felt that without poets his own wild and vast existence would pass away like a whirlwind, and be forgotten forever. The lover wish that he could feel his longings and joys so variedly and so harmoniously as the poet’s inspired lips had skill to show them forth; and even the rich man could not, of himself, discern such costliness in his idol grandeurs, as when they were presented to him, shining in the splendour of the poet’s spirit, sensible to all worth and exalting all. Nay, if thou wilt have it, who but the poet was it that first formed gods for us; that exalted us to them, and brought them down to us.’ ”—
Vol. i. pp. 91, 92.

Wilhelm is no sooner recovered than he proceeds upon his travels. Returning homeward, he is induced to stop at a small town, where various exhibitions and the presence of actors and actresses recall his ardour for the stage. Several new characters appear, more particularly an interesting child, called Mignon, whom Wilhelm, by purchase, redeems from the cruel hands of the master of an itinerant company of rope dancers. We do not remember even to have met with a delineation of human character, in which the mysterious and the natural: the sombre and the tender are mingled in such striking proportions. Melancholy, deep consoling melancholy, fed with indistinct recollections of joys that may never return; gratitude and love, urging on jealousy, tempered by a respect that deprives it of utterance, and turns all its fires inward upon itself for its own destruction. It is a being, whose features are separately known to us, but here, by an eclectic anatomy of all the deep and strong lines of mortal passion, they are blended in one overpowering whole. The introduction of this most interesting object is managed with surprising art:—

—— “ he, Wilhelm, was going up stairs to his chamber, when a young creature sprang against him and attracted his attention. A short silk waistcoat with slashed Spanish sleeves, tight trowsers with puffs,

looked very pretty on the child. Its long black hair was curled and wound in locks and plaits about the head. He looked at the figure with astonishment, and could not determine whether to take it for a boy or a girl. However, he decided for the latter; and as the child ran by, he took her up in his arms, bade her good day, and asked her to whom she belonged, though he easily perceived that she must be a member of the vaulting and dancing company lately arrived. She viewed him with a dark, sharp side-look as she pushed herself out of his arms, and ran into the kitchen without making any answer." Vol. i. p. 101.

"Wilhelm could not satisfy himself with looking at her. His eyes and his heart were irresistibly attracted by the mysterious condition of this being. He reckoned her about twelve or thirteen years of age; her body was well formed, only her limbs gave promise of a stronger growth, or else announced a stunted one. Her countenance was not regular but striking; her brow full of mystery; her nose extremely beautiful; her mouth, although it seemed too closely shut for one of her age, and though she often threw it aside, had an air of frankness, and was very lovely. Her brownish complexion could scarcely be discerned through the paint. This form stamped itself deeply in Wilhelm's soul; he kept looking at her earnestly, and forgot the present scene in the multitude of his reflections. Philina [of whom we shall speak more particularly presently] waked him from his half dream, by holding out the remainder of her sweetmeats to the child, and giving her a sign to go away. She made her little bow as formerly, and darted like lightning through the door." Vol. i. pp. 129-131.

This mysterious being, from her first introduction, possesses herself of all the avenues to the heart. Yet such is the wonderful ability with which the character is managed, that it is grouped among others with all the skill of ancient art. It has its place, and that a prominent one, but it does not throw the rest into insignificance and shade. Although on this world, she seems not to be of it. Every thing in her thoughts, her feelings, her language, her gestures and motions, seems as if she floated over the earth, rather than touched it. She had long been preparing herself for some exhibition of her gratitude for Wilhelm, and the following is the mode which she took of expressing it. Whether we regard its conception or its execution, it must, we think, be pronounced as nearly faultless as the power of genius could make it.

"Mignon had been waiting for him; she lighted him up stairs. On sitting down the light, she begged that he would allow her that evening to compliment him with a piece of her art. He would rather have declined this, particularly as he knew not what it was; but he had not the heart to refuse any thing this kind creature wished. After a little while she again came in. She carried a little carpet below her arm, which she then spread out upon the floor. Wilhelm said she might proceed.

She, thereupon, brought four candles, and placed one upon each corner of the carpet. A little basket of eggs, which she next carried in, made her purpose clearer. Carefully measuring her steps, she then walked to and fro on the carpet, spreading out the eggs in certain figures and positions; which done, she called in a man that was waiting in the house, and could play on the violin. He retired with his instrument into a corner; she tied a bandage about her eyes, gave a signal, and, like a piece of wheel-work set agoing, she began moving the same instant as the music, accompanying her beats and the notes of the tune, with the strokes of a pair of castanets.

"Lightly, nimbly, quickly, and with hairbreadth accuracy, she carried on the dance. She skipped so sharply and surely along between the eggs, and trode so closely down beside them, that you would have thought every instant she must trample one of them in pieces, or kick the rest away in her rapid turns. By no means! She touched no one of them, though winding herself through their mazes with all kinds of steps, wide and narrow, nay, even with leaps, and at last half-kneeling.

"Constant as the movements of a clock, she ran her course; and the strange music at each repetition of the tune, gave a new impulse to the dance, recommencing and again rushing off as at first. Wilhelm was quite led away by this singular spectacle; he forgot his cares; he followed every movement of the dear little creature, and felt surprised to see how finely her character unfolded itself as she proceeded in the dance.

"Rigid, sharp, cold, vehement, and in soft postures, stately rather than attractive; such was the light in which it showed her. At this moment, he experienced at once all the emotions he had ever felt for Mignon. He longed to incorporate this forsaken being with his own heart; to take her in his arms, and with a father's love to awake in her the joy of existence.

"The dance being ended, she rolled the eggs together softly with her foot into a little heap, left none behind, harmed none; then placed herself beside it, taking the bandage from her eyes, and concluding her performance with a little bow.

"Wilhelm thanked her for having executed so prettily and unexpectedly, a dance he had long wished to see. He patted her; was sorry she had tired herself so much. He promised her a new suit of clothes; to which she vehemently replied, 'thy colour!' This, too, he promised her, though not well knowing what she meant by it. She then lifted up the eggs, took the carpet below her arm, asked if he wanted anything farther, and skipped out of the door." Vol. i. pp 129-131.

If any of our readers should feel inclined to subtract anything from the eulogy which we have passed on the preceding passage, we must again remind them of the distinction which we have before had occasion to insist upon. Whatever is beautiful must eventually interest, but it by no means follows, that what is interesting must necessarily be pronounced beautiful. As an

exception to a rule, it is undeniably true that deformity may in some instances excite more lively sensations than what is perfect. This, however, is accidental, and cannot be expected to be permanent. Labouring, as the foregoing passage does, under the disadvantages of a translation, we have striven in vain to discover a circumstance or an epithet, which we could wish had been omitted. Neither do we readily perceive anything that could have been added to its simple beauty. It is a page from the great volume of nature, which, like Sterne's Maria, will live in the hearts of men forever !

But to proceed. Wilhelm and his new theatrical acquaintances engage in an excursion on the water, and in the course of it, are joined by an interesting stranger. He was a man of clerical aspect, but of courtly manners and refined taste. We suspect the recollection of his friend Herder played around the author as he designed this sketch. Wilhelm and his companions agree to act an extempore play, in which the characters were assigned, and the dialogue improvisated. The stranger takes his part too, and at the conclusion, expatiates in a field of criticism of no common order. With the utmost temper and sagacity, he evinces the nothingness of those three talismans, Fate, Chance, Genius, which ignorance, according to the various degrees of its incapacity, has invented to cover its obtuseness in the detection of the real causes of things. Speaking of the exercise in which the players had been engaged, he says :—

“ ‘ I think this practice very useful among actors, and even in the company of friends and acquaintances. It is the best mode of drawing men out of themselves, and leading them by a circuitous path back into themselves again. It should be the custom with every troop of players to practise in this manner ; and the public would assuredly be no loser, if every month an unwritten piece were brought forward ; in which, of course, the players had prepared themselves by several rehearsals.’ ”

“ ‘ One should not then,’ replied our friend, ‘ consider an extempore piece as, strictly speaking, composed on the spur of the moment ; but as a piece, of which the plan, action and division of the scenes were given, the filling up of all this being left to the player.’ ”

“ ‘ Quite right,’ said the stranger ; ‘ and in regard to this very filling up such a piece, were the players once trained to these performances, would profit greatly. Not in regard to the mere words, it is true ; for by a careful selection of these, the studious writer may certainly adorn his work ; but in regard to the gestures, looks, exclamations, and every thing of that nature ; in short, to the mute and half mute play of the dialogue, which seems by degrees fading away among us altogether. There are, indeed, some players in Germany, whose bodies figure what they think and feel ; who, by their silence, their delays, their looks, their slight graceful movements, can prepare the audience for a speech,

and by a pleasant sort of pantomime, combine the pauses of the dialogue with the general whole ; but such a practice as this, co-operating with a happy natural turn, and training it to compete with the author, is far from being so habitual as, for the comfort of play-going people, were to be desired.'

" 'But will not a happy natural turn,' said Wilhelm, 'as the first and the last requisite, of itself conduct the player, like every other artist, nay, perhaps every other man, to the lofty mark he aims at?'

" 'The first and the last, the beginning and the end it may well be ; but, in the middle, many things will still be wanting to an artist, if instruction, and early instruction too, have not previously made that of him, which he was meant to be : and, perhaps, for the man of genius, it is worse in this respect, than for the man possessed of only common capabilities ; the one may much more easily be misinstructed, and be driven far more violently into false courses, than the other.'

" 'But,' said Wilhelm, 'will not genius save itself, not heal the wounds which itself has inflicted?'

" 'Only to a very small extent, and with great difficulty,' said the other, 'or, perhaps, not at all. Let no one think that he can conquer the first impressions of his youth. If he has grown up in enviable freedom, surrounded with beautiful and noble objects, in constant intercourse with worthy men ; if his masters have taught him what he needed first to know for comprehending what remained more easily ; if he has never learned anything which he requires to unlearn ; if his operations have been so guided, that altering any of his habits, he can more easily produce what is excellent in future ; then such a one will lead a purer, more perfect and happier life than another man who has wasted the force of his youth in opposition and error. A great deal is said and written about education ; yet I meet with very few who can comprehend and transfer to practice the simple yet vast idea, which includes within itself all others connected with the subject.'

" 'That may well be true,' said Wilhelm, 'for the generality of men are limited enough in their conceptions to suppose that every other should be fashioned by education according to the pattern of themselves. Happy then are those whom fate takes charge of, and educates according to their several natures !'

" 'Fate,' said the other smiling, 'is an excellent but most expensive schoolmaster. In all cases, I would rather trust to the reason of a human tutor. Fate, for whose wisdom I entertain all imaginable reverence, often finds in chance, by which it works, an instrument not over-manageable. At least, the latter very seldom seems to execute precisely and correctly, what the former had determined.'

" 'You seem to express a very singular opinion,' said Wilhelm.

" 'Not at all,' replied the other. 'Most part of what happens in the world confirms my opinion. Do not many incidents at their commencement shew some mighty meaning, and generally terminate in something paltry?'

" 'You mean to jest.'

" 'And as to what concerns the individual man,' pursued the other, 'is it not so with this likewise ? Suppose Fate had appointed one to be

a good player; and why should it not provide us with good players as well as with other good things? Chance would conduct the youth into some puppet-show perhaps, where, at such an early age, he could not help taking interest in what was tasteless and despicable, reckoning insipidities endurable or even pleasing, and thus corrupting and misdirecting his primary impressions; impressions which can never be effaced, and whose influence, in spite of all our efforts, cling to us in some degree to the very last.'

" 'What makes you think of puppet-shows,' said Wilhelm, 'not without some consternation.'

" 'It was an accidental instance, if it does not please you, we shall take another. Suppose Fate had appointed any one to be a great painter, and it pleased Chance that he should pass his youth in sooty huts, in barns and stables; do you think that such a man would ever be able to exalt himself to purity, to nobleness, to freedom of soul? The more keenly he may in his youth have seized on the impure, and tried in his own manner to ennoble it, the more powerfully, in the remainder of his life, will it be revenged on him; because, while he was endeavouring to conquer it, his whole being has become inseparably combined with it. Whoever spends his early years in mean and pitiful society, though at an after period, will yet constantly look back with longing towards that which he enjoyed of old, and which has left its impression blended with the memory of all his young and unreturning pleasures.'" Vol. i. pp. 135-138.

This, after all, is only another form of the solemn confession and admonition of all great wits. It is Horace's *quo semel*, which Dr. Johnson applied even to Prior, who had been a representative of crowned heads, and which Byron, with increased energy, and, perhaps, with more justice, fixed upon the Bloomfields and Blacketts, of recent celebrity. So much for genius, which is not more wonderful than other births, except that the labour is more gradual, and that we cannot trace up the history of the case to the first pangs of parturition.

Wilhelm has a great contest with himself about the propriety of quitting his new acquaintances, and returning to his home and his duties. A kiss or two, however, and a volley of raillery from a lively and beautiful theatrical coquette, throw a world of confusion into his resolutions.

—" 'I must go,' he exclaimed; 'I will go.' He threw himself into a chair, and felt greatly moved. Mignon came in and asked, whether she might help to undress him? Her manner was still and shy; it had grieved her deeply to be so abruptly dismissed by him before.

" Nothing is more touching than the first disclosure of a love which has been nursed in silence, of a faith grown strong in secret, and which at last comes forth in the hour of need, and reveals itself to him who has formerly considered it of small account. The bad which has been

closed so long and firmly, was now ripe to burst its swathings, and Wilhelm's heart could never have been readier to welcome the impressions of affection.

"She stood before him, and noticed his disquietude. 'Master,' she cried, 'if thou art unhappy, what will become of Mignon?' 'Dear little creature,' said he, taking her hands, 'thou too art part of my anxieties, I must go.' She looked at his eyes, glistening with restrained tears; and knelt down with vehemence before him. He kept her hands; she laid her head upon his knees, and remained quite still. He played with her hair, patted her, and spoke kindly to her. She continued motionless for a considerable time. At last he felt a sort of palpitating movement in her, which began very softly, and then by degrees with increasing violence diffused itself over all her frame. 'What ails thee, Mignon?' cried he; 'what ails thee?' She raised up her little head, looked at him, and all at once laid her hand upon her heart, with the countenance of one repressing the utterance of pain. He raised her up, and she fell upon his breast: he pressed her towards him and kissed her. She replied not by any pressure of the hand, or by any motion whatever. She held firmly against her heart; and all at once gave a cry, which was accompanied by spasmodic movements of the body. She started up and immediately fell down before him, as if broken in every joint. It was an excruciating moment! 'My child!' cried he, raising her up, and clasping her fast; 'my child, what ails thee?' The palpitations continued, spreading from the heart over all the lax and powerless limbs; she was merely hanging in his arms. All at once she again became quite stiff, like one enduring the sharpest corporeal agony; and soon with a new vehemence, all her frame became once more alive; and she threw herself about his neck, like a bent spring that is closing; while in her soul, as it were, a strong rent took place, and at the same moment a stream of tears flowed from her shut eyes into his bosom. He held her fast. She wept, and no tongue can express the force of those tears. Her long hair had loosened, and was hanging down before her; it seemed as if her whole being was melting incessantly into a brook of tears. Her rigid limbs were again become relaxed, her inmost soul was pouring itself forth, in the wild confusion of the moment. Wilhelm was afraid she would dissolve in his arms, and leave nothing there for him to grasp. He held her faster and faster. 'My child!' cried he, 'my child! thou art indeed mine, if that word can indeed comfort thee. Thou art mine! I will keep thee, I will never forsake thee!' Her tears continued flowing. At last she raised herself; a faint gladness shone upon her face. 'My father!' cried she, 'thou wilt not forsake me! Wilt be my father? I am thy child!'" Vol. i. pp. 162, 164.

This is a high-wrought and exquisitely finished picture. A whirlwind of emotions, rushing from all the portals of the heart, and ending in an agony of utterance, that rescues the patient from destruction, without stilling the impetuosity of the tempest. Excellence like this is attainable only by long and persevering efforts, and by touch gradually added to touch, until the whole blend into the mellow hue of ripeness.

Unwilling as we are, our limits admonish us that it is time to dismiss poor Mignon. Still we cannot part without adding the address of this daughter of the sunny South to the myrtle bowers and glistening skies of her own loved and lamented Italy.

“ Know'st thou the land where the lemon trees bloom ?
Where the gold orange glows in the deep thickets bloom ?
Where a wind ever soft from the blue heav'n blows,
And the groves are of laurel, and myrtle, and rose ?
Know'st thou it ?

Thither ! O thither,
My dearest and kindest, with thee would I go.

Know'st thou the house, with its turretted walls,
Where the chambers are glancing, and vast are the halls ?
Where the figures of marble look on me so mild,
As if thinking : ‘ Why thus did they use thee, poor child ?’
Know'st thou it ?

Thither ! O thither,
My guide and my guardian, with thee would I go.

Know'st thou the mountain, its cloud cover'd arch,
Where the mules among mist, o'er the wild torrent march ?
In the clefts of it, dragons lie coil'd with their brood ;
The rent crag rushes down, and above it the flood.
Know'st thou it ?

Thither ! O thither,
Our way leadeth : Father ! O come let us go !”—Vol. i. p. 165.

We wish we had room to add the author's own notion of the manner in which this song should be sung. It is found in the page next to that which we have quoted.

The theatrical corps repair to the castle of the Count von C. an eccentric old nobleman, with a dash of religious melancholy. Various scenes of many-coloured life occur there. The art exhibited in the development of many of these must extort the praise even of the most fastidious. We have much of mimic life in *Gil Blas*, but we doubt whether the descriptions of Goethe have any thing to fear on comparison with those of our old favourite *Le Sage*. In range of observation the former is equal to the latter, whilst in deep intelligence of the principles of art, and in the philosophy of human life, he is far superior. Depth of feeling is likewise a quality in which the French writer makes not the slightest approach to the German. In scenes of vivacity, however, the latter has much to contend with in the very structure of his native language. French is the idiom *par excellence* of all those, whether natives or foreigners, who desire to luxuriate in the copiousness of unrestrained colloquy, and who pre-

for what is brilliant and superficial, to what is massive and deep. Accordingly, to the sayers of good things, it presents temptations, which are almost irresistible. He, on the contrary, who would wield the might and majesty of the German, must have pierced through the outward crust of things, and have reached the perennial springs of thought.

Wilhelm Meister, like Werther, has been accused of immoral tendency; chiefly, however, by a class of philosophers who can descry no safe-guard for virtue, except in an absolute ignorance of all temptation. Such qualms savour but little of that sagacity which, amidst the fluctuations of human purposes, discerns the solid pillars of virtue, resting on the imperishable foundations of society. It is only because virtue and happiness, vice and misery, are natural allies, that as critics, we blame the writer, who is, at once so derelict in taste and in morals, as to overlook or sever this necessary connexion. There may be exceptions to this usual conjunction, but such cases will always be placed by a writer of genius, in their proper point of view. In the volume before us, there is an instance of a lovely woman, who had gone a line or two from the direct course, under the influence of very peculiar circumstances operating upon a susceptible heart and an excitable imagination. A zealot might have eulogized the poetic justice of the piece had she been made to perish under a mountain of misery, or even been cast into a Tophet of scornful eyes and slanderous tongues. Our author, true to nature, interposes a fortunate accident: virtue regains her empire, and the severest punishment is a tinge of melancholy, which betrays through its transparency, self-esteem, a little diminished, yet supported by reflection upon the state of comparative equanimity enjoyed, as contrasted with the anguish which had been escaped. Virtue and truth must forever radiate to a common centre, and taste is alike violated, and happiness equally jeoparded, whenever the tale of human life is travestied, whether by the trembling hand of the weak, but well-intentioned, or by the reckless dash of the profligate and the thoughtless. To see life as it really is, presents the most subtle panacea that could be applied for the cure of its sins and follies, as well as for the removal of their attendant distresses.

We hasten to the fourth Book. It is almost wholly taken up with the criticisms of the stage. Circumstances, which took place early in the author's life, were calculated to give him great insight into every thing which appertains, either theoretically or practically, to the drama. No where in the same compass can more, or more excellent instruction on the subject be found.—Like every true lover of nature, Goethe is enthusiastically

Shakspearian. In the chapter of this book, there occurs a delineation of the character of Hamlet, traced with great acuteness, and painted in very forcible colours. The admiration of all nations, and the epitome of all that is excellent in man, Hamlet yet remains an enigma to critics and a stumbling-block to players. We are inclined to think that Mr. Hazlitt is right, when he asserts that no impersonation of this wonderful character, which he has witnessed, has afforded a correct exposition of it. Yet we doubt whether that gentleman's suggestion be any nearer the truth, when he describes the Prince of Denmark as a barren speculatist, new to life, without experience and without purpose. We are inclined to think, that half a dozen words added to the title, would make manifest every thing that is obscure in it. Suppose we entitle it—"Hamlet"—"Prince of Denmark, that should have been King, and was not." "There's the rub." Let the reader figure to himself a mind framed in the loftiest mould, alive to every generous purpose, and trained by study for an eminence, from which he is hurled forever, just as his foot had reached the first step in the ascent. The throne of Denmark was elective, and Hamlet's hope of the crown depended entirely upon the continuance of his father's life. What a withering desolation, to be reared for one sole employment, and that the employment of a King, and to find the occupation clean gone, at the moment when he had begun to feel himself fit to exercise it. Where was the commutation; where the refuge, except in death, and even not there, to a mind fully persuaded that "the Everlasting had not fixed his canon 'gainst self-slaughter." In a mind unruffled, the ghost would have produced but a transient, though vivid impression. In a magazine of combustibles, it was, however, sure to effect an explosion. With a strong sense of duty, and with a heart naturally endowed with the blandest affections, he feels the truth, which he is afraid to express, even to himself, that his mother had been accessory in the frustration of his hopes. His mother's marriage had but too deeply convinced him, that his uncle was

"A little more than kin and less than kind."*

His popularity too, made him feel that his situation was insecure, as it placed him "too much in the sun" to suit the new order of things. The whole play, particularly the incident of the pipe, shows that he apprehended himself to be surrounded by spies. Indeed his treatment of Ophelia does not admit of satis-

* The comments of Haunmer, Steevens, *et id genus omne*, upon these passages, are mere word catchings.

factory explanation upon any other supposition. Nothing, however, was more natural than to suspect the daughter of the heartless courtier Polonius, at a time when the state manners rendered a daughter little more than an instrument to serve the purposes of a father's ambition. What a concentration of wretchedness, to have a mind bursting with horrid forms and mighty purposes, and awful misgivings, and to dare to disburthen his sorrows only in soliloquy to the air, itself not free from the suspicion of treachery. Can any thing be more natural in such a strait, than to exclaim?

"O! that this too, too solid flesh would melt,
Thaw, and resolve itself into a dew!"

Goethe's notion of this character is not so explicit as that which we have attempted to develope, yet it is not inconsistent with our views, and is in the main strikingly just, and eloquently written.

"You all know (says Wilhelm) Shakspeare's incomparable Hamlet: our public reading of it at the Castle, yielded every one of us the greatest satisfaction. On that occasion we proposed to act the piece; and I, not knowing what I undertook, engaged to play the Prince's part.—This I conceived that I was studying, while I began to get by heart the strongest passages, the soliloquies, and those scenes in which force of soul, vehemence and elevation of feeling have the freest scope; where the agitated heart is allowed to display itself with touching expressiveness."

"I further conceived that I was penetrating quite into the spirit of the character, while I endeavoured to take upon myself the load of deep melancholy under which my prototype was labouring, and in this humour to pursue him through the strange labyrinths of his caprices and his singularities. Thus learning, thus practising, I did not doubt that I should by and by become one person with my hero.

"But the further I advanced, the more difficult did it become for me to form any image of the whole, in its general bearings; till at last this seemed to me almost impossible. I next went through the piece entirely and all at once; but here also I found much that I could not away with. At one time the characters, at another time the manner of displaying them seemed inconsistent; and I almost despaired of finding any general tint, in which I might present my whole part in all its shadings and variations. In such devious paths I toiled, and wandered long in vain; till at length a hope arose, that I might reach my aim in quite a new way.

"I set about investigating every trace of Hamlet's character, as it had shown itself before his father's death. I endeavoured to distinguish what in it was independent of this mournful event; independent of the terrible events that followed; and what most probably the young man would have been, had no such things occurred.

"Soft, and from a noble stem, this royal flower had sprung up under the immediate influences of majesty; the idea of moral rectitude with that of princely elevation, the feeling of the good and the dignified, together with the consciousness of high birth, had in him been unfolded simultaneously. He was a prince, by birth a prince; and he wished to reign, only that good men might be good without obstruction. Pleasing in form, polished by nature, courteous from the heart, he was meant to be the pattern of youth, and the joy of the world.

"Without any prominent passion, his love of Ophelia was a still presentiment of sweet wants. His zeal in knightly accomplishments was not entirely his own; it needed to be quickened and inflamed by praise bestowed on others for excelling in them. Pure in sentiment, he knew the honourable minded, and could prize the rest, which an upright spirit tastes on the bosom of a friend. To a certain degree he had learned to discern and value the good and the beautiful in arts and sciences; the mean, the vulgar was offensive to him; and if hatred could take root in his tender soul, it was only so far as to make him properly despise the false and changeful insects of a court, and play with them in easy scorn. He was calm in his temper, artless in his conduct, neither pleased with idleness, nor too violently eager for employment. The routine of an university he seemed to continue when at court. He possessed more mirth of humour than of heart; he was a good companion—pliant, courteous, discreet, and able to forget and forgive an injury; yet never able to unite himself with those who overstept the limits of the right, the good and the becoming." Vol. ii. pp. 20–22.

The observations on this play are again taken up in a subsequent chapter; but the general substance has been already given.

Philina, the giddy, the gay, yet not unfeeling coquette, and Aurelia, the victim of an unhappy passion, which her lofty spirit will not permit her to forget, seem to have engaged a large portion of our author's care. From their very nature, however, they are not calculated to tell well in extracts, which must be quite incongruous and unintelligible, without a world more of explanation, than we have time or inclination to give.

The mental alienation of the old harper, in reality the father of Mignon, by an incestuous intercourse with an unknown sister, whose whole story is given in the sequel with dreadful truth, gives occasion for introducing some striking observations on insanity. They indicate the vigour of a mind, familiar with almost every subject, and capable of delivering a valuable opinion upon any which it thinks proper to canvass.

"'Except physical derangements,' observed the clergyman, 'which often place insuperable difficulties in the way, and in regard to which I follow the prescriptions of a wise physician, the means of curing madness seem to me extremely simple. They are the very means by which

you hinder sane persons from becoming mad. Awaken their activity; accustom them to order; bring them to see that they hold their being and their fate in common with many millions; that extraordinary talents, the highest happiness, the deepest misery, are but slight variations from the general destiny: in this way, no insanity will enter; or, if it has entered, will gradually disappear. I have portioned out the old man's hours; he gives lessons to some children on the harp; he labours in the garden; he is already much more cheerful. He wishes to enjoy the cabbages he plants; my son, to whom in case of death he has bequeathed his harp, he is ardent to instruct, that the boy may be able to make use of his inheritance. I have said but little to him, as a clergyman, about his wild mysterious scruples; but a busy life brings on many incidents, that ere long he must feel how true it is, that doubt of any kind can be removed only by activity. I go softly to work; yet if I could get his beard and hood removed, I should reckon it a weighty point; for nothing more exposes us to madness than distinguishing ourselves from others, and nothing more contributes to maintain our common sense than living in the universal way with multitudes of men.—Alas! how much there is in education, in our social constitutions, to prepare us and our children for insanity.'” Vol. ii. pp. 175, 176.

Our readers would form a most incorrect and unworthy opinion of the work before us, if they suffered themselves to suppose that such passages as that just quoted, were mere appendages; the baubles of a fertile mind, exhibited with the ostentation of a savage. There is scarcely an observation, of any kind, introduced, that does not fall into the natural current of association, and that the reader, when put in possession of the whole narrative, does not acknowledge to conduce to the combined effect of the whole. In the present instance, whilst Wilhelm is discoursing with the clergyman and his friend the physician concerning insanity, the mind of the reader is gradually undergoing a preparation for the denouement of the piece.

“ ‘For man,’ he (the physician) used to say, ‘there is but one misfortune; when some idea lays hold of him, which exerts no influence on active life, or still more, which withdraws him from it. At the present time,’ continued he, on this occasion, ‘I have such a case before me; it concerns a rich and noble couple; and hitherto has baffled all my skill. The affair belongs, in part, to your department, worthy pastor; and your friend here will forbear to mention it again.’

“In the absence of a certain nobleman, some persons of the house, in a frolic not entirely commendable, disguised a young man in the master's clothes. The lady was to be imposed upon by this deception: and although it was described to me as nothing but a joke, I am very much afraid the purpose of it was to lead this noble and most amiable lady from the path of honour. Her husband, however, unexpectedly returns, enters his chamber; thinks he sees his spirit; and from that time falls into a melancholy temper, firmly believing that his death is near.

“ ‘He has now abandoned himself to men who pamper him with religious ideas ; and I see not how he is to be prevented from going among the Herrnuthers with his lady ; and as he has no children, from depriving his relations of the chief part of his fortune.’

“ ‘With his lady !’ cried our friend, in great agitation ; for this story had affrighted him extremely——

“ ‘And alas !’ replied the doctor, who regarded Wilhelm’s exclamation only as the voice of a common sympathy ; ‘this lady is herself possessed with a deeper sorrow, which renders a removal from the world desirable to her also. The same young man was taking leave of her : she was not circumspect enough to hide a recent inclination towards him ; the youth grew bolder, clasped her in his arms, and pressed a large portrait of her husband, which was set with diamonds, forcibly against her breast. She felt a sharp pain, which gradually went off, leaving first a little redness, then no trace at all. As a man, I am convinced that she has nothing more with which she can reproach herself in this affair ; as a physician, I am certain that this pressure could not have the smallest ill effect. Yet she will not be persuaded that an induration is not taking place in the part ; and if you try to overcome her notion by the evidence of feeling, she maintains, that though the evil is away this moment, it will return the next. She conceives that the disease will end in cancer ; and thus her youth and loveliness be altogether lost to others and herself.’

“ ‘Wretch that I am !’ cried Wilhelm, striking his brow, and rushing from the company into the fields. He had never felt himself in such a miserable case before.” Vol. ii. pp. 178–180.

The “Confessions of a fair Saint” occupy the whole of the sixth book. They are exquisitely written, and display a knowledge of the human heart, particularly as it appears, when at once humbled and purified by the influence of religious faith. It is occasionally somewhat mystical, and we felt at first inclined to quarrel with it as an unnecessary halt in the march of the narrative. The marvellous skill with which it is connected, both with the preceding and succeeding events of the story, have nevertheless quite pacified our critical spleen. Indeed, Goethe has pared off a large portion from the frightful amplitude of our lion’s claws, and we have become as docile as it becomes us.

In the course of the subsequent books, many new characters are introduced, and the whole plot is unravelled with inimitable skill. Many of the events appear strange, yet the magic of the author’s genius has managed to clothe them with an air of probability. Twenty-five years of increasing reputation warrants us in the prediction, that Wilhelm Meister is destined to a fame as lasting as that of any work of genius, which has ever been produced. Who shall say that the illustrious author does not deserve his immortality, when he reflects that this work, the darling child of its parent, engaged fifteen years of his best

labours and most matured judgment in bringing it to perfection. Let no one presume, with indecent speed, to judge of such a production in as many hours. We have been reluctantly compelled to form an opinion of it through the medium of a translation, and yet under this disadvantage, it displays beauties, which seem to multiply themselves in exact proportion to the intensity with which we gaze upon them.

ART. VI.—1. *Memoirs of the Life, Writings and Opinions of the Rev. Samuel Parr, L.L.D.; with Biographical Notices of many of his friends, pupils and contemporaries.* By the Rev. WILLIAM FIELD. 2 vols. 8vo. Colburn. London. 1828.

2. *Parriana: or Notices of the Rev. Samuel Parr, L.L.D. collected from various sources, printed and manuscript, and in part written by E. H. BARKER, Esq. of Thetford, Norfolk.* Vol. 1st. Colburn. London. 1828.

"ENGLAND has seen but three Greek scholars, I mean real scholars," was wont to say, with a full pompous voice and strong lisp, an old gentleman arrayed in black velvet, and an ample cauliflower wig, surmounted by a cocked hat. "The first of these scholars was the immortal Bentley, the second is Porson, and the third," continued he, with a swelling satisfaction that belied his words—"the third, modesty forbids me to mention." It is to this third Grecian that we now introduce our readers.

More than thirty years ago, Dr. Parr was ranked by many as "by far the most learned man of his day;" by others proclaimed a second Dr. Johnson;* and ever since, public opinion in the United Kingdoms has accorded him a reputation which, on this side of the Atlantic, we have for the most part taken on hearsay in absence of better proof. His various claims to immortality are at last fully before us, and if we cannot laud very highly the talents and taste of his biographers, their industry and fairness seem to merit our confidence. We could, indeed, have wished

* See Seward's Letters, Pursuits of Literature, Edinburgh Review, &c.

that the *Memoirs of the Doctor's life* by Dr. Johnstone, had reached us, but we are inclined to think they could have added nothing of very great importance to the ample materials furnished by two persons who had every opportunity of acquiring correct and minute knowledge of the subject.

Dr. Samuel Parr was born at Harrow-on-the-Hill, January 26th, 1747. His father was firmly attached to the divine right of kings and to the Pretender, to whom he lent the greatest part of his fortune. "The son when a child," to use his own words, "read through Rapin's History several times." "In studying the pages of that judicious and impartial writer, he often declared, he found all his hereditary prejudices powerfully counteracted; and it was from them that he imbibed his first notions of those great principles of civil and religious liberty, which he so ardently embraced and so strenuously maintained through his future life."*

That he evinced talents at a very early age, we have his own testimony. "He, himself often observed that his mental faculties were unfolded very prematurely; adding too, that with him prematurity did not, as years advanced, sink into imbecility."† Perhaps it is a proof of this, that "he has sometimes been heard to declare, that he recollected being suckled at his mother's breast. He spoke with perfect sincerity, though with an evident distrust of being believed."‡ At four years old, he was successfully taught the Latin Grammar by his father, and owing, probably to this cause, he insisted on the necessity of commencing very young to attain a thorough knowledge of the ancient languages, though he acknowledged that Scaliger, Gibbon, and his own friend, Richard Payne Knight, were splendid exceptions. Mr. Field relates also, as how "the child," whom he sometimes compares to an infant Hercules in the cradle, mounted upon a chair, or, perchance, more conspicuously upon a table, would spout choice passages to an admiring audience, or even extemporarily delight bearded sages with the fruits of his precocity.

He was sent at the age of five years to Harrow school, first under the learned Dr. Thackeray, and afterwards under the more celebrated Dr. Sumner, of whom Sir William Jones has left a beautiful portrait. Before Parr had completed his fourteenth year, he arrived at the first place in the first form, although such men as Nathaniel Brassy Halked, Bishop Bennet, and Sir William Jones, were his competitors; with the two last, he formed a friendship that remained undiminished in their riper years.

* *Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 6.

† *Ibid.* p. 18.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 8.

Jones, Bennet and Parr were accustomed to divide the neighbouring fields among them, and assuming ancient names, professed to maintain their fancied domains against all invaders. "Thus at one time it was agreed that Jones should be called Euryalus, King of Arcadia; Bennet, Nisus, King of Argos; and Parr, Leander, Prince of Abydos and Sestos. Under these and similar names, they held councils, they wrote memorials; they uttered harangues; they declared war; they negotiated peace; whilst some of their school-fellows consented (very complaisantly) to be styled barbarians."* Hence these lads of thirteen, before putting on long-tailed coats, "must have acquired," as Mr. Field very seriously and sapiently observes, "just ideas of international law and civil government," without the trouble of poring over Puffendorf or Grotius. The three also studied logic together, and practised themselves in syllogistic disputation. Metaphysics too engaged their attention; but here Episcopal Bennet and Oriental Jones toiled in vain to keep pace with the eagle flight of Parr. "In truth," said he, and who knew better, "I was often engaged in diving into the depths or unravelling the intricacies of subjects, which they, at that time, could not comprehend."† The friends too, frequently imitated the style of different authors, as Phalaris, Hervey, Swift, Addison or Johnson. In after life, he attributed his facility in extempore preaching, to his contests with his two talented rivals at Harrow.‡

In 1761, the father of Dr. Parr, who was an apothecary and surgeon, thinking his son's classical acquirements sufficient for the medical profession, took him from his darling studies, and set him to mixing medicines, and to witness with trembling nerves, that often met the stern animadversions of the veteran, the scientific gashes of the healing art. Whether these terrific exhibitions of chirurgical skill, or the bad Latin of the prescriptions, deterred our neophyte, we know not; but at all events, he took little liking to the calling of his progenitor. The elder Parr one day handed him a prescription, in which the son detected a grammatical arrangement, unwarranted by any good classical authority, and with suitable gravity, pointed out the unpardonable blunder. "Sam! damn the language of the prescription," exclaimed the angry apothecary, "make the mixture."§ His time, meanwhile, was not lost from his favourite pursuits. Ascertaining every day the lesson which the head class was reciting, whilst engaged in preparing the pill or

* *Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 21.† *Ibid.* p. 23.‡ *Ibid.* p. 119.—*Parriana*, 20.§ *Parriana*, 153—*Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 27.

pounding with the pestle, he kept his book open before him, and afterwards would receive the remarks of Dr. Sumner, from Jones or Bennet. Moreover, he read and studied by himself many Greek and Roman authors, with the best commentators he could procure, and continued his metaphysical studies in the pages of De Crousaz, Locke, Aristotle and Plato. He practised in Latin and Greek composition, and to perfect himself in his own language, besides other things, wrote two series of *Essays*, which by the bye were never published, and were probably destroyed.

It is evident that he was formed for opposition at an early age, for his father marrying a second time, the son positively refused to lay aside his mourning weeds for garments more meet for a bridal festival.

His father finally consented, about the close of 1764, to let him devote his attention to theology, and in order to give him the requisite education, sent him to Cambridge. From motives of economy, and, perhaps, from resentment of his conduct at her marriage, his step-mother wished him to enter the University as a sizar, but he indignantly declared he would rather forego the advantages of a regular education, than submit to such degradation. Scarcely had he been a twelvemonth at the University, when the death of his father and want of funds obliged him to renounce what he had so ardently sought. "I left the University," says he in a note to his Spital sermon, "before the usual time, and in truth had almost been compelled to leave it, not by the want of proper education, for I had arrived at the first place in the first form of Harrow school, when I was not quite fourteen—not by the want of useful tutors, for mine were eminently able, and to me had been uniformly kind—not by want of ambition, for I had begun to look up ardently and anxiously to academical distinctions—not by want of attachment to the place, for I regarded it then, as I continue to regard it now, with the fondest and most unfeigned affection—but by another want, which it were unnecessary to name, and for the supply of which, after some hesitation, I determined to provide by patient toil and resolute self-denial, when I had not completed my twentieth year. I ceased, therefore, to reside, with an aching heart. I looked back with mingled feelings of regret and humiliation to advantages of which I could no longer partake, and honours to which I could no longer aspire." This short extract might serve as a cabinet specimen, to give an idea of the Doctor's laboured, artificial, uniformly rhetorical style.

Returning to Harrow, notwithstanding his youth, Dr. Sumner chose him as his assistant. Here he devoted his time to the

perusal of critics and commentators on the classics, and also theology and metaphysics, aided by the advice and instructions of the erudite head-master.

He was ordained in 1769, and immediately entered upon the duties of a curacy to which he was appointed.

The mastership of Harrow school becoming vacant by the death of Dr. Sumner, Dr. Parr, trusting to his reputation as a scholar, the good opinion of the deceased master, and five year's able discharge of his duties, became a candidate for the vacant place. Possibly to give himself a more respectable mien, he put on the habiliments and manners of an elderly ecclesiastic, and for the first time superinduced that

"Ample nine-fold peruke, spread immense,
Luxuriant waving down his shoulders,"

whose overshadowing dimensions have so often been held up to public ridicule. In vain! It was thought that twenty-five was old enough for a prime minister, but not for a head-master of Harrow-school! Dr. Heath, a learned man, much older, was chosen. Irritated at his disappointment, he set up a school at Stanmore, whither forty of the Harrow boys followed him, and the number soon increased to sixty. It was necessary to his success to have a female helpmate, and he accordingly entered into the silken bonds of matrimony. But, as an old poet endites,

"The sea hath many thousand sands,
The sunne hath motes as many,
The skie is full of starres—and love
As full of woes as any."*

Mrs. Parr, as she often said herself, was bred up "by three maiden aunts in rigidity and frigidity;" but if her portion of the milk of human kindness had been kept sweet by the icy caution of those antiquated spinsters, it was speedily acidified by the torch of Hymen.

"This wife had been recommended to him by Dr. Askew; for Sammy was too much immersed in Greek to look out for one for himself. Her sordid economy was displeasing to the boys, and her cockney dialect was grating to the ear of the Doctor. He lamented that he had not paid his addresses to the celebrated Miss Carter, whom he might have courted in Greek; and she did not condescend to conceal her vexation at having chosen for a bedfellow a pedantic pedagogue, instead of an East-India captain, who might have brought her muslins and chintzes." *Parriana*, 462.

* Jones' *Muses' Garden*. 1609.

The above extract may be a little tinged with satire, but it seems agreed on all hands, that the lady in question was so consummate in the art of teasing, that she might have been substituted for all the trials of patient Job.

As Dr. Parr's eminence in classical literature was undoubted, and most of his life was passed in teaching, we are sorry that the *Memoirs* have not given us more minutely his method of instruction, and particularly some extracts of a letter mentioned in vol. i. p. 271. In teaching Greek, he assigned the highest place to the orators and poets, especially the dramatic poets. For three or four weeks before the holidays, he was accustomed to make the boys of the upper form read the Greek plays *seven* or *eight* hours at a time, and he sometimes kept them till near eleven o'clock at night. The orators received an almost equal attention. He was in the habit of illustrating the text by Greek, Latin and English quotations. While perusing the historians of Greece, the necessary chronological, geographical and mythological knowledge was adduced; and while studying Grecian philosophy, an elaborate comparison of the dogmas of the different schools was superadded. Great attention was also paid to versification, and to Latin and Greek composition. "He thought that sufficient portions of Latin prose, especially from Cæsar and Cicero, were not read, and that sufficient time was not devoted to the composition of prose in that language;"* in which two observations we concur most fully. If a greater portion of the time, now comparatively lost in the English schools in setting Latin words on their feet, were employed in reading and writing prose, perfect facility in reading Latin would be a far more common attainment. The habit, too, of committing to memory, so much approved by the Doctor, deserves all commendation. "He was a strenuous advocate for the practice of committing to memory large portions of Latin and Greek verses; and applauded in this, as well as in other respects, the plan of Winchester school, where that practice has been long established and carried to a great extent. It was his opinion, that by repeating passages, though not previously understood, a boy is incited by his own curiosity to explore, and is generally enabled by his efforts to discover their meaning: that what is thus learnt by voluntary exertion, is learnt with more effect, and fixed with deeper impression on the memory; and that by these means, the youthful mind gradually accumulates, in rich variety and abundance, stores of pleasing imagery and sublime or beautiful expression."† Every morning he exacted from his scholars

* *Memoirs*, vol. i, p. 82, *Parriana*, 16.

† *Ibid.* p. 83.—*Parriana*, 15.

a repetition, from memory, of the whole lesson recited the evening before; and he once required of his pupils to get by heart the third Olynthiac of Demosthenes, as a holiday lesson. Nay more; he had the *Œdipus Tyrannus* of Sophocles performed in the original by his scholars, for which Foote lent the scenery, and Garrick the dresses. The *Trachinians* was also played by them the next year. Equal care was taken of the English studies, and, above all, of composition in verse and prose. The school at Stanmore, on more accounts than one, might have merited the classic name of *Gymnasium*. The master delighted to see the young fry engaged in cricket and other games of "manly contention." He was also the admirer and advocate of pugilistic encounters among the boys. It was amusing to hear him speak of the tacit agreement which subsisted, he said, between himself and his pupils, that all their battles should be fought on a certain spot, of which he commanded a full view from his private room; as thus he could see without being seen, and enjoy the sport *without endangering the loss of his dignity*.*

Never did he appear in the school-room without the sceptre of pedagogical rule—

"Called by the vulgar *Birch*; Tartarean root,
Whose rankling points, in blackest poison dipp'd,
Inflict a mortal pain; and where they 'light,
A ghastly furrow leave"—

of the sincerity of his faith in which, he gave ample proof, by the regularity and vigour of his practice. "There is a distinguished divine of the day, who, for sometime after he entered the seminary, was classed as a *mediocre*, and engaged, in consequence, the comparative amnesties extended to that *grade*. It happened, however, that one evening (after school hours) the head assistant called to acquaint Parr with the momentous discovery, that "from some recent observations he was led to conclude ——— was a lad of genius." "Say you so? (roared out Parr with one of his delighted chuckles) then begin to flog to-morrow." The distinctive birch was not forgotten, and the eclipse of genius speedily wore off.†" "When a question was not answered in the first instance, it was put to every boy, with 'you,' 'you,' 'you,' &c. and the result too often was, 'I'll flog you all,' which was immediately done."‡

"It was a favourite theory of Parr that the progress of learning towards the understanding was in an upward direction;" but the rod was uniformly applied *secundum artem*, where it

* *Memoirs*, vol. i. 102.

† *Parricane*, 73.

‡ *Ibid.* 226.

could do the brain no harm. It was so slight, except for grave offences, that it never was a subject of much apprehension. "Come and bring the bats for a game at cricket," was the exclamation of one boy to another, as they all rushed out at twelve o'clock. "I can't come immediately," was the reply. "I'll be with you in six or seven minutes. I am only going to be flogged."^a A boy would have but slight yearning for cricket after the "awful strokes of magisterial vengeance," from the arm of that renowned and expert flogger, Busby, who sometimes administered "to poor little boys thirty or forty, nay, sometimes sixty lashes at a time, for small and inconsiderable offences."[†] Sometimes Dr. Parr heard the recitations with a mince-pie or other savoury morsel in his hand; yet even while the delight lingered on his palate, with "farewell sweet," the epicurean, when the birchings were needed, was immediately forgotten in the stoic.

At the end of five years at Stanmore, finding his worldly matters succeeded badly, he accepted the mastership of the Colchester Grammar school, which he resigned next year for a similar situation at Norwich. We judge that his labours were still ill rewarded, from his being obliged to part with his copy of Stephens' Greek Thesaurus. Poor Brunck, under similar circumstances, had to sell Hesychius.

During a portion of his residence at Norwich, he had a curacy and preached regularly. Two sermons, published in 1781, are his first printed works. These were soon followed by his education sermon, as it was generally called, which attracted considerable attention. It consists of seventy quarto pages, the whole of which was preached to a corporation waiting impatiently, with barking appetites, for a public dinner which was to succeed. Many were the uneasy movements, appeals to watches, and other significant hints; but the Doctor, no way dismayed, held forth a full hour and a half.

We select from it the following sensible remark on the beneficial effect of early education :—

"The good seed, though oppressed, is not totally destroyed. The blossoms are partially nipped, but the soundness of the soil yet remains. Even the first approaches, which persons virtuously educated make to guilt, are attended with a shame and a compunction to which men of gross ignorance are utterly callous; and when the heat of youth has in some measure spent itself, reason gradually resumes her seat; and religion, in a voice which cannot but be heard, reasserts her violated rights."

^a Mirror, vol. viii. p. 313

[†] A true and perfect narrative of the differences between Mr. Busby and Mr. Bagshawe, the first and second masters of Westminster School. London, 1659.

The amplification of a celebrated passage in Cicero's Oration for Archias has beauties :—

“ To our boyhood, wise and virtuous education gives that sweet simplicity and innocence, which melts every serious beholder into affection, and relieves even the savage heart with a momentary feeling of honest approbation. In our youth, it inspires us with such a fine sense of decorum as makes us shrink from folly with scorn, and from vice with loathing; and it animates us, at the same time, with that unwearied activity of mind which struggles with every difficulty, and triumphs over every danger. Our manhood it distinguishes by that firmness and dignity of thinking, which exalts us from one degree of excellence to another; which causes us to start at the smallest deviation from moral rectitude, and impels us to recover from the shock, by the instantaneous and determined exertion of our whole strength. To old age, which is itself the fruit of a well-spent life, it gives a security of mind which the world can neither bestow nor take away—a deep and sincere love of virtue which finds a pure and perpetual source of pleasure in the effects it has wrought on the tempers and manners of our friends and our children—a comfortable remembrance of habitual well-doing, which alone can endear to us the days that are passed, and will return no more, or enable us to look on to the approach of an unknown world without solicitude or dismay.”

Another sermon, published in 1781, entitled, “ A Discourse on the late Fast by Phileleutheros Norfolciensis,” was considered by the author himself as his *chef d'oeuvre*.

He had obtained the degree of Master of Arts *per literas regias*, when he became a candidate for the mastership of Harrow. Desiring a doctorate, he diverted, for the sake of expedition, his studies from divinity to law, and in 1781, he took the degree of L.L.D. Two theses, delivered by him in the law schools, on this occasion, were much admired, but were not committed to the press.

Dr. Parr obtained his situation at Norwich mainly through the exertions of Dr. Johnson, with whom he was on a friendly footing. “ Once sir,” said he to a friend, “ Sam and I had a vehement dispute on that most difficult of all subjects, the origin of evil. It called forth all the powers of our minds. No two tigers ever grappled with more fury. There was no Boswell present to detail our conversation; sir, he would not have understood it.”* One of their interviews at Bennet Langton's has been recorded by Boswell in his *Life of Johnson*, “ I remember that interview well,” said Parr, “ I gave Johnson no quarter—the subject of our dispute was the liberty of the press. Dr. Johnson was very great—whilst he was arguing, I observed

* *Parriana*, 321.

that he stamped. Upon this I stamped—Dr. Johnson said, ‘why did you stamp, Dr. Parr?’—I replied, because you stamped; and I was resolved not to give you the advantage even of a *stamp* in the argument.”*

After the death of Johnson, Dr. Parr made great preparations for writing his life; but, like many of his other literary resolves, it ended in talk. “‘If I had continued it,’ said he, ‘it would have been the best work I ever wrote. I should have related not only every thing important about Dr. Johnson, but many things about the men who flourished at the same time,’ adding, with an expression of sly humor, ‘taking care to display my own learning! I had read through three shelves of books to prepare myself for it. It would have contained a view of the literature of Europe: and if I had written it, it would have been the third most learned work that has ever appeared.’”† The two “learned works, meant by him, were Bentley’s *Dissertation on Phalaris* and *Salmasius’ Commentary on the Hellenistic language*.” Alluding to Boswell’s *Life of Johnson*, he said, “mine should have been, not the droppings of his lips, but the history of his mind.”‡ Some of the books which he had read as a preparation for “the *History of the Mind of Johnson*,” were the writings of Bembo, Sadoleti, Politian, the *Polyhistor of Mohorfius*, parts of D. Heinsius, Scroppius, *Salmasius*, H. Stephens, *Aristarchus of John Gerard Vossius*, *Opuscula of Ernesti*, *Academica Opera of Heyne*, &c. Notwithstanding this learned catalogue, we think Boswell would have maintained his ground. We take it for granted, that we can form a better opinion of a man, from hearing his own feelings and own manner of thinking, in his very phraseology, than from any description. Hence the interest of all auto-biography, even down to Lackington and Percival Stockdale.

The mother of one of his pupils, in gratitude for his attention to her son, presented Dr. Parr with the perpetual curacy of Hatton, worth one hundred pounds per annum, whither he repaired in 1786, and spent there the remainder of his days. For a short time he continued to instruct a limited number of boys; but he afterwards renounced teaching entirely, although he always counted the portion of time, devoted to that occupation, among the happiest periods of his life. It is worthy of remark, notwithstanding the straitened circumstances in which he had passed his early life, that when he first arrived at Hatton, his library amounted to four thousand volumes, which he increased to ten thousand before his death.

* *Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 161.

† *Ibid*, p. 164.

‡ *Ibid*, p. 165.

The first thing which may be said to have brought the Doctor into general notice as a politician and scholar, was his far-famed Latin preface to his edition of "Bellendenus de Statu." This William Bellenden, a learned Scotchman in the time of James I. published three separate treatises, entitled "De Statu Prisci Orbis," "Ciceronis Princeps," "Ciceronis Consul, Senator, Senatusque Romanus," which were afterwards, (1610) republished collectively under the title abovementioned. The same author had commenced a greater work called, "De Tribus Luminibus Romanorum," of which only the first part, relating to Cicero, was finished. It is with respect to this production, that Dr. Parr has established the charge of wilful plagiarism against Conyers Middleton, in his life of Cicero.

The work of Bellenden has great merit; but it was undoubtedly the preface, that made a Latin author, on subjects not of general interest, run immediately through two editions. This preface—if preface it may be called, which has no connexion with the book, and would as well suit any other—joined vehemently the whig party, lavished praises on Foxius, Burkius and Northius, who, in imitation of Bellenden, are denominated "Tria Lumina Anglorum," and attacked, with bitter censure, Miso-Themistocles, (Duke of Richmond) Doson, (Marquis of Lansdowne) Novius, (Lord Thurlow) Thrasybulus, (Dundas) and Clodius, (John Wilkes.) Finding no name in the Latin tongue strong enough for the demerits of Pitt, it "avoids his proper name in contempt," and calls him "ὁ Δείμας." The principal public measures of the times are also commented on, with a strong, fearless, and caustic pen.

The Latinity of this diatribe is exquisite; yet it is but a cento from the Roman authors—principally from Cicero. What merit should we ascribe to a political writer who had skilfully *con-sarcinated* fragments of Addison, Johnson and Burke? The characters scattered through it, notwithstanding their spirit and force, deal too much in generals to be very distinct. The style is too rhetorical. A strain of passion pervades it, not suited to a subject requiring calm discussion. It is like a small collegier, reciting, with animated voice and violent gesticulation, a chapter of Locke or a proposition of Euclid. In short, we confess that we have always toiled through those seventy pages of Ciceronian Latin "with fainting steps and slow," and have doubted whether they would have made as much noise, had they issued forth as the offspring of an Oxford or Cambridge professor, instead of a village schoolmaster. We are inclined to think that Dr. Parr would have written more forcibly, had he not attempt-

ed such constant imitation; and, that he often became diffuse by stepping out of his direct path, in quest of a quotation.

Dr. Parr had now openly taken his stand among the whigs, by which he effectually closed the door to ecclesiastical preferment: once, indeed, there was a short glimmer of hope. In 1788, during the insanity of the King, the regency was vested in the Prince of Wales, who, it was supposed, would place Mr. Fox at the head of public affairs; in which case the Doctor would not have been forgotten. He was even summoned to London, in order to make arrangements for the See of Gloucester, when the sudden recovery of the king cut off his hopes forever.

“ ‘My family arrangements,’ he observed to a friend, ‘were made; and I had determined that no clergyman in my diocese, who had occasion to call upon me, should depart without partaking my dinner.’ After a momentary pause, he continued, ‘In the House of Peers I should seldom have opened my mouth, unless any one had presumed to attack the character of my friend Charles Fox; and then I would have knocked him down with the full torrent of my impetuosity. Charles Fox was a great man; and so was William Pitt; and I can tell you, that if I had them both in this room, and only we three had been together, I would have locked the door, but first would have had plenty of wine on the table, and depend upon it we should not have disagreed.’ ” *Parriana*, 162.

To compensate him in some measure for his devotion to the cause, the whigs raised him, by subscription, a pension of three hundred pounds a year, which made him quite comfortable. As to political measures, he was in favour of the first movements of the French revolution, and opposed to the American war, the slave trade, the suspension of the *Habeas Corpus* act; but was no friend to parliamentary reform. Though, in the end, he warmly advocated the repeal of the Test acts, he was a long time of a different opinion; and we much fear, from his wavering, that, like his brother Hellenist, Blomfield, his zeal for toleration might have been somewhat attempered by the timely gift of a bishopric. The Memoirs intimate, and we may not gainsay them, that the Doctor, while valiant with his tongue, was often timid in action, and that he was not always as candid as could be desired, especially in religious matters,—on which we will only observe, that indecision and hypocrisy are two things often confounded, and that neither wisdom nor courage requires that a man shall butt down every barrier that impedes his course, when he can only break his own head without abating the nuisance.

The admiration of Dr. Parr for Fox, both as a personal and political friend, was unbounded. He frequently had the parli-

amentary debates read to him by one of his pupils, who has thus narrated it :—

“ In the delivery of Mr. Pitt’s speeches, I sometimes took a malicious pleasure in giving the utmost possible effect to the brilliant passages ; upon which the Doctor would exclaim, ‘ why, you noodle, do you dwell with such energy upon Pitt’s empty declamation ? Don’t you see it is all sophistry ? ’ At other moments he would say, ‘ that is powerful, but Fox will answer it ! ’ When I pronounced the words ‘ Mr. Fox rose,’ Parr would roar out ‘ stop ! ’ and, after shaking the ashes out of his pipe, and filling it afresh, he would add—‘ Now, you dog, do your best.’ In the course of the speech, he would often interrupt me in a tone of triumphant exultation, with exclamations such as the following—‘ capital ! ’—‘ answer that, if you can Master Pitt ! ’ and, at the conclusion—‘ that is the speech of the orator and the statesman ; Pitt is a mere rhetorician ; ’ adding after a pause—‘ a very able one, I admit.’ ”—*Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 9.

The next literary labour of Dr. Parr was the republication of “ *Tracts of Warburton and a Warburtonian*,” (Hurd) with a preface and dedication to Hurd, from his own pen. These tracts, which are not admitted by their respective authors into the editions of their collected works, and which they had tried sedulously to suppress, consisted of two early Essays by Warburton, nowise equal to his great abilities and learning, and the same number by Hurd, disgraceful to him for their virulence against two learned and amiable divines—Leland and Jortin. The arrogance and scurrility of Warburton, and the malice and unfairness of his servile minion, Hurd, might well have deserved the punishment of having these “ tracts ” dragged from their dark abodes, and damned to everlasting fame ; but we may approve the punishment of a felon without respecting the executioner, and especially if he be a volunteer. Dr. Parr perhaps, merits approbation for rescuing the aspersed memories of Leland and Jortin ; still, it seems to us, his rage might have been silenced over the tomb of Warburton, and even softened towards the declining age of the venerable Hurd. Many causes have been assigned for his conduct ; we may, however, in charity presume that he was prompted by the desire alone of vindicating the memories of two distinguished men against those who never asked the counsels of justice in commencing their literary attack, nor heeded the expostulations of mercy in the hour of victory.

The dedication and preface, with Dr. Parr’s usual faults, such as constantly rounded periods, abundant epithets and multifarious antitheses, afford splendid specimens of writing, which,

in our opinion, rank among his most eloquent and nervous efforts. The following is from the Dedication :—

“ He, [Warburton] blundered against grammar ; and you, [Hurd] refined against idiom. He, from defect of taste, contaminated English by Gallicism ; and you, from excess of affectation, sometimes disgraced what would have risen to ornamental and dignified writing, by a profuse mixture of vulgar and antiquated phraseology. He soared into sublimity, without effort ; and you, by effort, sunk into a kind of familiarity, which, without leading to perspicuity, borders upon meanness.— He was great by the energies of nature ; and you were little by the misapplication of art. He, to show his strength, piled up huge and rugged masses of learning ; and you, to show your skill, split and shivered them into what your brother critic calls *Υψηλότητα και ἀριστεύματα*. He sometimes reached the force of Longinus, but without his elegance ; and you exhibited the intricacies of Aristotle, but without his exactness. Wit was in Warburton, the spontaneous growth of nature ; while, in your lordship, it seemed to be the forced and unmellowed fruit of study. He, in his lighter exertions, still preserved his vigour ; as you, in your greater, seldom laid aside your flippancy. He, perhaps, with better success than Demosthenes, seized the *famam dicacis* ; and you, with success not quite equal, aimed at the praise of urbanity. He flamed on his readers with the brilliancy of a meteor ; and you scattered around them the scintillations of a firebrand. To grapple with the unwieldy was among the frolics of Warburton ; whilst your lordship toiled in chasing the subtle. He often darkened the subject, and you perplexed it. He, by the boldness and magnitude of his conceptions, overwhelmed our minds with astonishment ; and you, by the singularity and nicety of your quibbles, benumbed them with surprise. In him, we find our intellectual powers expanded and invigorated by the full and vivid representation which he holds up, both of common and uncommon objects ; while you, my lord, contrive to cramp and to cripple them, by all the tedious formalities of minute and scrupulous analysis. He shunned every appearance of soothing the reader into attention ; and you failed in every attempt to decoy him into conviction. He instructed where he did not persuade ; and you, by your petulant and contemptuous gibes, disgusted every man of sense, whom you might otherwise have amused by your curious and showy conceits. Let me commend both you and the Bishop of Gloucester, where commendation is due ; and let me bestow it, not with the thrifty and penurious measure of a critic by profession, nor yet with the coldness and languor of an envious antagonist ; but with the ardent gratitude of a man, whom, after many a painful feeling of weariness and disgust, you have refreshed unexpectedly ; and whom, as if by some secret touch of magic, you have charmed and overpowered with the most exquisite sense of delight. Yes, my lord, in a few lucky and lucid intervals between the paroxysms of your polemical frenzy, all the laughable, and all the loathsome singularities which floated on the surface of your diction, have, in a moment vanished ; while, in their stead, beauties equally striking, from their suddenness, their originality and their splendour, have burst in a ‘ flood of glory ’ on the astonished and enrap-

tured reader. Often has my mind hung with fondness and with admiration over the crowded, yet clear and luminous galaxies of imagery, diffused through the works of Bishop Taylor; the mild and unsullied lustre of Addison; the variegated and expanded eloquence of Burke; the exuberance and dignified ease of Middleton; the gorgeous declamation of Bolingbroke; and the majestic energy of Johnson. But if I were to do justice, my lord, to the more excellent parts of your own writings, or of Warburton's, I should say that the English language, even in its widest extent, cannot furnish passages more strongly marked, either by grandeur in the thought, by felicity in the expression, by pauses varied and harmonious, or by full and sonorous periods."*

The effect of this cutting satire on Hurd, may be surmised from the fact, that the veteran gladiator, formerly so prompt in assaulting others, did not now attempt to defend himself; nor did he ever in conversation allude to a subject which could not have been indifferent to one of his irascible temperament. A reply was attempted by a friend of Hurd, which Dr. Parr said, "he read with much entertainment from its vivacity, with no conviction from its arguments, and with calm contempt at the false and injurious intimation it contained."†

The year 1791, is memorable in English history, for the disgraceful riots at Birmingham. The friends of civil and religious freedom in that place had resolved to celebrate the anniversary of the taking of the Bastille, by a public dinner; and the high Tories thought this would be a favourable opportunity of crushing the spreading spirit of liberty, at a single blow:—

"The passions and the prejudices of the vulgar, by every possible means, were previously aroused and inflamed. On the day appointed, a rabble was easily collected, and as easily excited to acts of outrage, by the instigation of artful leaders; among whom, some even of the clergy and some of the magistracy were found. Not only the chapels, but the dwelling-houses, the elegant villas and spacious mansions belonging to the dissenters, were laid in ashes, and the owners were obliged to fly in every direction for safety. All social feeling, all moral obligation, seemed to be at once suspended or abjured; and, not only in Birmingham, but through the whole surrounding neighbourhood, to the distance of many miles, for the space of four or five days and nights, by the mad fury of churchmen acting on the drunken delirium of a mob—the reign of terror was complete."—*Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 306.

The celebrated Dr. Priestly was one of the principal sufferers. In a civilized age, his house, containing his valuable philosophical apparatus, his extensive library, his manuscripts, the

* Tracts by Warburton and a Warburtonian.

† *Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 284.

fruit of time, talents and industry, was given ruthlessly to the flames, and, had not its owner escaped by timely flight, the very close of the eighteenth century would have been illustrated by a protestant *auto-da-fe*. The principles of Dr. Parr, and his intimacy with Dr. Priestly and other dissenters, were so well known, that it is probable the distance alone saved the inmate of Hatton from the visitation of the loyal and orthodox mob. Dr. Parr, on many occasions sufficiently cautious, was now too indignant to listen to prudential considerations.

"It happened at this period, that, dining in a public company, he was called upon to drink *Church and King*—the watchword of a party, and the reigning toast of the times. At first he resolutely declined; but, the obligation of compliance being urgently pressed upon him—rising, at length, with firmness and dignity, with a manner of impressive solemnity, and with a voice of powerful energy—he spoke thus, 'I am compelled to drink the toast given from the chair; but I shall do so with my own comment. Well then, gentlemen, *Church and King*—once it was the toast of Jacobites; now it is the toast of incendiaries. It means a church without christianity, and a king above law.'" *Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 308.—*Parriana*, 28.

Shortly before the Birmingham riots, Burke's declamatory, though sometimes eloquent, tirade against the French revolution being published, Dr. Parr was so disgusted with the tergiversation of his quondam friend Burkiss, that he first had his portrait hung up in a reversed position, and finally exiled it to the lumber loft.

Having received two anonymous letters, probably sent by his own pupils, Dr. Parr, on little or no evidence, chose to attribute them to Dr. Curtis. This imputation was promptly denied by Dr. Curtis. Dr. Parr then published "a Sequel to the printed paper lately circulated in Warwickshire, by the Rev. Charles Curtis, brother of Alderman Curtis, a Birmingham rector," &c. which contains many valuable observations on politics and religion; for he wrote on no subject without careering wherever his wayward fancy listed. So open, however, did he lay himself to ridicule, that Cumberland turned all the laughers against the Hellenist, by a witty pamphlet, entitled "Curtius rescued from the gulf; or the retort courteous to the Rev. Dr. Parr." "I conceived," says Cumberland, in his *Memoirs*, "that Dr. Parr had bit an unoffending gentleman too hard, by launching a huge fragment of Greek at his defenceless head. I made as good a fight as I could, and rummaged my *indexes* for quotations, which I crammed into my artillery as thick as grape-shot, and, in mere sport, fired them off against a rock invulnerable as the armour of Achilles."

A report, groundless however, having got abroad that a second commemoration of the French revolution was intended at Birmingham, Dr. Parr, with the benevolent intention of preventing the disgraceful scenes of the preceding year, issued from the press, a tract under the pompous name of "A Letter from Irenopolis to the inhabitants of Eleuthenopolis," which is considered by many as the Doctor's best performance. It undoubtedly contains noble sentiments, much correct reasoning, and passages of great force; but we consider it a judicious, rather than a great performance. The *Memoirs* state "it was begun and finished in one day," of which, meaning no disrespect, we believe not one word. Forty pages of rounded periods most artificially constructed, no one ever evolved "stans pede in uno."

A second literary quarrel, in which Dr. Parr was embroiled, deserves notice, as it gave rise to the longest specimen, we believe, of his scholarship. Henry Homer and Dr. Charles Combe projected a splendid *Variorum Horace*, and, during its progress, the advice and assistance of Dr. Parr were occasionally given; but they were withdrawn before the edition was completed, on the death of Homer and some differences with the surviving co-editor. When the work made its appearance, a report having got into circulation that the Doctor was one of the editors, he immediately denied it, in a public advertisement. Here he might have stopped. But he attacked the new *Horace* in four successive articles in the *British Critic*, which, with some alterations, were reprinted in the *Classical Journal*. Every one who publishes, ought to anticipate fair and temperate criticism; but those critiques, amidst abundant learning, certainly contain many hypercritical objections, and some remarks and insinuations in a temper nowise commendable, particularly when levelled against a learned and unoffending man. Dr. Combe replied with great acrimony, and was encountered by a bulky answer. The following character of the "*Argute Venusian*," is handsomely if not very acutely said:—

"The writings of Horace are familiar to us from our earliest boyhood. They carry with them attractions, which are felt in every period of life, and almost every rank of society. They charm alike by the harmony of the numbers and the purity of the diction. They exhilarate the gay and interest the serious, according to the different kinds of subjects upon which the poet is employed. Professing neither the precision of analysis nor the copiousness of system, they have advantages, which, among the ordinary classes of writers, analysis and system rarely attain. They exhibit human imperfections as they really are, and human excellence as it practically ought to be. They develop every principle

of the virtuous in morals, and describe every modification of the decorous in manners. They please without the glare of ornament, and they instruct without the formality of precept. They are the produce of a mind enlightened by study, invigorated by observation; comprehensive, but not visionary; delicate, but not fastidious; too sagacious to be warped by prejudice, and too generous to be cramped by suspicion. They are distinguished by learning adapted to the sentiment, and by effort proportioned to the occasion. They contain elegance without affectation, grandeur without bombast, satire without buffoonery, and philosophy without jargon.*

'The next appearance of Dr. Parr before the public, was not quite so favourable to his reputation as a critic. When the two Irelands produced their Shakspeare forgeries, and among others, the tragedy of "Vortigern and Rowena," Dr. Parr drew up a certificate, signed by himself, Boswell, and other literary characters, professing their belief in the authenticity of the MSS. Porson, being asked for his signature, refused, alleging "he had ever felt the strongest repugnance to signing articles of faith." Sheridan, then manager of Drury-Lane, did not give his attestation, yet had the tragedy acted; but the good sense of a London audience "damned it with infinite expedition." It seems that a reluctant consent was wrung from Sheridan; for, when borne down by the authority of the learned upholders of the impostures, he grumbled out "Shakspeare's they may be; but if so, by G—— he was drunk when he wrote them." Our learned Doctor was much ridiculed for his credulity; and it was even reported that he had fallen on his knees and fervently kissed the supposed progeny of Shakspeare; but it seems that it was in fact Boswell, who performed these adorations with such "Oriental scrupulosity."

It may be gathered from his ready belief in the Shakspeare fabrications, as well as from many other similar proofs, that Dr. Parr had no great tact in discriminating styles. To go no farther, we might judge so, from his guess at the author of Junius, his extravagant praises of Charles Butler, and his admiration of a certain Parson Stewart, whose poems we have never heard of before, being, perhaps, like some high-priced wines, too delicate to bear transportation across the Atlantic.

Dr. Parr is known by nothing more widely than his Spital sermon, preached at the request of the Lord Mayor in London, for the benefit of the hospitals. From the extensive fame of the Doctor, the church was crowded with a brilliant and learned audience. The hospitals must have reaped a bounteous harvest, if the benevolence of the hearers swelled to the measure

* First critique on the *Variorum Horace*—*Class. Journal*, v. 162.

of the discourse, which occupied more than an hour in the delivery. After the preacher had descended from the pulpit, no doubt well pleased with his own exertions, he anxiously inquired of the Lord Mayor (Combe) how he had been pleased. "Let me have," said Parr, "the suffrage of your strong and honest understanding." "Why, Doctor," replied Combe, "there were four things in your sermon which I did not like to hear." "State them," said the divine eagerly. "Why, to speak frankly then," said Combe, "they were the quarters of the church clock, which struck four times before you finished."*

Ponderous as was this homily, it proceeded from the press with a vast appendage of notes, *de omni scibili*, which swelled the book to 161 quarto pages, closely printed; for a specimen, there is a defence of the University of Oxford against the attacks of Gibbon, extending through some thirty pages. Indeed, it was one of the peculiarities of the learned author, that, on whatever subject he wrote, he emptied his whole sack of knowledge, as if it needed airing. The subject of the Spital sermon is benevolence, and a good portion of the reasoning is directed against an idea formerly held by Godwyn, that universal benevolence should be the immediate motive of our actions. In general, the style is monotonous from a constant attempt at fine writing; though many parts are sensible, nervous, and occasionally eloquent. Even where argument is employed, the logician is always united with the rhetorician. Godwyn replied; and, although it is probable he could not conjugate a verb in " μ ," shews how far, in ethical reasoning, a little acuteness is superior to the collected riches of ancient and modern lore, without it. Indeed, the sermon, in its metaphysic, is rather muddy; and, though an able, is not a very original production. The attack, too, on Godwyn, who had long before recanted the doctrine in question, and with whom he was on a friendly footing, deserves severe censure.

The present, from Sir Francis Burdett, of a Rectory worth £270 a year; and, sometime after, the increased value, from the falling in of leases, of a prebend which he then held in St. Paul's, rendered him affluent in his later days. In 1806, Fox rose momentarily to power, only to set immediately in splendour. As in the case of Canning, a brilliant prospect for liberty, was speedily obscured by the shadows of death. It was now generally understood, that Parr intended to write the biography of the departed statesman, and expectation was on tiptoe.

—————"Amphora cœpit
Institui; currente rota cur urceus exit?"

* Memoirs, vol. i. p. 381.

The public were much disappointed when, to redeem the pledge he had given them, he presented them, in two purey octavos, a kind of *Olla Podrida*, or *Omnium Gatherum* from newspapers, speeches, sermons, magazines, and other publications, "*ejuadem farinæ*," in homely prose and ornate metre, yclept "*Characters of the late Charles James Fox; selected and in part written by Philopatris Varvicensis*," 1809. At the close of the first volume, there is a portrait of Fox by the hand of Dr. Parr, executed with a grand outline and splendid colouring, but somewhat wanting in those fine distinctive touches, which give character and individuality to such sketches—native ease and simple terseness are in vain to be sought for, amid the flowing and glittering diction. So much for the first volume. The second is a superb sample of the Doctor's delight and talent in note-making; for it consists entirely of "notes, and of notes upon notes, together, with additional notes, and additions to notes." One of these appendages is a dissertation on criminal law, longer than the *Code Frederique*, or *Beccaria on Crimes*, though much more learned, if learning is to be estimated by quotations—for he has pressed into his service, Sir Thomas More, Erasmus, Beccaria, Voltaire, Eden, Dagge, Dr. Johnson, Jeremy Bentham, Bradford, Romilly, and Basil Montagu.

Dr. Parr was fond of besprinkling his writings with Greek and Latin citations; which, from his occupation of school-master, he might well be supposed to know; but, in mercy to his readers, he should have remembered that every one was not a pedagogue. It has been sometimes stated, that, preaching in the University Church of Cambridge, he regaled the "Sophs, tutors, professors and heads of houses," with a Greek sermon, which might have vied with the happiest efforts of Gregory Nazianzen or Chrysostom; but Mr. Barker informs us, that this discourse, like the fabled silver leg of Peter Sturtevant, was merely richly ornamented with the precious material.*

In 1810 Dr. Parr lost his wife, and, soon after, his only remaining daughter. He had had one more daughter, who died a few years before. Two granddaughters still survive.

It is admitted that Dr. Parr did not lead a very happy life with his spouse; yet he always spoke of her with great respect and affection *after* her death, when, perhaps, distance of time had "lent enchantment to the view." Mr. Symmons, author of a life of Milton, and a good Greek scholar, relates, that, "when he was introduced to Mrs. Parr, she received him with, "so, sir, I find you are a Grecian," and she ran to her cupboard for the

* Knickerbocker's History of New-York.

brandy-bottle, as she associated the idea of brandy and Greek together, from the quantities used when Porson visited there.* That Mrs. Parr had some grounds for her opinion, the following scene between a grave divine and learned professor will shew :—

“Professor Porson one day called on Horne Tooke, and was detained to dinner. Some expressions of a disagreeable nature are said to have occurred at table ; and the Professor, at last, actually threatened both to kick and to cuff his host. On this, the Philologist, after exhibiting his own brawny chest, sinewy arms, and muscular legs, to the best possible advantage, endeavoured to evince the prudence of deciding the question as to strength, by recurring to a different species of combat. Accordingly, setting aside the port and sherry, then before them, he ordered a *couple of quarts of brandy* ; and, by the time the *second bottle* was half emptied, the Greek fell vanquished under the table. On this, the victor at this new species of Olympic game, taking hold of his antagonist’s limbs in succession, exclaimed, ‘This is the foot that was to have kicked, and the hand that was to have cuffed me !’ and then, drinking one glass more to the speedy recovery of his prostrate adversary, ordered ‘that great care should be taken of Mr. Professor Porson ;’ after which he withdrew to the adjacent apartment, in which tea and coffee had been prepared, with the same seeming calmness as if nothing had occurred.”†

Parr often said “Porson is the first Greek scholar in England ; Burney the third,” adding, “I leave you to guess the second.” Herman, however, he considered as the first of living critics.

Undismayed at his previous bitter experience, Dr. Parr, when nearly seventy, espoused a lady of suitable age, and the event fully justified the prudence of his choice ; for the sweets of wedded love, which had been denied to “life’s merry morn,” put forth, in his latter days, like rosemary in winter. “Again, and again did he declare that his latter years were those in which he had, above all others, the most perfect enjoyment of life.”

Many anecdotes are given in the Memoirs and Parriana, which illustrate his habits and peculiar turn of mind. “He rose early even in his old age ; and throwing carelessly around him his clothes, which were, not uncommonly, of uncouth shape and coarse texture, and, not unfrequently, well-worn and well-patched, with his head enveloped in a night-cap, he sat down in his library, and employed himself in reading, writing or dictating to others. The same habits of industry, which he had acquired in youth and cultivated in manhood, remained unchanged in advanced age. His thirst for knowledge was as

* Parriana, 548.

† Memoirs of Horne Tooke.

ardent, and his application to study as persevering in the later, as in the earlier periods of his life. His morning hours were often devoted to his correspondents, who were very numerous, including not only his intimate friends, but many also of the most eminent writers and scholars in this country, and some also of those on the continent.* In mercy to his friends, his letters were generally dictated to an amanuensis; for, as he often complains, it was totally out of his power to write legibly.† Had a spider fallen into the inkstand, and then crawled over the paper, he would have made characters as symmetrical, and nearly as intelligible. Many are the Doctor's MSS. that remain as enigmatical as the Phenician lines in Plautus.

"He had no inclination for any of the sports of hunting, shooting or fishing; nor had he the least taste for gardening or agriculture."

"But every day he was his friend enough
To spin his blood and whirl its humours off,
And take his draught of generous exercise,
The youth of age, and medicine of the wise,"‡

which was always a gentle riding on horseback. "He was often to be seen, on the road from Hatton to Warwick, or from that town to Leamington, moving slowly along, the most grotesque figure imaginable, wrapped in an old blue cloak, with coarse worsted stockings, and one rusty spur; his head covered with a huge cauliflower wig, and a small cocked hat overtopping all; his servant preceding him about a dozen yards, either on foot or horseback."§ In these excursions he dreaded snow; but, as to winter's cold and summer's heat, "howling winds and beating rain," he bade them defiance. The old blue cloak was sometimes replaced by "a loose zebra-striped great coat, stripes, brown and white." On festival days, at dinner parties, and on all such important occasions, his dress was the most gorgeous of the by-gone regime. He had a well-stored wardrobe, which he often shewed with pride, where the richest "three-piled" Genoa velvets, silks and satins, shamed the sober lustre of modern habiliments. Fully arrayed in black velvet, with his flowing peruke well-powdered, he was the very beau ideal of the lingering heroes, that form the connecting link between the last and the present century. Never since Sir Walter Raleigh introduced into Europe "Virginia's fragrant weed," was there a more inveterate votary of the pipe—he smoked in all places and at all times. Not only was he permitted to smoke in the palace

* *Memoirs*, vol. ii. pp. 108–110.

† See *Class. Jour.* xxxi. 350.—*Parr.* 31.

‡ *The Liberal*, iv. 270.

§ *Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 214.

of the Duke of Sussex, but the Duke smoked with him. Nay, in his visits to royalty itself, the velvet tapestries and damask draperies of Carlton House, were richly perfumed by his fumigations. With cards he frequently amused himself, but would never play except for nominal stakes. Once, indeed, to be complaisant, he was persuaded to play for a shilling; but then it was with a bishop. He was fond of music, and attempted once to become a performer on the violoncello. "His performance consisted in merely holding the instrument by the head, and sounding the open strings, and singing with great animation and power of voice, Greek verses or chorusses, as he called them;—shifting the fingers, he said, was useless, and merely a French innovation." Ashley, the famous violoncello-player, met him at Norwich, and inquiring if he still continued practising on the violoncello, he very seriously replied, that, "as he could not accomplish the Greek scale, he had been reluctantly compelled to resign his musical studies."^{*}

He was highly social in his nature, and passed scarcely a day without visiting his neighbours or receiving company at home. In his first wife's time, he was constantly forced to search abroad, pleasure not to be found in his own house. 'To good cheer he was no enemy; he ate abundantly, but drank moderately. Whenever there was a public dinner in his vicinity, the culinary arrangements were submitted to his directions, and here both whig and tory, churchman and dissenter, did justice to the soundness of his judgment and to the elegance of his taste. Still we are inclined to think that "the venerable Ude" would have considered his *gout* for roast mutton with onion sauce, as an offence against the code of gastronomy, "rank and smelling to Heaven." "I have heard him," says one writer, "give directions that it should be sent to the table, covered with a brown incrustation of salt and flour. His favourite part of the joint, to which he liked to help himself, was that which contained nothing but fat—it lies opposite to the part that is first carved. This he would cut, not into slices, but into a large circular lump; he called it a "*hunch*."[†]

His company was much courted on account of his uncommon colloquial powers. It is told that, on one occasion, a certain hungry archbishop was so gorged with the rich morsels, which fell from Dr. Parr's lips, "that he ceased to do honour to the substantial repast before him, crossed his knife and fork upon his plate, and sat in mute astonishment at the phenomenon, to whom he listened."[‡] He not unfrequently engrossed the greater

^{*} *Parriana*, p. 470.

[†] *Ibid.* p. 366.

[‡] *Ibid.* p. 49.

part of the conversation, talking sometimes of himself, with infinite complacency, and to others with much rudeness.

"He was insisting on the importance of discipline, established on a wise system, and enforced with a steady hand in schools, in colleges, in the navy and in the army, when he was suddenly, and somewhat rudely interrupted by a young officer who had just received his commission, and was not a little proud of his blushing honors. 'What, sir,' said he, 'do you mean to apply that word *discipline* to the *officers*, of the army? It may do well enough for the *privates*.'" 'Yes sir, I do,' was the stern reply; 'it is discipline that makes the scholar—it is discipline that makes the soldier—it is discipline that makes the gentleman—and the want of discipline has made you—what you are.'"—*Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 127.

"Conversation once took a turn about Charles Fox, and Dr. Parr grew very warm. A young spark, who was present, ventured to oppose him, and was for going into some argument—'Sir,' said the doctor, 'is that your opinion? and do you wish to argue the point with me? I do not use reasoning with such boys as you; but, if I had a rod here, Sir, I would give you a good flogging.'"—*Parriana*, 447.

"Soon after the execution of O'Coigly, the Irish priest, for high treason, a Scotch barrister, who was suspected of some political tergiversation, observed that O'Coigly richly merited his fate, for it was impossible to conceive a greater scoundrel. 'By no means sir,' said Dr. Parr, 'it is possible to conceive a much greater scoundrel. He was an Irishman, he might have been a Scotchman; he was a priest, he might have been a lawyer; he was a traitor, he might have been an apostate.'"

"A young man of noble family had proposed to him this question—'Whether he thought the cross on the back of the ass was really occasioned by our Saviour's riding on that animal into Jerusalem?' Dr. Parr, with knit brow and raised voice, instantly replied, 'Mr. S. D. it would be well if you had a little more of the cross, and less of the ass!'" *Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 13.

Among his other rude sayings, one of his friends informed us of the following:—"A friend of Dr. Parr, possessing both talent and learning, once asked him what he thought of the Athanasian creed,—“Sir,” said he, “when I speak on that subject, it must be with a learned man.”

For punning, Dr. Parr had a thorough contempt, and rarely attempted it; although he sometimes succeeded in it very well:

"Reaching a book from a high shelf in his library, two other books came tumbling down; of which, one, a critical work of Lambert Bos, fell upon the other, which was a volume of Hume.—'See, said he, what has happened—*procumbit humi bos*.' On another occasion, sitting in his room, suffering under the effects of a slight cold, when too strong a current of air was let in upon him, he cried out 'stop! stop! that is too much. I am at present *par levibus ventis*.' At another time, a gentleman having asked him to subscribe to Dr. Busby's translation of Lu-

cretius, he declined to do so, saying, it would cost so much money ; it would, indeed, be *Lucretius Carus*.”—*Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 134.

“The following instance of a modern Greek pun, extorted from him applause. He had been engaged in a warm dispute with Payne, who gained a considerable advantage over him, and said something by which he was so irritated, that he exclaimed—‘Sir, this is not fair argument : it is downright impudence.’ ‘True Doctor,’ said Mr. Knight, ‘the Greek word for it is *Παθήσια*.’ He was not only appeased, but delighted ; and shaking his antagonist by the hand, cried out, ‘a fair retort ! Sir, I forgive you, I forgive you,’ and then laughed heartily.” *Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 135.

For the company of ladies he had a great fondness, particularly literary ladies, as Mrs. Barbauld, Miss Hamilton, Miss Carter, &c. Mrs. Opie was an especial favourite. “She unites in herself,” would he say, “qualities we seldom see in the same female. She is well-looking ; she writes well ; she talks well ; sings well ; dances well, and is, altogether, not only a very amiable, but a very fascinating woman.”* When he had spoken to any of the girls in company, he generally made the round, for fear the others, “poor things,” should be mortified. Often, to flatter them, would he request the youngest to hold the lighted paper for his pipe. Yet, even the fair sex were not always spared, in his retorts courteous. “To one lady, who had violated, as he thought, some of the little rules of propriety, he said—‘Madam, your father was a gentleman, and I thought that his daughter might have been a lady.’ To another, who had also ventured to oppose him, with more warmth of temper than cogency of reasoning, and who afterwards apologized for herself, by saying ‘that it is the privilege of women to talk nonsense,—‘No, madam,’ replied Parr, it is not their privilege, but their infirmity. Ducks would walk, if they could ; but nature suffers them only to waddle.’”†

His visitings often extended to the metropolis, where his lodgings were so crowded, every day, that it would almost appear like a levee. Among his visitors were Burdett, M’Intosh, Brougham, &c. ; the Dukes of Bedford, Gloucester, Sussex, &c. During his stay of five or six weeks, he passed not a day without dining out with some public or private party. On his return to the country, he would complain, with mock dignity, of the prodigious discomfort of being a great man. Either these attentions, or nature, originally, had endowed him with a most sufficient degree of respect for his own superlative merit. He remarked to a friend after reading Major Cartwright’s “The Constitution produced and illustrated,” that the author wrote with more energy, the older he grew, and that he did not believe there was

* *Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 161.

† *Ibid.* p. 128.

any man of his age capable of producing such a work ; adding, in a laughing tone, "except myself."* Once, after listening to a speech of Fox, he exclaimed,—“had I followed any other profession, I might have been sitting by the side of that illustrious statesman ; I should have had all his powers of argument—all Erskine’s eloquence—and all Hargraves’ law.”†

As a village pastor, no one ever discharged his duties in a more faithful or exemplary manner. Except on particular occasions, he did not preach his own sermons, but read from Barrow, Clark, Jortin, or sometimes from dissenters. Frequently, when a thought struck him, he diverged extempore from the printed text, and in these digressions would generally consume his allotted time. If a clerical acquaintance were present, he would now and then introduce learned critical remarks, kindly informing the congregation that this extra quantity of erudition was intended “for the learned brother, *who could fully understand it.*”‡ Sometimes he bestowed castigation, where he thought it merited, not only on his own immediate parishioners, but on those whom chance placed under his rod. “On one occasion, he was preaching, and had just entered on his discourse, when he observed among his audience one whom he knew, and whom he characterized as a “Brom-wych-am, (Birmingham) bigot.” Instantly changing his subject, and slightly apologizing for the change, he proceeded to deliver, as he expressed it, “a wholesome lesson” on the meanness and the misery of an intolerant spirit, and the duty, the reasonableness and happiness of cultivating sentiments of kind regard towards honest men of all religious sects.”§

Never was a divine more tolerant in religion ; wherever he found virtue he esteemed it, and cherished it in churchman, catholic or dissenter. “Very few and very simple,” said he, “are the truths which we have, any of us, a right to pronounce necessary to salvation. It is extremely unsafe to bewilder the judgment or to inflame the passions of men, upon those abstruse subjects of controversy, about which bigots, indeed, may dogmatise, with fierce and imperious confidence ; whilst they, who are scholars without pedantry, and believers without superstition, are content to differ from each other, with sentiments of mutual respect and mutual forbearance.” His Christianity was best seen in his Christian acts,—his attention to the poor, and his visits to the prisons, and the liberal use of his purse and exertions, whenever humanity needed them. His religion was of the most cheerful kind :—

* Life of Major Cartwright.

† Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 337.

‡ Parriana, 498.

§ Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 331.

"It was a fixed opinion in his mind, that above all other means, social entertainments are the most effectual for promoting kind feeling and good will among men and neighbours. He often said, that, in nine instances out of ten, where persons are divided from each other by disesteem or dislike,—only bring them together—let them know each other, and from that moment they are friends. Impressed with these sentiments, he always marked with his approbation, and often encouraged by his presence, balls, concerts, races, theatrical exhibitions, fairs, clubs, and other social meetings; those especially in which the high and the low associate and come into communion with one another."—*Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 321.

If the Doctor's politics had not always been of the most decided kind in his youth, at a later period he atoned for it by his firm devotion to the cause of civil and religious liberty, and his manly intrepidity in avowing it. He became intimate with Cartwright; had Hone, "a prodigy of genius and heroism," to dine with him; cherished Jeremy Bentham; and, at a public meeting, even made a speech against the suspension of the Habeas Corpus act. On the landing of Queen Caroline, he was one of those who immediately espoused her cause, and was admitted to her confidence.

We have touched upon his most important literary labours, and we will mention but one more, which is among his last, viz. "a Catalogue of his numerous books, published since his death, in seven hundred pages, octavo." Day and night was he employed in this fatiguing task, without a secretary, and, from the nature of the business, little assisted by his auxiliaries.* Besides giving a systematic list of the books, to most of them are subjoined notices of their authors, critical observations, &c. It is curious how, in a thing of this kind, he still preserves his usual ornate and elaborate style.

Happy in his family, surrounded by friends, enjoying a widespread reputation, possessed of a large fortune, which enabled him to gratify his fondness for society and taste for literature, and above all, cheered by the recollection of a well-spent life, without bodily infirmity or mental decay, Dr. Parr's declining years were eminently happy. It was in his 73d year that he was attacked with his first serious malady—a violent erysipelas, from which he recovered: a second attack, some years after, brought on by imprudent exposure to severe cold, terminated his mortal career, March 6, 1825, at the age of 78 years. It is worthy of remark, that one of his pall-bearers, nominated before his death, was a dissenter—Mr. Field, his biographer. "His reason for this," as he repeatedly declared, "was to proclaim to the world that the same

* Cartwright's Life. Butler's Reminiscences.

sentiments of religious candour which influenced him through life, were strong in death.”*

“In his person, Dr. Parr was about the middle height, squarely built, of strong athletic frame, not much inclined to corpulency. His head was large and somewhat cumbrous; his hind-head remarkably capacious; his forehead full and firm; his eyes, of a fine, grey colour, possessed uncommon animation even in his old age, and were finely overhung with large bushy eyebrows. His features, though somewhat coarse, were not irregular, and upon the whole, pleasing; strongly indicating the mental energy, and still more the benevolent spirit which breathed and stirred within him. When thoughtful and silent, the general expression of his countenance was that of serene satisfaction; and when conversing, his looks were those of benignity and goodness—his smile was peculiarly fascinating. In his whole air and manner, there was much of the dignity which commands respect, and still more of the kindness which conciliates affection. His voice was remarkably powerful, and, in spite of his lisp, he might have been an orator.”—*Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 356.

Perhaps, from what has been said, a sufficient idea can be collected of Dr. Parr, as a scholar, a writer, a theologian, and a man. We had almost added—as a politician; but here, we think little need be said. His exertions cannot be ranked with those of Belsham, Price or Priestly—far less with those of Horne Tooke and Cartwright.

We will sum up in a few words:—In Greek and Latin learning, it may safely be asserted, that he was, in his day, without a rival in England. The overrated Porson and more modest Burney probably surpassed him, in an intimate knowledge of the Greek tragic poets, without equalling him in general classical reading—yet, the preface to Bellendenus, some Latin epitaphs, very well written, and a few reviews, close the list of his labours on the ancients. Of his skill and acuteness in emendation, we have little proof; and we fancy that he must be placed below Dawes and Porson, and far, very far below Bentley. His attainments in languages may be said to be exclusively limited to Latin and Greek—he knew little Hebrew, less French, and no Italian, Spanish or German. In English, his reading was immense, at once varied and profound; yet, of the sciences, with the exception of medicine, he was profoundly ignorant. No mathematics—no botany—no chemistry or geology. Notwithstanding his vast acquisitions in the literature of his country, he has produced no great work, although strong and brilliant passages abound in all his writings. His style, though evidently formed with great care, and evincing a deep

* *Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 350.

knowledge of the force and harmony of the English language, is monotonous and overloaded with epithets, laboured antitheses and balanced periods. In vain do we look for simple elegance, or the happy *abandon* of colloquial ease. Even where we expect cool disquisition, we find the orator, instead of the philosopher. All his productions show a sensible, learned man—never, we think, an original or acute one. Wherever he attempts metaphysics, it is mystery; and, in politics and religion, though on the liberal side, it is apparent that he was often carried on by good feeling, without analyzing, with philosophic precision, the principles upon which he acted. It may be gathered from his biographers, that much of his fame rested on a ready wit, and the facile display of a richly stored mind. How far his reputation for colloquial powers was merited, very few can judge—we cannot—and it is so evanescent in its nature, that it must soon be left out of the account. At all events, it is a very deceptive test of genius—requiring only a moderate degree of talent, superficial knowledge, a good memory, and a pleasant manner. We might as well attempt to discriminate the colours of the feathered race on the wing, as to subject the rapid flow of conversation to critical analysis.

The renown accorded to Dr. Parr, by his contemporaries, and still upheld, with enthusiastic fondness, by his friends, will speedily be reduced within its proper bounds. To the great *heroes* of the English language—to Addison and Johnson and Hume, he must give precedence; and even take place below Lowth, Jortin and Middleton. His inordinate vanity and love of flattery were great flaws in his character. His rudeness in conversation and inattention to the established usages of the world, were still more censurable. He who habitually disregards the code of good manners is no more fit for the society, by whose tacit agreement that code was formed, than an habitual law-breaker is fit to be the citizen of a well regulated state. Bad manners, in those of ordinary opportunities, are the result of imperfect observation or of bad feeling, and we generally find, that those who claim from society the most indulgence, grant the least to others. No doubt Dr. Parr would have readily perceived and censured in others, the rudeness in which he so frequently indulged. He had, however, redeeming qualities. His active friendship, his diffusive benevolence, and his universal toleration are equally honourable to his head and his heart, and throw all his smaller defects into the shade.

After deducting, as we have deducted much, from Dr. Parr's literary pretensions, we think enough still remains to merit him

an enviable fame for talents and learning. Had he even written nothing, we are not among those who could view him without veneration, or consider him as having lived in vain. The very acquisition of extensive knowledge is a preparation for extensive utility. It is adding to the brilliancy of a light, which, alone, is to illuminate our path in the occupations of life, or in our searches after moral truth. It is preparing a man better, as the head of a family, to develop the infant mind, and to form its principles—to give impulse to genius and stability to virtue : it is preparing him better, as a member of society, to pursue his avocations with intelligence—to make a more agreeable friend, a more instructive companion, a more sensible adviser—to generously employ the means given him by Providence, in constantly promoting the happiness of the community, without ever overlooking the line where justice to ourselves begins. It prepares him better, as a citizen, to pursue private interest, in conjunction with public duty ; to discharge the offices of his country, so as to give the minutest exactness to their details, and the widest scope to their utility ; and to aid, more effectually, her councils, when there is need either of the stores of memory or the powers of practised intellect. It prepares him better, as a follower of religion, to be liberal, without lukewarmness, and zealous, without bigotry—to view, with clearer ken, what is allowed to self, and what to society, nor yet to forget what is due to the Giver of all Good. Nothing can be valueless that exerts a sensible, moral influence on society. Who can calculate how many of the rising generation are incited to mental culture, by the contemplation of a richly gifted and richly stored understanding?—or how many of more mature age have their intellectual ardor kept alive, by intercourse with those who can resolve doubts, confute errors, communicate information, or give certainty to opinion ? Even when such men, through chance or choice, “ along the cool sequestered vale of life have held the noiseless tenor of their way,” their effect is widely seen, in the elegance of society—like the orbs which constitute the heavenly galaxy—each distant and viewless ; yet shedding, collectively, a mild and extensive radiance.

The distinction, too, ever conceded to talent and erudition, is a lesson the most striking and consoling to the scholar. Hope is awakened and exertion strengthened, when he beholds the glitter of wealth fading before the treasures of learning, and titles sink into empty names before the nobility of genius.

It is time to notice his biographers. The *Memoirs* are evidently from the pen of a practised writer ; but they are, in general, correct, without elegance, and clear, without force—a monotony

pervades them totally incompatible with the ease which gives a charm to biography. Some parts have considerable merit ; for instance, the account of the Birmingham riots, and of Warburton and Hurd. The author appears to be an amiable and candid man ; and, as he had every opportunity of acquiring authentic information, we have no doubt his work is entitled to full faith. We could very well have spared "the biographical notices of all the friends, pupils and contemporaries," known and unknown, of Dr. Parr, which add more to the size and price than to the interest of the work.

In looking over the *Parriana*, we no longer wondered that Blomfield withdrew his subscription from Mr. Barker's edition of the Greek Stephanus, on account of the extraneous matter stuffed into it. It appears to be a bad imitation of a bad model, "*Philopatris Varvicensis*," and, judging from this specimen of his ability, we may say to the editor, in the words of Horace,—
"Non si te ruperis *par* eris."

We might submit to paying for a collection of notices of Dr. Parr, taken from newspapers and magazines, without corrections or explanations, which Mr. Barker, a pupil of the Doctor, could readily have given ; but it is presuming on the good nature of the public to give us histories of Bell's Dreams, the Quarrels of Dugald Stewart and Mr. Fearn, &c. which have no possible connexion with the subject, and add one third more to the volume. A continuation of the *Parriana* is promised ; but, if the forthcoming volume or volumes is to resemble the present one, we really think, that, like the pills in the "*Honey Moon*," one's a dose.

We observe, in the *Memoirs and Parriana*, a number of words scattered about, which, a few years ago, were called Americanisms, such as *grade*, *based*, *progressed* ; and but a single glance evinced that both works are English manufacture. Indeed, we could not look at them, without sighing over the freckled paper and ricketty binding, to which we are condemned by the far-famed "*American System*."

ART. VII.—*The French Cook*. By LOUIS EUSTACHE UDE. Ci-devant Cook to Louis XVI. and the Earl of Sefton, and Steward to his late Royal Highness, the Duke of York. 8vo. Carey & Lea. Philadelphia. 1828.

Cook to Louis XVI. and the Earl of Sefton !

“ And thou Dalhousie, the great God of War !
Lieutenant-Colonel to the Earl of Mar !

Peace to the manes of *Hannah Glasse* and *Mrs. Raffald* : even the *Domestic Cookery* by a lady, is sunk in oblivion ;—the fair sex are now deprived of the command of their ancient domain, and yield it, however reluctantly, to male intruders. What satisfied *Quin*, that former prince of gastronomers, will no longer satisfy the modern *Amphitryon* of more refined palate ; and the chymistry of the kitchen, even as expounded by Dr. Kitchener, that oracle of the Bourgeoisie, is regarded as a science too profound for female intellects to comprehend. Indeed, we are not sure, that however *recondité* this science may be, no great credit would accrue to one of the fair sex who would wish to compose a *sauce, avec laquelle on mangeroit sa grand-mère*. Nor is it merely necessary for an English or American cook, in modern days, to be minutely skilled in the French language ; *he* (for we dare not make use of the feminine) must be acquainted with the domestic habits and tastes of all nations, as well as with the past and present customs of his own : nay, more, he must have a decided taste for, and apprehension of the trope, metaphor, allegory and simile of cookery ; and its sublime effusions must be congenial to his habitual conceptions.

For instance, when a dish is to be dressed à la St. Meneshould, or when he serves up his Cotelettes à la Maintenon, or a composition à la Richelieu—or when he condescends, by way of variety, to compose a sauce à la Robert, or borrows an idea from the Cuisine à la Bourgeoise—when he treats us à la Venitienne, or à l’Italienne—or even when, by way of variety, he honours the English kitchen by a *plumbuting*, a Wouelche rebette ou Lapin Gallois, or a misies-paes, ou paté Anglais, what in English we vulgarly call a mince-pie ; a *bif-teak*, with *pommes de terre à l’Anglaise, dites mache-potetesse*, (2 Beauvill, 119, 121, 213) in preference to the same or similar articles à la Lyonnaise, or à la Bretonne—more especially when they are to be washed down (not with the Regent’s punch, which has not yet travelled over to Paris, but) with the *Ponge au Thé*, or the *Ponge*

à la Rhom, or à la Rac à l'Anglais, it is manifest, he must be *au fait dans les mœurs et coutumes des nations—dans les salles à manger et les Cuisines*, not only of the by-gone times of his own country, but of the modern tastes and improvements of the civilized foreigners around him; it being well known that ruin punch and arrack punch are in great request among all the upper classes of society in England! Nor is the language of this sublime science less *recherché*; putting in requisition, as we have seen, all the higher orders of intellect. A good cook must have his craniological indications unexceptionable: his organs of upper and lower individuality, of causality, locality, time, order, constructiveness, strongly marked; nor less so, the organ of self-approbation. Indeed, we doubt whether we ought to dispense with strongly-developed combativeness; inasmuch as he must rule despotic master of his own domains, and over all his liege subjects therein. Destructiveness, is of the very essence of cookery; though it need not extend the savage propensities of former days, to the "Anthropophagi who each other eat," or even to the later times, when the eye-lids of a fowl were sewed together, the feet of a turkey nailed to the floor; when a goose was roasted alive, a pig whipped to death, or a bull tortured into fever by incessant baiting. Nor must he be less alive to the poetic and figurative phraseology of his art. He must have a tact for a *puît d'amour*, an *Epigramme d'Agneau*, or *du Veau à la tomate*; a *Vol au Vent* in each of its innumerable forms; a *Coquette au Velouté*; or à *Sauté à la Supreme*, so distinctly and luminously eulogized by our author, M. Ude. "*The beauty of a Sauté* (says he, note to p. 7) *is the perfection of its nicety!*" An oracular decision that removes all doubt. In the same page, we are informed by our learned author, of new analogies and communities of language, with which we were not previously acquainted. Thus IX. *Suctoise*, *Charlotte*, of apples or fruit, apple *fritures* glazed, *soufflés miroton* of apples, *croquettes* of rice, *farcie d'abricots*, *croquettes* of potatoes, *panequets*, are at once French and English: and bear the same names in Paris and in London—that is, we presume, in the Cuisine of Louis XVI. the Earl of Sefton, the Duke of York, and though last not least of this honourable society, the far-famed Mr. Crockford, the present Amphityron of gamblers, the protector and employer of Ude. In the fourth number of the American Quarterly, the very learned author of a paper on the Cookery of the Ancients, informs us, that in the age of culinary extravagance at Rome, a good cook would command four thousand dollars a year. Mr. Crockford, we believe, pays M. Ude at the rate of fifteen hundred pounds sterling. No wonder! of what moment are the duties

of our Secretary of State, or Secretary of the Treasury, compared to the arduous enterprizes of such a superintendent of the kitchen; one who does not, like our mushroom politicians, become, by sudden intuition, without years of anxious labour, so perfectly *au fait* in all the sublime mysteries of his art. What are the whipt-syllabub speeches of our great dinner orators, to the exquisite productions of M. Ude?—who never excites the lips and the tongue to action, without producing unspeakable gratification! Indeed, what is a *Sauté à la Supreme*, but “to snatch a grace beyond the rules of art?” And what, indeed, are the speeches of our congressional representatives generally, but an inferior kind of *Vol au Vent*? And what are the ultimate results of their respective performances, but an humiliating commentary on the moral maxim, *sedem properamus ad unam*, bound to the same office, worshipping at the same temple of ancient renown;

Vanus uterque labor; namque huic debebitur ædi,
Sive quid orator, seu coquus arte parat.

It seems necessary also, that a cook should be a good physician, and competent to correct the errors of medical men. Thus M. Ude observes:—

“Many persons, but particularly medical practitioners, have, from time immemorial, been the declared enemies of cooks and cookery. The determination of the latter [? cooks] to keep mankind under their despotic domination, has engaged them in a perpetual warfare against whatever might oppose their peculiar interests. But the author will dare affirm, that good cookery, so far from possessing any deleterious tendency is, on the contrary, highly conducive to the preservation of health, inasmuch as it protects the appetite against the disadvantageous monotony of plain food. * * The author, therefore, (p. xxviii.) would recommend a skilfully dressed dish, as in all respects more salubrious than simple fare. He does not mean to deny that a plainly roasted joint, well-done, is food of easy digestion; but he peremptorily proscribes all salted and under-done provisions. Pork, in whatever way it may be dressed, is always unwholesome.”

All this may be sound doctrine; but it will not pass as such in our medical schools, or at a southern dinner; and, if we may be permitted to judge according to our own feelings and experience, even this would be Homer of cooks may nod sometimes.

As we proceed, however, we regret to find some confusion in our author's directions and definitions. Thus *marquer*, to mark; is 1st. To put or prepare, (p. vii.) 2ly. *Mark*, a French term which signifies, that all the ingredients requisite are to be put into a stock-pot. 3ly. (p. 7.) *Mark*, must be understood as a

term to put in all the requisite articles. 4ly. (p.4.) *Mark*, means to make each consommé with the trimmings of either game or fowl. 5ly. (Same page.) "*Mark*, the various consommés with the bones and trimmings of rabbits." However, the little nicety of plain and distinct meaning, and intelligible description, may very well be dispensed with in a book and in a writer of so much importance in other respects; we are not to exact too much. Yet, there are so many passages that require a commentator, that if one of the editors of a classic of two centuries past, had been employed on Mr. Ude's book, (such for instance as Peter Burman, the immortal commentator on Petronius,) we should have had an explanatory edition in ten quarto volumes. Thus to us, who are desirous that all the directions of this sublime science should be intelligible to its humble amateurs, the following recipe is not quite so plain as might be wished. (p. 249.) "Members of duck, with the purée of lentils." "Poele the members as directed in No. 1. Drain them; and mask them with purée of lentils." (See Purée of Lentils.) Now, we should have been pleased, if M. Ude had informed us, 1st. What members of a duck are thus meant to be marked. 2ly. What is precisely meant by "poele them," as directed in No. 1, where no definition or description of the process is given. 3ly. Are they to be drained from any kind of broth? 4ly. As *mask* includes all the requisite ingredients, what are they? 5ly. A purée of lentils is not included in the index, although referred to.

In other places, the language is dreadfully ambiguous, thus: "*Vive grillée*," *Sea-Dragon*. *Sea-Dragon* is a fish that is seldom eaten in England, although in France, it is frequently sent up to table. Toward the gills, there is a most venomous bone. We always boil it, [the bone?] and serve up with butter of anchovies, *à la maitre d'hotel*, or *à la provencale*." Mistakes like this, we are not inclined to treat with levity. Sometimes, as it appears to us, much pains are taken to direct us how to spoil a good dish, as in potatoes *à la maitre d'hotel*, fried potatoes, croquettes of potatoes, green peas, *à la paysanne*, where they are directed to be stewed with cabbage, lettuce, parsley and onions. How any mortal with a palate, can conceive that stewing peas and cabbage together can improve them, we know not. Many of his dishes are so vulgar, as to belong to the poorest table only; as his muscles and his ray-fish. Sometimes his directions savour a little of hocus-pocus, as the various kinds of fromage, in which *cheese* is an ingredient quite out of the question. There are ices of various composition, so named, not in conformity with any analogy of language, nor dictated either by elegance or taste. To call a dish of high price and exquisite flavour, by

a name of vulgar association, may suit the understrappers of the kitchen, but is quite unworthy of an artist of real genius. M. Ude, perhaps, can explain the conundrum, why is an ice-cream a fromage? Very commonly, the directions of M. Ude are as unintelligible, as his language is inappropriate. For instance :—

“ *Boudins, or pudding à la Sefton.* Make some *quenelles* of fowl, in which you introduce some essence of mushroom, which mix with the *farce*, in the same manner as the *Boudins à la Richelieu*; when done, drain and put them in a dish. Have some *Bechamelle* very thick. *Mask* the *Boudins* with thick sauce, and put over each of them the small fillets *larded*, which you must prepare in the following manner. In order to give the larded fillets [fillets of what?] a proper shape, take a piece of carrot, or a bit of bread of the same shape and size of the *Boudin*, put over the carrot a thin slice of bacon, to prevent the fillets from smelling of it; [of what?] bind the fillets over the carrot, and put them in the oven till they are firm, then glaze them, and put them over the *Boudin*, after having poured the sauce over, which must be very thick; when the *Boudins* are covered, put a spoonful of *Consommé* and some of the juice of mushrooms to make the sauce *thinner*, and put it under.”

If it be necessary that the sauce should be thick, why is it necessary that it should be thin? To be serious, this is one among the very many instances of unscientific, ignorant, illiterate jargon, with which this catch-penny publication is crowded. Whether M. Ude did really set pen to paper, for the purpose of manufacturing this book—whether the egregious nonsense, with which its pages are filled, be owing to the stupidity of the author, or the ignorance of his translator, we know not. It is a disgrace to cookery, to the author, the translator, the publisher. It is calculated to deceive the public, and defraud them of their money, under false pretences, by a shew of information, without the substance; and is remarkable for nothing so much, as the unintelligible jargon which disgraces its pages: a vulgar mixture of bad French with bad English, that would, indeed, disgrace M. Ude's scullion.

We have no objection to cookery, even as a science, when limited to its proper province; when employed to make our food more digestible, to make it more nutritive, to make wholesome and savoury dishes out of cheap materials, and to add to the pleasures of the table, which are, at least, of daily occurrence. But the affected delicacy of palate, the gourmandise, the expensive part of the practise of a French kitchen, we hope never to see introduced into this republican country. We are well aware too of the want of skill and consequent extravagance of an American kitchen: of the neglect of waiting till meat is suf-

ficiently tender (*bien mortifié*) before it be drest—of the execrable and unwholesome profusion of grease and butter in our sauces—of the unskilful haste of all our cookery—of the unskilful waste, also, of an American kitchen—and of the gross ignorance and extravagance in our consumption of fuel, and our neglect of stoves and charcoal. We have no hesitation in asserting, that one dollar's worth of charcoal, can be made of more use in a kitchen, than four dollars worth of wood, in any part of our country—in the cities or the back-woods. Nor have we, in this country, sufficiently attended to the economical preservation of food, of eggs, of butter, or of vegetables, on the well-considered and approved plan of M. Apput, now so common both in Paris and London. We are totally ignorant here (from Maine to New-Orleans) of the art of raising mushrooms cheaply and in plenty throughout the year: we know nothing of truffles, nor of morills, though many of our meadows in the Middle States do, and all of them might yield them. We know nothing of the French mode of rendering meat tender by *marinading* nor of the use of electricity for the same purpose in killing our poultry, as suggested by the witty author of the *Almanach des Gourmands*, nor of the West-India practice of using the papaw tree for the same purpose. Nor, from one end of this continent to the other, do we ever see such a thing as a capon, although we have contrived to discover the preference of an ox to a bull. *En revenge*, our bear-meat of a twelvemonth old, our squirrel, our land-turtle and terrapin, are not merely additions, but savoury and substantial additions to the gastronomic chart: nor can the French kitchen produce anything superior to our venison-steak, or even to some of our *gros morceaux*, our saddle of venison, our round of beef, skilfully salted and cooked, the beef-steak cooked as we cook it, “*au naturel*,” tender and juicy, without the fine flavour of the meat being injured by intermingling either with oysters or truffles: nor do they know in France the delicacy of a fine turkey, plainly roasted, and a smoked ham, to which their *Dindons à la Poêle, en galentine, en ballon, roulé, en pain, aux châtaignes*, or even *aux truffes*, are, in our opinion, greatly inferior. French cookery is, too often, out of all taste: the flavour of the meat is merged in the flavour of the sauces; the aliment is a mere vehicle of artificial flavour; just as in architecture or in dress, where the building or the beauty is oppressed and obscured by the ornament; and the accessory is, with strange ignorance, converted into the principal.

Of the French books of cookery that we have seen, the most useful for practice in *this country*, are the treatise of Beauvilliers,

in two volumes, and the last edition of the *Cusinière Bourgeoise*. In English, 'The Cook's Oracle, of the facetious Dr. Kitchener, Domestic Cookery by a lady, and 'The Royal Cook, and Confectioner of Frederic Nutt, are abundant in gastronomic prescriptions and directions, even for the wealthy Amphitryons of our comparatively unostentatious people. If the affected propensity to cover the table with dishes which require the silly French nomenclature, should seize upon our men of wealth, the books abovementioned, will amply supply even that want also. We accuse the French nomenclature of being silly, because it abounds in metaphoric expressions and names, incongruous, unmeaning, and without any well-founded or intelligible associations. It is a jargon like the old alchemical names of chemical compositions, now so happily exchanged for a descriptive nomenclature, beautiful beyond any other at present known. Dishes, *à la St. Menchould*, *à la Richelieu*, *à la Bruxelles*, *à la Marianne*, *à la Dauphin*, *à la maitre d'hotel*, *à la Sefton*, are too unmeaning for men of sense to distinguish. Anything dressed *à la Italienne*, *à la Venitienne*, *à l'Anglaise*, *à la Lyonnaise*, *à l'Allemande*, *à la Flamande*, *à la Gascone*, may be sufficiently intelligible, because founded on some national or provincial taste in the manner of cooking them: but what shall we say to a *sauté* which implies a mode of turning the meat, as our cooks turn a pan-cake, and which never takes place—*à sauté à la suprême*, an *Epigramme d'Agneau*, *Cervelles au Soleil*, or *Matelots*? A gentleman, at the head of his table, is not called upon to be skilled in the vulgar tongue of a French kitchen; and even if he should be *au fait* in this jargon, the more he conceals his knowledge the better; it is a use more honoured in the breach than in the observance.

A gourmand will peruse a French book of cookery, with delighted approbation of the skill displayed in giving flavour. He will admire the *friandise* of most of the dishes, particularly their *sautés* and their *gratins*; and their six hundred and fifty-eight methods of dressing an egg, always spoiled whenever it is hardened. A physician will read the same prescriptions, and see *masqués* in the most of them, indigestion, heart-burn, herpes and impetigines, a bloated skin, inactivity of body and of mind, apoplexy and gout. One great objection to the French kitchen is, the facility with which a careless or ignorant cook may spoil a savoury dish, and stimulate the palate with burnt fat, in aiming to give a high flavour to his gravies and sauces, reduced without sufficient care. We know of nothing more offensive to the stomach, no more prolific parent of heart-burn, than a combination of empyreumatic grease and sebatic acid.

A few more remarks, not entirely without interest we hope, ere we quit this hotch-pot. The edible Mushroom, *Agaricus Campestris*, is so little used among us, that it is deserving of a particular notice. It is one of the most delicious, and, at the same time, one of the most dangerous delicacies of our table. In Paris, and in the neighborhood of London, however, mushrooms are now produced in abundance the year round. They are raised in rich mould, on shelves, in cellars or in dark rooms. Light is not necessary to them, as it is to colour in every other vegetable. They certainly partake of an animal nature; for Ellis found, that on distillation, they yielded volatile alkali. They are found in old pastures: frequently in circular spots, or, as the country people call them, "fairy rings," the cause of which is, we believe, unknown. They are propagated on hot-beds, covered with good mould; taking care that the first heat of fermentation be well over. On this mould, the spawn, that is, the white fibrous strings, or threads, from which the mushrooms grow, are sown. These are procured from gardeners who keep the spawn dry, and sell these white threads, and who gather them from fields, where horses and cows have pastured, and from old mushroom beds.

Another mode, and a successful one, of procuring the seed, is to collect the horse-dung of the path of a mill-horse, or the dry dung of sheds and stables, where horses have been fed on hay and oats; and placing a layer, six inches thick, of that dry and powdery dung, on the mushroom beds, covering it slightly two inches thick with light mould, after exposing this layer of dung for sometime, however, to the air, protected from rain and moisture, and prevented from fermenting, or waiting till the fermentation is over. Horses fed on green food will not yield dung productive of mushrooms. Of the philosophy of this, we are ignorant. All explanations, hitherto, are conjectural. A good mushroom has gills of a pink or flesh colour at the under side: this colour turns when they grow old, to a chocolate brown, and throws doubt, in selecting them, on their wholesomeness. Every eatable mushroom has a decidedly pleasant odour, hardly to be mistaken when frequently observed. A good mushroom is never slimy. Mushrooms that are dangerous, are of a bad odour, or are devoid of it: they have not the beautiful pink colour of the gills: they grow in woods, in dark and moist places, and not in old open pastures. A pink colour, and a decided pleasant odour, are two criteria, which, together, insure safety. There are two or three late French publications on the mode of distinguishing wholesome mushrooms. The cellars, under the Observatory at Paris, are let out for the growth of mushrooms

for sale. The temperature should not be under 65° or 70° of Farenheit. In pastures, they are the produce of September, in England and the Middle States.

We intended to have enumerated the different species of mushroom which, in Europe, have been found fit for the table, as well as those which are deleterious. But, as we have no books common in this country, in which these plants are well figured, as all mere verbal descriptions of them are vague and unsatisfactory; and, as in truth, many of our species differ from those in Europe, it is unnecessary to enter into any details. Caution is very necessary in the use of this tribe of plants. Some of them we know to be actively poisonous. No one ought to venture to eat them, without having the wholesome varieties pointed out to him by persons having competent knowledge. The *Agaricus Campestris*,* perhaps, the finest of them all, is easily distinguished, and is sufficiently common in our old pastures.

A few words about the Morill, *Phallus esculentus*.† We have gathered them in springy, moist meadows, near Carlisle, in Pennsylvania; and eaten of them abundantly without fear, or ill consequence. It is cylindrical, with a hollow or solid stem: the cap hollow within, adhering to the stem by its base: latticed on the surface by irregular, waving sinuses or puckerings: the height about four inches: in perfection in May or June. Gathered dry, they will keep several months. They are rich and succulent, but not so high flavoured as mushrooms.

The Truffle: *Tuber citarium*, is a rounded, vegetable, subterraneous mass, composed of globular vesicles, without roots or leaves. It grows under ground like the Virginian tuckahoe. It is of the size of a small egg; and usually from six to nine inches under ground, somewhat globular; colour approaching to blackish; surface rough and uneven, flesh firm, white while young; but when old, it is black with whitish veins. It depends for its reproduction, upon bodies generated within its substance. In England, dogs; in France, hogs discover them. They are very common on the downs of Wiltshire, Hampshire and Kent, where dogs are trained to point them out. They keep long, either dry, or in vinegar or oil.

It would be unpardonable here to omit the grandisonant description of this esculent, by Grimod de la Reyniäre, the celebrated editor of the *Almanach des Gourmands*, (see vol. viii, p. 4) of which we subjoin a translation—undertaken with all the diffidence naturally inspired by so delicate a task.

* Vide Loudon's Gardener's Dictionary, No. 4339.

† Ibid. No. 4343.

“ Des Truffes.—Truffles are one of the greatest blessings with which Providence, in its infinite goodness, has vouchsafed to bless the generation of Gourmands. This *tubercle*, which cannot be classed either with vegetables, (*légumes*) or with fruits, is one of the most honorable *excipients* of the *haute cuisine*, by the incomparable flavour which it communicates to the vegetable and animal productions with which it is united. When served up separately, it is the most luxurious of *entremets*, and precisely the one to which all distinguished *gourmets* and the prettiest actresses of the theatre of the Vaudeville (that is saying every thing) give the preference during four months of the year.

“ Naturalists (says M. Parmentier) are not yet agreed as to the best mode of reproducing this species of mushroom of irregular form, which springs up, flourishes, and dies in the bosom of the earth, at the depth of seven or eight inches.

“ Truffles which delight only in an argillaceous soil mixed with sand and ferruginous particles, and particularly in moist places, covered with shade and of a moderate temperature, are chiefly found about the uncultivated borders of streams, on gentle slopes and hill-sides, in the neighbourhood of woods, and under the shadow of the oak, the aspen, the black poplar, the white birch, and the willow. This precious vegetable belongs not indiscriminately to all countries, but is found in our southern provinces, such as Perigord, (which produces, unquestionably, the best) Le Quercy, Gascony, a part of Languedoc, and of Dauphiné. They are found in sufficient quantities in Italy, but there they are generally white; those of Turin, are remarkable for a strong smell like that of garlic—in truffles, quite insufferable to any body but a Piedmontese. Burgundy, Champagne, Germany, &c. also produce them, but in small quantity; and even they have so little flavor and virtue, that it is really doing them quite too much honour to call them by such a name.

“ We pass over, in silence, signs by which it is discovered that a spot produces truffles, to say that it is, for the most part, through the instrumentality of hogs that they are brought to light. The exquisite olfactories of these animals—on many other accounts so dear to Gourmands—make them the best of all possible *explorers* in such a service. Let us prostrate ourselves in humble veneration, before the truly *inventive* genius of these precious animals, true friends of mankind; and let us, at least, do them the justice to believe that they are not less useful to us in their life-time, than after their death; since, without their aid, truffles would rot unknown in the bosom of the earth, and be the food of

larves and of tipulæ, instead of becoming that of the most illustrious Gourmands.

"Experience shews that truffles increase very much in size, almost instantly after storms of rain and thunder; so that those scourges answer, at least, one good purpose, and in countries where truffles grow, people ought to be less alarmed at these astounding phenomena.

"There are three principal varieties of the *truffle* known—the white, the red, and the black. The first is the least esteemed; the second is the rarest, the third is unquestionably the best. It is, indeed, the only one admitted on our tables.

"Truffles, when come to maturity, (and it is only then that they ought to be dug up, for then only have they attained to the perfection of their aroma and their flavour) are hard to be kept. This is much better effected by leaving them covered with their native earth, than by washing them clean of it.

"Truffles ought to be eaten fresh and in season: all those which are preserved, whether in sand, in oil, in vinegar, or in brandy, &c. lose, absolutely, all their taste and perfume—and so it is with dried truffles. Clay, dry and pulverized, is the substance best fitted to preserve them.

"The aroma of truffles and the light astringent substance which their pulp contains, are extremely useful in keeping meats fresh. A turkey may kept by this means for more than a month and a half, and so of any other bird.

"The perfume of truffles is of a nature so subtile that it exhales very copiously. A pound of this vegetable is enough to perfume the air to a considerable distance; but excessive heat dissipates it. Accordingly, good cooks take care not to boil too long, the various *ragoûts* in which they are an ingredient.

"The bare nomenclature of these *ragoûts* would occupy more space than all the preceding details. Let us content ourselves with saying that they play the first rôle in the *emincées* and the *sautés* of the first course—in the *cardes* and the *œufs brouillés* of the second. A turkey *aux truffes*, is a *rôti* of the most delicious kind; à *pâté*, either *de gibier* or *de fois gras aux truffes*, is the true paradise of this sublunary world."

Having thus introduced our reader into Paradise, we will leave him there.

For some interesting observations on the Truffle, (see 35 Rev. Ency.) As we are fully persuaded that they must abound in some parts of the United States, we have deemed the preceding remarks worthy the attention of the reader. There is no harm, but good in endeavouring to extend the limits of scientific knowledge and harmless enjoyment.

We would willingly present the reader with some curious advice, and the arguments that sustain it, from the second volume of the *Almanach des Gourmands*, p. 218, on the necessity of inserting in the contract with your cook, a clause by which you shall be at liberty to administer some cathartic medicine occasionally, to keep up the delicacy of his taste. We will, however, exchange these for some reflections containing much good sense on the subject of dinners, and dinner parties by M. Aze, from the same volume of the *Almanach des Gourmands*, p. 110. We are not a little surprised that a book of so much good sense should fall so entirely into the French custom of misspelling foreign names and appellations as those of, *wouelche rabette*, *me-siere-paas*, *beef-teak*, *plumbuting*, *ouest* [qu. *yeast*] *pudding*, and “*all other kinds of pudding*” from England, communicated to M. de la Reyniare, par un Amateur, *Alm. des Gour.* p. 134.

We have not literally translated the observations of M. Aze, but we here give the substance of them.

1. A general invitation to dine with the inviter means nothing. Even a verbal invitation to dine on a certain day, carries with it no obligation of acceptance. Invitation must be by a written note, naming the day and hour. It must be answered the next day by a written acceptance or refusal. A dinner is troublesome and expensive to the entertainer, and he has a right to know whom he can depend on. An acceptance, therefore, is a written contract, which nothing but actual sickness or the most urgent business can entitle a man to break.

2. Do me the honour of partaking dinner with some friends at my house at six on such a day, means we sit down to dinner at half past six. If the expression be at six *precisely*, it is to be accepted *au pied de la lettre*; and to come after six, if you accept the invitation, is rudeness.

3. The entertainer ought not to wait beyond the appointed time for any body. To do so, is not merely incurring the risk of spoiling a dinner, but it is taking upon you to sacrifice the expectations and the comfort of those who are punctual, to the negligence of the absentees. You have no right to do this.

4. If a person invited, comes when the guests are seated at dinner, and occupied with the good things provided, he takes a liberty with the comfort of other people that bespeaks careless rudeness, or the vulgarity of aristocracy. When the guests have actually sat down, the outer door should be shut; the master of the house is not at home to any comer whatsoever.

5. When seated, the soup is served alternately from left to right, or *vice versa*. During dinner, the entertainer's business is to have his eyes open to the comforts of his guests, and see

that their wants are satisfied. It is no part of his duty to press them to eat or drink; they must be left to the guidance of their own inclinations.

6. The custom of compelling, by entreaty, some guest to cut up and help the guests around, is a bore which the German practice of having the joints carved at the side-board and sent round, ought long ago to have superseded every where.

7. Whatever you help yourself to, or permit to be put upon your plate, you must eat: whatever wine you put in your glass, you must drink. To be helped to more than you can eat, is a mark of ill-breeding and bad practice; it implies scanty fare at home. All waste is vulgarity: delicacies are not provided for the use of the kitchen boys, or the dogs. Moreover, to leave food on your plate, or wine in your glass, is an insult to the host: it is indirectly telling him, I cannot eat your food; your wine is abominable, I cannot drink it. Vulgar people and children only, are permitted, as the saying is, to have their eyes bigger than their belly.

8. In winter, an American or English room with one fire place, to occasion a draught of cold air toward it, is dreadful. Those who sit at a distance, never eat in comfort. There should be a screen between the door and the guests: and under the table, tin boxes, pierced with holes, to hold charcoal, or boiling water; so that the feet may be kept warm, are indispensable. On the continent, even where the room is warmed by stoves, chaudières, such as are now described, are generally introduced.

9. A conversation dinner party, (and all dinner parties ought to be so) is never in perfection if it exceed eight male guests. To be sure, circumstances may make it expedient or necessary to invite three times the number. But this is always done at the expense of comfort and of pleasure. All large parties, even of well-bred people, are apt to put on a mobbish character.—There is no collision of intellect, no feeling of mutuality in such a party. They are comparatively more expensive also, for they give occasion to more profusion, and more waste. Let no man say this is a trifling object: it is an object of consequence to every friend of an hospitable man, that he should so manage his income as to be able to afford to see them as often as possible.

10. In the United States, you *may* put four-pronged silver forks to each plate *if you please*; [qu: you *must* if you *can*] but they should never supersede our common ivory-handled steel forks. Silver forks are only indispensable in French cookery, where their stews and *ragouts* induce them to use bread in the left, and the silver fork in the right hand, while their knife is brought with them, and carried in the pocket. All French

cooking depends, in its origin, on the ignorance of that nation, of the use of stone-coal for fuel; and their unskilfulness in the manufacture of iron and steel. They have no fires that will roast "the proud Sir Loin." Our large joints have continued in use, from our abundant supply of fuel, and the skill of the British in the manufacture of hardware. Hence also, the profusion of silver plate in a French family and throughout the nation, is far beyond what can be found in Great-Britain. The *Plateau* or *Dormant*, is out of harmony with an American dinner.

11. To interrupt a guest when he is intent on his plate, and in full enjoyment of the good things before him, is unpardonable. Hence the vulgar practice of calling off the attention of a guest half a dozen times by drinking his health, is really abominable. Drink if you please, but pray let your neighbour drink or not as he pleases. What right have you to interrupt his enjoyments, and distract his attention from the pleasures of a delicacy to attend to your ill-timed invitation, when he has no inclination to drink? All drinking of healths, whether at dinner or after it—all drinking of toasts, is downright vulgarity: in a free country—in the republic of Gourmands—every man ought to be left alone to eat or not to eat, to drink or not to drink—to drink wine or to drink water, as seems best to himself. Of his own feelings, he has a right to be the sole judge, when they do not offend others.

12. Wines of extraordinary quality, are served when the entertainer directs, between the courses. In this country, no one thinks of the spirits or liqueurs, called *le coup d'avant, et le coup d'après*. If good wine be placed on the table for the guests to help themselves, these French stimulants are not needed.

13. In this country, the ladies retire after dinner: they ought not to be permitted to do so, at any rate, till after the second glass of wine.

14. In France, a dinner of Gourmands lasts at least four hours. In the United States, an hour and a half is long enough in all conscience. Here, the entertainment of eating is secondary only: the zest of company is the full flow of free conversation and discussions after dinner.

15. At a dinner party, no one has a right to utter more than half a dozen sentences consecutively. A speech-maker, a proser, a man who loves to talk, and hates to listen, is an abomination—a common nuisance to be abated by an outraged society: *Fœnum habet in cornu, fuge, fuge*. Speeches and oratory are not in unison with a convivial party.

16. No man has a right to remark, to observe, or to know, whether at table his neighbour drinks more or less; whether he

drinks white or red ; wine or water. A dinner table is a republic ; if my conduct does not interfere with your enjoyments, it is no subject of your remark.

17. In departing, go quietly : do not, by taking leave, remind others to do so too. Do as you please : permit your neighbours to do so likewise.

18. At a dinner party every body is presumed to come there, under the obligation of an implied contract, to contribute as far as he can, and as opportunity is afforded, to the comfort, the amusement, and the instruction of the other guests—bearing a due and reasonable share in the conversation, without engrossing it : and carefully abstaining from whatever is likely to give offence by word or deed.

19. At a dinner, where your guests are men only, pies, puddings, tarts and sweetmeats may be introduced : but they may also, with propriety, be omitted. After soup, fish, flesh and fowl ; all the rest are, to say the least, unnecessary, where there are neither ladies nor children. A French *gourmand* has dined when the *roti* is removed. A prudent man never makes free with the desert. Enjoying, deliberately, food well cooked—and eating, voraciously, of every thing, makes the French distinction between the *gourmand* and the glutton.

20. At the present day, there is no excuse whatever, for exceeding the bounds of moderation in drinking. Such a thing is now utterly unknown among gentlemen, and would be unpardonable.

21. A guest who would enjoy his dinner and his wine in moderation, had better avoid soup, as well as pastry and fruit. This is not French advice, but it is ours [Review.] Water is the best beverage ; and more than three glasses of wine at dinner, is too much. After dinner, indulge within the bounds of gentlemanly moderation, if the wine be good and old and not acid.

22. We doubt the utility of coffee or tea, immediately upon the wine. There should be an interval. They are of use two or three or four hours after dinner. One beverage poured upon another in quick succession, loads the stomach, and prevents digestion. This is an inconvenience attending much liquid of any kind : and therefore (among other reasons) we advise abstinence from soup.

Enough. We have preached and dictated long enough ; especially from a text so worthless as M. Ude's book :—

Lusisti satis, edisti satis atque bibisti !
Temper abire tibi.

ART. VII.—*Westminster Hall, or Professional Relics and Anecdotes of the Bar, Bench and Woolstack.* 3 vols. London.

AMIDST a great deal of dull trash, this compilation (for it is little more) contains a portion of entertaining matter, and suggests hints on some subjects, of no doubtful interest. Authentic morsels of biography, and valuable anecdotes of law and lawyers, put together with judgment, could scarcely fail of being attractive in a country where the only sovereign is the law, and where the high places in the commonwealth are generally occupied by those who have been leaders in the forum; but we cannot bestow very exalted encomiums upon this selection, which is deficient, considered as a whole, both in interest and novelty. We have often wondered that, in this book-making age, it should never have occurred to some one qualified for such an undertaking, to write a work for the benefit of law students, containing sketches of the most celebrated professional characters, exhibiting their course of study, and the means by which they attained to distinction; their extraordinary attainments, and their generally honourable conduct in public and in private life; with the decided influence so frequently exercised by them over the character of their age and their country. The materials are abundant, but widely scattered among a variety of works in different languages. Though Great Britain has furnished her full proportion, other countries, with equal justice, boast of their legal sages. Even these States, young as they are, have maintained an honourable competition with the old world in the production of learned judges as well as eloquent advocates; and, perhaps, if a fair estimate were made of those now living in England, France and America, it would be found that the courts of the two first are not, generally, more richly furnished than those of the last. Let it be remembered, that there are, perhaps, from six to seven thousand persons in these States, daily and hourly studying and practising law, either as attornies, advocates or judges, whilst in Great Britain they do not probably exceed one third of that number, and the assertion will not appear extravagant. Thus for every legal genius that arises there, we have an equal chance for two or three; for the old notion of the deterioration of human nature by transplantation to America is, we flatter ourselves, now exploded; and it cannot be denied that our free institutions are highly favourable to intellectual improvement. If, notwithstanding, it be asserted that we do not rank with the

eminent jurists of the old world, and that facts are stubborn things, we would ask in what respects Marshall, Parsons, Kent, and others who might be named, fall short of Mansfield, Butler and Eldon ; and if the latter had been destined to preside in our courts, whether they would have excelled the former in the discharge of their duties ? For ourselves we cannot believe they would. There is a striking difference between the education and life of an American and English lawyer, which would, perhaps, disqualify the latter from maintaining in our courts a successful contest with the former. In England, the complexity of the system, its antiquated, mysterious and perplexing rules, with their endless exceptions; its forced constructions and almost invisible distinctions have a tendency to improve the lawyer at the expense of the man ; whilst in this country, other and more exalting circumstances improve the man, though, perhaps, somewhat at the expense of the mere technical practitioner. As soon as the American lawyer attains to high reputation, he is enticed into public life, when the contentions of politics, and the interests of states become the objects of his attention, to the enlargement of his intellectual powers. Instead of sinking down into the little lawyer whose ideas are imprisoned within the bounds of a single branch of jurisprudence, and whose contracted intellects can, after a while, comprehend nothing that is not embraced in his digests, he looks abroad ; he perceives something which he regards as better than mere technical learning, and resolves to attain it ; he soars aloft ; and though he may fall short of his high aim, he seldom fails to reach an elevation far beyond the fondest aspirations of any professional drudge in Westminster Hall. He, who in Great Britain devotes himself to the profession, becomes acute, subtle and learned in that department of the science which he may have selected, whilst in every thing else he is, with few exceptions, decidedly ignorant : here, on the contrary, he becomes a man of business, an acute debater, a respectable legislator, as well as a *general* lawyer, by which we mean a constitutional lawyer, solicitor in equity, and proctor. In England they complain that the law is a jealous mistress, depriving of her favours all who remit their attentions or who address them even incidentally to other objects. Polite letters are proscribed, poetry is a meteor whose pernicious influence would blast their prospects for ever, and even history is to be shunned as warring against jurisprudence.

“The science of the law (say these volumes) as it at present exists, demands the painful industry of a long and laborious life. No one who has not attempted to master it, can conceive the insurmountable difficulties which continually present themselves to the most diligent mind,

making new claims upon its patience, its resolution, and its energy. It is impossible that even the most assiduous person should arrive at that point of knowledge which would justify him in laying aside his books, and resting satisfied in the conviction that he is master of the science. This impression naturally deters the lawyer from the prosecution of other pursuits. He is aware that in turning the powers of his mind to foreign employments, his professional attainments will but too probably suffer. At all events, he is certain that they will suffer in the estimation of others. Perhaps no instance can be pointed out in which a devotion to occupations not within the pale of the profession, has not been more or less injurious to the reputation of the person indulging in it. It is true that men of high genius may have surmounted the obstacles which this circumstance has thrown in their way, but they have nevertheless experienced its effects. Even the splendid intellect of Bacon, employed upon subjects alien to his profession, subjected him to censure as a lawyer. 'The several books,' says Osborn in his advice to his son, 'incomparable Bacon was known to read, besides those relating to the law, were objected to him, as an argument of his insufficiency to manage the place of Solicitor-General, and may lie as a rub in all their ways, who, out of a vain glory to manifest a general knowledge, neglect this caution.'"

This prejudice against literary lawyers may exist in England, and, perhaps, it is not altogether without some foundation in truth; for they have so many intricate subjects of legal study, involving arbitrary rules and legal fictions, with which we in America have nothing to do, that a whole life may be fully employed in refreshing the memory after the science has been conquered. The doctrines relative to the poor and their settlements, and to bankruptcy, filling many volumes—the learning upon courts ecclesiastical, palatine, county and baron; of the forest, the marshalsea and the palace;—that upon outlawry, pre-munires, ancient demesne, appeals of death, assize, deodands, simony, common, copyholds, royal franchises, customs of London, excommunication, fines and recoveries, tythes, common recoveries, formedons, gavelkind, heresy and offences against religion, priests, prerogative, information, privilege, stamp, sequestration, wager of law and of battle, with fifty others which might be enumerated, are only regarded here as matters of curiosity, or at most as furnishing occasional illustrations in forensic discussion. No lawyer is obliged to have more than a general idea of them; he need not master them as a study, and his memory is thus relieved from more than a camel-load of lumber, which in England presses heavily on the intellects of the bar, and not seldom disgusts some of its most gifted votaries. The late Mr. Canning, in his poem on Friendship, bears feeling testimony to the truth of this remark.

" Oft when condemned midst Gothic tomes to pore,
And dubious, con th' embarrassed sentences o'er,
While meteor-meaning sheds a sickly ray
Through the thick gloom, then vanishes away ;
With the dull toil tired out, th' indignant mind
Bursts from the yoke, and wanders unconfined."

But the branches of the law which we have retained, have been wonderfully simplified by the practical genius of this country. Being all in turn legislators, our faculties are continually exercised in the abolition of senseless or antiquated rules, and in the substitution of such as we deem more rational. Our laws are to operate immediately upon ourselves and our children in society, and, therefore, we try to make them as good and as plain as we can. Mr. Brougham is now struggling, as Bacon, Hale, Coke, Hargrave, Barrington and others did before him, to reduce the English system to simplicity in several particulars. What he so well recommends, we actually accomplished, together with a great deal more, almost a century ago; and if his enlightened views are even now, as we think, in advance of the legal mind in England, which still seems blinded with prejudice in favour of ancient errors and absurdities, with what admiration should we regard our ancestors who so long ago effected for us these wise changes?

Let it not be supposed from what has been said, that we think the science, as it exists with us, is of easy attainment. This is a fatal but too general opinion, and should be corrected. We have, it is true, weeded it of much ancient and useless learning, but it has necessarily extended itself to other subjects of deeper importance, which are scarcely ever heard of among European lawyers. The great doctrines of the rights of man in a state of self-government, which have been brought to practical perfection here; the principles of international and constitutional law; and the adaptation of the laws to the genius of a republican people, are all subjects of profound and hourly interest in these States. They must be carefully studied, and the mind should be so trained in the early and continued application of legal principles, as to create, what may be called, a legal understanding or apprehension—that intuitive accuracy of judgment which is the peculiar property of the well-grounded American lawyer. So far from its being forbidden to our students to turn their attention to polite literature, it is expressly enjoined by our most distinguished jurists. Judge Hopkinson, in a very good address, delivered about two years since before the Law Academy of Philadelphia, strongly urges it. He says—"But I cannot forbear to recommend what I fear

is not sufficiently estimated as a preparatory study of a lawyer : I mean elegant literature ; that which is of the first order, and formed by the soundest principles of taste. Without speaking at present of the ancient models of history, poetry and eloquence, I would call your attention to the distinguished classics and scholars of our own language. In addition to Shakspeare, Milton and Dryden, an English library will furnish plentiful and rich materials to strengthen and adorn the mind. The days of Elizabeth and Anne abound with writers of the first eminence for force and skill of argument, for neatness and precision of narration, and for all the refinement of genius and taste. The English forum has its orators, as worthy of imitation as the Roman. All these belong to the accomplished lawyer. 'The grasp of his profession is universal.' And here we cannot omit the occasion to say, that an evil exists in this State which is highly unfavourable to the training of good lawyers and even good men, and which cannot be too speedily corrected. Admission to the bar is far too easy. Any citizen of twenty-one years of age, who can undergo an examination, which the act calls rigid, but which is, and we fear necessarily must be the very reverse—is entitled to admission. A young man of quick apprehension, who has read Blackstone's Commentaries, and glanced at our Acts of Assembly, may be licensed to practise in our highest courts ; and many trade upon this slender stock of knowledge ; for after admission, it is too much to expect hard study, unless there is business to require it—with the distractions of which, on the other hand, anything like profound *elementary* study is almost altogether incompatible. The tendency of this absurd system is the destruction of our youth in a professional, and often in a moral point of view. Ignorance can attract no clients—its inseparable companions are idleness and low indulgences. It is true, if a half-educated lawyer has a small independence and some mother-wit, he may win popularity enough to attain a seat in the Legislature, when by cunning, so congenial to the nature of little minds, he may raise himself even to the bench ; but the wretched figure he then makes, and the injuries he daily commits, soon render him an object of ridicule or abhorrence. The only cure for this evil, is a long legal noviciate. Four years study at least should be required by law, for in less time it is impossible for an ordinary youth to have his mind sufficiently imbued with the science, to convince him of the necessity of future study, if he desire to be eminent. Members of the legislature, in whose power alone it is to apply the necessary correction, should reflect on these things. They should remember that an ignorant bar necessarily creates

an unenlightened, and, perhaps, a corrupt bench, than which there cannot be a greater curse to a civilized country. Whenever the law is rendered vague and uncertain, injustice and judicial despotism ride rough-shod over the necks of the people. In England they pay more attention to this matter, though, perhaps, they lean too much to the other extreme.

"It is singular (say these volumes) that so long a noviciate should have been required in early times, before a student was allowed to be called to the bar. At present, a person who does not possess a master of arts' degree, cannot be called until his name has been on the books of the society for five years, during three of which, he must keep terms. In very early times, by the orders of the Inner Temple, no one could have been called to the bar under eight years, which had been reduced in Dugdale's times to seven. During this period, the student (unless he were called *ex gratia*) was to perform twelve grand moots, and twenty-four petty moots, at some Inn of Chancery. (Dugd. Orig. p. 159.) In the Middle Temple, there was a similar order made, (11 James I.) that no one should be called to the bar, under seven years' standing. (Ibid. p. 191.) So in Gray's Inn, by an order made, (5 Charles I.) no gentleman could be called to the bar unless he had been seven years usually in commons in this society; or of two years' continuance usually in commons in an Inn of Chancery, and five years at least in usual commons in this house. (Ibid. p. 281.)

"Not satisfied with requiring this tedious probation, it was thought fit by the benchers of the Middle Temple, in 1 Elizabeth, to prohibit the utter barristers from pleading at any bar until they were of twelve years' standing. This prohibition, issued by command of the judges, (Dugd. Orig. p. 191) but it was probably soon forgotten; for, in the year 1635, we find the following order, among others, proceeding from the same society.

"That whereas there have been heretofore, anciently, divers acts made by the preceding benchers, governours of this house, to restrain the too early practice of young barristers which suit not so well unto these times: the masters of the bench have therefore ordered, that no young barrister presume to take upon him to practise, at any of the courts of Westminster, before he have been full three years at the bar, at least, upon pain to be corrected before the bench, and fined, or otherwise dealt with, as to them, in their discretions, shall seem meet. Neither do they intend to call any to the bar hereafter, other than such as have their full time, and are otherwise qualified thereunto, as the orders of the house do require: and, therefore, they enjoin the gentlemen, under the bar, to apply and follow their studies to keep the case, to perform their exercises, to order their habits and hair to decency and formality, according to the orders of the house; and to yield due respect and observance to the benchers and ancients, their governours. As they expect and desire the preferment to the degree of the bar, or otherwise care to be lyable to the censure of the bench; or (as the cause shall require) to be cut off from the society."

If so much time be appropriated then to the study of the law, as much, at least, devoted to the same pursuit here, would not be thrown away.

These volumes take a view of the history of the ancient and modern reports of the English law. Of the present system as it exists in England, they say—"should it be suffered to continue, we can anticipate no other fate than that which Mr. Viner contemplated when he regarded his ponderous abridgment:—'like the Tarpean maid, to be oppressed with our own volumes, as she was with the helmets of the Sabines.'" If they complain with justice of the increasing number of their reports, how much more may we who are obliged to procure their books and our own in addition. Reports from four and twenty States, besides those from the United States' courts, annually issued, and too often of little value! obtained at an enormous expense, and when obtained, condemned as no authority! Forty years ago, the evil of bad reporting was complained of in England, but it has increased ever since, insomuch, that it is difficult to discover what will be received as authority, and what rejected.

"The consequences of this desultory and irregular system of reporting, are highly injurious. The authority of a decision is made to depend upon the character of the reporter, with regard to which, the learned judges are by no means always of the same opinion. Lord Thurlow tells us that 'Carthew and Comberbach are equally bad authority.' (1 Br. Ch. Ca. 97.) While Lord Kenyon, on the other hand, informs us that 'Carthew is, in general, a good reporter.*' (2 T. R. 776.) There are few reporters who have altogether escaped censure from the Bench. 'Eighth Modern is a miserably bad book.' (1 Burr, 386.) 'Eleventh Modern is a book of no authority.' (Dougl. 61.) 'Twelfth Modern is not a book of any authority.' (Dougl. 83.) 'The book called Reports in Chancery, in Lord Nottingham's time, is a book of no authority.' (3 Atk. 354, 1 Wils. 162.) 'Fitzgibbon's Reports is a book of no authority.' (3 Atk. 610.) 'Some of the cases in Freeman are well reported, but the book is of no authority.' (Cowp. 15.) 'Keble is a bad reporter.' (3 T. R. 17.) 'A very inaccurate reporter.' (3 Wils. 330.) 'The authority of Popham is none.' (1 Keb. 676.) 'As for the case from Noy's Reports, I wholly reject that authority. It was but an abridgement of cases by Sergeant Size, who, when he was a student, borrowed Noy's Reports, and abridged them for his own use.' (Per Twisden J. 1 Vent. 81.) Lord Mansfield has denounced several reporters. He absolutely forbade the reading of Mosely's Reports. (5 Burr, 2629—3 Austr. 861.) Of Bunbury he said—"Mr. Bunbury never meant those cases should have been published. They are very loose notes." (5 Burr, 2658.) So he forbade the citing of Barnardiston's Reports in Chancery, as it would be misleading students to put them

* Mr. Selwyn also, in his *Nisi Prius*, speaks of the "known accuracy" of Carthew.

upon reading them. 'He said it was marvellous, however, to such as knew the Sergeant, and his manner of taking notes, that he should so often stumble on what was right, and yet there was not *one case* in his book which was so throughout.' (2 Burr, 1142.) Sometimes the courts are compelled to take two bad reporters instead of one good one. 'The case cited,' says Lord Mansfield, 'is an express authority, and is reported in two books, each of which states the case in the same way. It is, however, objected that these books are of no authority; but if both the reporters were the worse that ever reported, if they substantially reported a case in the same way, it is demonstration of the truth of what they report, or they could not agree.' (R. v. Genge, Cowp. 16.) The objections to such loose and irregular reports, apply with double force to the reports of *Nisi Prius* decisions, where the matter of the case is often as objectionable as the manner in which it is reported. 'Very likely,' says Mr. Justice Bayley, 'one's first thoughts at *Nisi Prius* may be wrong, and I am extremely sorry that they are ever reported, and still more so that they are ever mentioned again, at least so far as my *Nisi Prius* decisions are concerned, because I think they are entitled to very little weight. What is said by a Judge upon a trial, is merely the first impression of his mind on a point coming suddenly before him, and which he had no opportunity of considering beforehand.' (*Doe v. Staunton*, 1 Ch. R. 121.)"

These remarks, though applicable to many American reports, do not affect those which are confined to the decisions of the Supreme Courts of appellate jurisdiction; but even they are injuriously affected by the prevailing practice of inserting long speeches of counsel, and of attempting to illustrate particular points or subjects by essays of the reporter in the form of voluminous *excursus*. Now we must join in the universal clamour against this abuse of our patience and pockets. Where is the honesty of thus swelling a volume, we are obliged to buy, with stuff that nobody reads, and that enhances the cost of the book? If the reporter wishes the reputation of an original writer, let him publish his essays separately; but he should insert nothing in his reports except a brief statement of the facts necessary to the elucidation of the case, the points made by the counsel, the authorities cited to support them, and the decision of the court. If the reporters, who are guilty of these practices, were to hear the disparaging remarks which are often made upon their works, even by their friends, they would, we are convinced, correct their error.

We are entertained in these volumes with some amusing anecdotes of the English Judges. Of Lord Kenyon's Latinity, they give us the following specimens:—

"Lord Kenyon's classical acquirements are well known to have been slender. He was, nevertheless, exceedingly fond of ornamenting his judgments with Latin quotations, which did not always fall exactly into

their right places. Upon one occasion, he is said to have concluded his summing up in the following manner: 'Having thus discharged your consciences, gentlemen of the jury, you may retire to your homes and your hearths in peace, and with the delightful consciousness of having well performed your duties as citizens; you may lay down your heads upon your pillows, and say, *Aut Cæsar, aut nullus.*' Upon another occasion, his Lordship wishing to illustrate in a strong manner, the conclusiveness of some fact, thus addressed the jury—'Why, gentlemen of the jury, it is as plain as the noses upon your faces! *Latet anguis in herba!*' Even death could not divorce him from his bad Latin. Upon his hatchment, it is said, there was inscribed, *Mors Janua vite*. On this fact being related to Lord Ellenborough, his lordship observed, 'Yes, sir: it was by his own particular directions; and, moreover, it saved the expense of a diphthong!'

What will those persons in this country, who believe in the scholarship of all the British Judges, say to such specimens of it?

One of the well-known peculiarities of Lord Chancellor Eldon, is happily hit off in the following doggrel, which, at the same time, illustrates the merits very correctly, as we are told, of four eminent barristers.

" Mr. Leach
 Made a speech,
 Impressive, clear and strong,
 Mr. Hart,
 On the other part,
 Was tedious, dull and long.
 Mr. Parker
 Made that darker,
 Which was dark enough without;
 Mr. Bell
 Spoke so well,
 That the Chancellor said, 'I doubt!'

The care with which he sometimes defined the exact shade of doubt on his mind, may be judged of, from what fell from him in the case of the Marquis of Townsend v. Stangroom. (6 Ves. 328.) This was a bill for a specific performance of an agreement, and it was attempted to introduce parol testimony to show a mistake in the writing. "His Lordship said, that he would not say that upon the evidence without the answer, he should not have had so much doubt whether he ought not to rectify the agreement, as to take more time to consider whether the bill should be dismissed." It is fortunate for the harmony of the Bench, that no one, like old Judge Dyer, had to follow his Lordship, or he might have said of him, as he did of his brother Baldwin, "but Baldwin was of a contrary opinion, though neither I, nor any one else, I believe, understood his refutation." (Dyer, 43.)

The style of Sir Thomas Plumer may be contrasted with Lord Eldon's. In the celebrated case of *Cholmondy v. Clinton*, he is said to have thus expressed himself: "Testator says to himself, I'll have the right heir of Samuel Rolle; and be he male, or be he female, he's the man for my money!" This might have been as happily versified as Sir John Pratt's decision of a case of a pauper's settlement, as reported in *Burns' Justice*.

"A woman having a settlement,
Married a man with none;
The question was, he being dead,
If that *she* had was gone.

"Quoth Sir John Pratt, the "settlement,
Suspended doth remain,
Living the husband; but him dead,
It doth revive again."

Chorus of the Puisse Judges.

"Living the husband, but him dead,
It doth revive again!"

The corruption of the English bench, from the time of Alfred down to the middle of the sixteenth century, is noticed in these volumes. Alfred, it is said, caused forty-four judges to be hanged in one year as murderers, for false judgments. Some of the cases were singular. He hanged Cadwine because he judged Hackery to death when the jury was divided; the prisoner having three in his favour, the judge removed them and substituted three others, who condemned him. He hanged Cole for condemning a madman; Athulf, for sentencing to death a minor; and Athelstan, for judging Herbert capitally for an offence not mortal. Edward I, caused many of his judges to be prosecuted to outlawry, for falsifying the records. The pernicious habit of making presents to the judge who was to try the donor's case, was prevalent till the time of Lord Bacon, who fell a sacrifice to it, though he carefully advised others not to follow it. Horne Tooke, however, delighted to defend him—"his judgments, in his own court, he observes, were always dictated by equity, and never once complained of. The accusations against him were minute, frivolous and vexatious; while his sentence, 'to be rendered for life, incapable of any place or employment, to be precluded from sitting in Parliament, or coming within the verge of the court, to be fined £40,000, and remain a prisoner in the tower during the King's pleasure,' was incommensurate with, and far exceeded his supposed offences. The sums stated to be

received, not by him, but by his servants, were presents under the name of *fees*, and the judges and chancellor, at this moment, took perquisites, under the name of fees also. Upon looking narrowly into the business, however, you will find that his sentence was never executed—that he was afterwards summoned to Parliament—that he was chastened, as may be seen by his latter writings, by adversity, and that the whole charge must be allowed to have been of a very equivocal nature, for it originated in a court intrigue, during bad times.” It gives us pleasure to transcribe this defence of one of the wisest of mankind, whose integrity was warped by his facility rather than his avarice. But Tooke should have added, that his sentence was not only not executed, but the king afterwards gave him a pension of £1800 a year; a very large sum at that period. The virtue with which Sir Thomas More resisted such bribes, is worthy of commemoration. His son-in-law, Roper, in his life of him, relates several pleasant instances to this effect, and among them the following:—

“ So, I remember, at another time, upon a new-year’s day, there came unto him one Mistress Croker, a rich widow, for whom, with no small pains, he had made a decree in the Chancery against the Lord of Arundell, to present him with a pair of gloves and forty pounds, in angels, in them, for a new-year’s gift; of whom he thankfully received the gloves, but refusing the money, said unto her, ‘ Mistress, since it were against good manners to forsake a gentlewoman’s new-year’s gift, I am content to take your gloves; as for your money, I utterly refuse it; so much against her mind, enforced he her to take her gold again. And one Master Gresham, likewise, at the same time, having a cause depending in the Chancery before him, sent him for a new-year’s gift, a fair gilt cup, the fashion whereof he very well liking, caused one of his own, though not in his fantasy of so good a fashion, yet better in value, to be brought out of his chamber, which he willed the messenger, in recompense, to deliver unto his master, and, under other conditions, would he in nowise receive it.”

The independence and courage of many of the judges are happily noticed. The old story of Prince Hal’s striking Lord Chief-Justice Gascoine, whilst sitting in the king’s bench, for his refusal to deliver up one of his followers, and which first appears in Holinshead, seems to have been dramatised before the time of Shakspear, and may be found in an old play, called—“ The Battle of Agincourt.” The scene is curious, and is inserted in one of these volumes as follows:—

“ *Enter the young PRINCE with NED and TOM.* ”

Henry V. Come away my lads. Gogs wounds, ye villaine, what make you here ? I must goe about my business myselfe, and you must stand loytering here.

Theefe. Why, my Lord, they have bound mee, and will not let mee goe.

Henry V. Have they bound thee, villaine ? Why, how now, my Lord !

Judge. I am glad to see your Grace in good health.

Henry V. Why, my Lord, this is my man. 'Tis marvell you knew him not long before this. I tell you he is a man of his hands.

Theefe. I, gogs wounds, that I am, try me who dare.

Judge. Your Grace shall find small credite by acknowledging him to be your man.

Henry V. Why, my Lord, what hath he done ?

Judge. And it please your Majesty, he hath robbed a poor carrier.

Henry V. And will you not let him goe ?

Judge. I am sorry that his case is so ill.

Henry V. Tush ! case me no casings. Shall I have my man ?

Judge. I cannot, nor I may not, my Lord.

Henry V. Nay, and I shall not, say, and then I am answered.

Judge. No.

Henry V. Then I will have him. [*He giveth him a box on the ear.*]

Ned. Gogs wounds, my Lord, shall I cut off his head ?

Henry V. No, I charge you, draw not your swords.—But get you hence ; provide a noyse of musitians.—Away, begone !

[*Exit the Theefe.*]

Judge. Well, my Lord, I am content to take it at your hands.

Henry V. Nay, and you be not, you shall have more.

Judge. Why, I pray you, my Lord, who am I ?

Henry V. You, who knows you not ? Why, man, you are Lord Chief-Justice of England.

Judge. Your Grace hath saide truth : therefore, in striking me, in this place, you greatly abuse me, and not me only, but also your father, whose lively person here, in this place, I do represent. And, therefore, to teach you what prerogatives mean, I commit you to the fleete, until we have spoken with your father.

Henry V. Why, then, belike you mean to send me to the fleete.

Judge. I do, indeed ; and therefore carry him away.

[*Exeunt Henry V. with the officers.*”]

“ It is unnecessary to remind the reader of the scene between Henry, the Chief Justice, and Falstaff, at the conclusion of Shakspeare's Henry IV.”

In the reign of Queen Anne, Chief Justice Holt set the whole House of Commons at defiance. This fact is, perhaps, very generally known to our *professional* readers ; but it furnishes such an illustrious example, at once, of judicial independence,

and of heroic moral integrity, that we have no hesitation in contributing what we can to perpetuate and diffuse it. At an election for members of Parliament, the manager rejected the votes of several freemen who were qualified, and thereby incurred a penalty of £100. Complaint being made to the judge, he ordered the manager to be arrested. The House then passed a resolution that no judge or attorney should assist at the trial under certain pains, but the Chief-Justice and several Members of the bar disregarded it, and had the suit brought on in the King's Bench." The House, highly irritated at this contempt of their order, sent a Sergeant-at-Arms for the Judge to appear before them; but that resolute defender of the laws bade him, with a voice of authority, "be gone;" on which they sent a second message, by their Speaker, attended by as many members as espoused the measure. After the Speaker had delivered his message, his lordship replied to him in the following remarkable words:—"Go back to your chair, Mr. Speaker, within this five minutes, or you may depend on it I will send you to Newgate. You speak of *your* authority; but I will tell you I sit here as an interpreter of the laws and a distributor of justice, and were the whole House of Commons in your belly, I would not stir one foot!" The Speaker was prudent enough to retire, and the House were equally prudent in letting the affair drop.

Far different, however, from this, was the conduct of Lord Chief Justice Kelyng, who interrupted Lord Holles, when under examination as a witness, and "snubbed him so, that he sat down," for which he was called before the House of Lords to make his defence, which he did, and they condemned him to make the following apology—"That he did not mean it of the Lord Holles, when he spoke the words, and that he was sorry, that by his behaviour or expressions, he gave any occasion to interpret it otherwise," and he asked the pardon of the House and the Lord Holles. Strange that it never should have occurred to him to deny the jurisdiction of that tribunal, and to set them at defiance.

It is sometimes amusing to witness the gambols of the grave, and the follies of the wise. The solemn seniors of the long robe, we presume, will, at this day, scarcely credit the existence of the following manners and customs which appear so utterly irreconcilable with the dignity of the profession. A single century has not gone by since the Judges and Benchers, on great holydays held certain festivals called the Revels of the Inns of Court. These were solemn dances, sometimes accompanied with a song, in the burden of which, they all joined; one of

which, more remarkable for the solemnity of its invocation to jollity than its poetry, has reached us and runs thus—

“Some mirth and solace let us take,
To cheer our hearts and sorrows alake.”

The revels were of two kinds, the *solemn* and the *post revels*. They are described by Dugdale, as follows:—

“When dinner was over, the Judges and Sergeants were conducted either into the garden or some other place, until the hall was ‘cleansed and prepared’ for the solemnities. This being done, and the Judges being again seated, ‘the ancient of the two (pleaders) who hath the staff in his hand, stands at the upper end of the bar-table; and the other, with the white rod, places himself at the cupboard in the middle of the hall opposite to the Judges, where, the music being begun, he calleth twice the master of the revels; and, at the second call, the ancient, with his white staff, advanceth forward and begins to lead the measures, followed first by the barristers and then the gentlemen under the bar, all according to their several antiquities; and when one measure is ended, the reader, at the cupboard, calls for another, and so in order.”—*Dug. Orig.* p. 234.

At the conclusion of these, which were the *solemn* revels, a curious ceremony takes place, which is thus described by Dugdale:—

“When the last measure is dancing, the reader at the cupboard calls to one of the gentleman at the bar, as he is walking or dancing with the rest, to give the Judges a song: who forthwith begins the first line of any psalm, as he thinks fittest; after which, all the rest of the company follow, and sing with him. Whilst they are thus walking and singing, the reader with the white rod departs from the cupboard, and makes his choice of a competent number of utter barristers, and as many under the bar, whom he takes into the buttery; where there is delivered unto every barrister a towel with wafers in it, and to every gentleman under the bar, a wooden bowl, filled with *ipocras*, with which they march in order into the hall, the reader, with his white rod, going foremost. And when they come near to the half pace, opposite to the Judges, the company divide themselves, one half (as well barristers as those under the bar) standing on the one side of the reader, the other, on the other side; and then, after a low solemn congee made, the gentlemen of the bar first carry the wafers; the rest, with the new reader, standing in their places. At their return, they all make one another solemn, low congeés, and then the gentlemen under the bar carry their bowls of *ipocras* to the Judges; and returning, when the Judges have drank, they make the like solemn congee, and so they all depart, saving the new readers elect, who wait upon the Judges till their departure, and then usher them down the hall into the court-gate, where they take their leaves of them.”

"The Post Revels, as their name imports, took place after the Solemn Revels, and were performed 'by the better sort of the young gentlemen of the Society, with galleards, corrantos, and other dances, or else with stage-plays."

Had these most ridiculous saltations been optional, there would have been less room for amazement, but they were prescribed as legal obligations by established rules, and the omission of them made a very serious offence. In Herbert's *Inns of Court*, it appears that so late as the time of James I. an order was made that the under barristers should "by decimation be put out of commons, for example sake, because the whole bar were offended by their not dancing on the Candlemas-day preceding, according to the ancient order of the Society, when the Judges were present;" with a threat that if the like fault were committed afterwards, they should be fined or disbarred!

Wynn's *Eunomus** contains an authentic narrative of the last Revel in any of the Inns of Court. It took place February 2, 1733, and was attended by the Lord Chancellor, Mr. Wollaston Master of the Revels, Dr. Sherlock Master of the Temple and then Bishop of Bangor, and by the Judges and Sergeants. They first partook of an elegant dinner, and were waited on at table by fourteen students, among whom was the Chancellor's son. When this was over, a play began, called *Love for Love*, with the farce of the *Devil to Pay*, by the actors from the Haymarket. After this, the Chancellor, Judges, &c. formed a large ring, and the Master of the Revels, who went first, took the Lord Chancellor by the right hand, and he, with his left, took Mr. J. Page, who, joined to the other Judges, Sergeants and Benchers present, danced round the fire, according to the old ceremony, three times, "during which, they were aided in the figure of the dance, by Mr. George Cook, Prothonotary, though of sixty; and all the time of the dance, the ancient song, accompanied with music, was sung by one Toby Astor, dressed in a bar gown, whose father had been formerly Master of the Plea Office, in the King's Bench." Foote, in the zenith of his glory, could not have conceived anything more completely farcical. The scene was witnessed by a crowd of ladies, who filled the galleries.

The salaries of the ancient Judges were, we are told, very small—not sufficient, it would seem, to support life. They must, therefore, have depended on their private fortunes, and accepted the office for its dignity. From the reign of Henry III.

* Vol. ii. p. 288.

to that of Henry VIII. they ranged from ten marks to twenty pounds, though in some of the intermediate reigns, many obtained one hundred and forty marks. The emoluments of the profession were in a correspondent ratio, for in the churchwardens' account of St. Margaret, Westminster, for the year 1476, there is said to be this entry—"Also paid Roger Fylpott, learned in the law, for his counsel; giving three shillings and eight-pence, with four-pence for his dinner." The duties of the Judges, however, were not burthensome. They seldom sat longer in Court than three hours a day, viz. from eight to eleven o'clock, and never in the afternoon. After Court, they took some refreshment, and spent, says Fortescue, "the rest of the day in the study of the laws, reading the Holy Scriptures, and other innocent amusements at their pleasure. 'Twas a life rather of contemplation than of action."

If such were the lives of our Circuit Judges, there might be some apparent reason why their salaries should be reduced below the minimum of comfortable subsistence, as has lately been done in this state. But their case is widely different, and few are the hours they can spare "to study the laws, or read the Scriptures." Even, however, had they more time and less travelling, the interests of society would, we think, be opposed to the reduction. Judges should be placed above pecuniary difficulties: their minds should not be diverted from their important duties, by the pinching of want, or the necessity of devising ways and means to eke out a living for their families. Such a situation both lessens respectability and invites temptation. Bring the administrators of the law, through whose sanctions alone the sovereignty of the people is heard, into contempt, and the law itself will soon become odious—render the law and its tribunals odious, and you prepare the people to despise the yoke and to embrace any change which would afford a prospect of relief. Let it be borne in mind by those in whose hands are our destinies, our legislators, that the most distinguishing and delightful characteristic of our people, is their cheerful submission to the law: to that they universally bow down with obedience, and upon that foundation, mainly, stand our republican institutions. Every thing which tends to shake it, a patriot should deprecate; and we know nothing more surely calculated to produce that lamentable effect, than the reduction of the salaries of the Judges to a bare subsistence, by which these offices will ere long be thrown into the hands of inferior men, or will render those of a superior character who imprudently accept them, the victims for life of debasing want. Fortunately for us, our Judges have hitherto been distinguished for

their integrity. Their bright honour has never been sullied even by suspicion, and it is delightful to contemplate their spotless conduct. But how long, we cannot help asking, can this last, if we place them in a pecuniary situation below their rank in society? Is it desirable thus to cast them down from their legitimate station in the community, and to debar them of the advantages of enlightened social intercourse? Let this false economy continue, and after a little while the offices will be filled with the worthless and the needy, and the pure temples of justice become marts of venality and corruption.

The British Chancellor had, and indeed, continues to have, a much more severe duty to perform than the Law Judges. The labours of the Lord-keeper Williams were enough to destroy half a dozen Chancellors of modern times. Philips, in his biography of him, says—"It is almost incredible what a perfect drudge the keeper was, especially when he first entered upon his office. His business, at this time, was so great, that he was forced to sit by candlelight in the court, two hours before day, and to remain there till between eight and nine o'clock, then to repair to his office in the House of Lords, till twelve or one, on every day. After a short repast at home, he returned to hear the causes in Chancery, which he could not despatch in the morning, or if he attended at Council, at Whitehall, he came back towards evening, and followed his employment in Chancery till eight or nine at night, or later. After this, when he came home, he preserved what papers his secretaries brought to him, and when that was done, though late in the night, he prepared himself for the Lords' House next morning. All that lived in his family, knew that it was ordinary with him to begin his studies at six at night, and continue them till three in the morning, and be ready again by seven to attend to his employment."

This required an extraordinary physical constitution, and a profound knowledge of equity; yet, it is remarkable, that among not the worst of the English Chancellors, so late as 1672, sat an individual who had never studied law, or been called to the bar. This was Lord Shaftesbury, (after whom our Ashley and Cooper rivers take their names) who was appointed by Charles II. upon the removal of his predecessor, for refusing to affix the great seal to the declaration for suspending the penal laws. As Shaftesbury knew no law, he determined to distinguish himself, from all others, by his costume. "He sat on the bench, (says Roger North) in an ash-coloured gown, silver laced, and full ribboned pantaloons displayed, without any black at all in his garb, unless it were in his hat, which now I cannot say positively, though I saw him, was so." His conduct, at times, par-

took of the levity of his dress, for North goes on, in a lamentable style, to give an account of his causing the Judges, King's Counsel and other officers of the law, who used to wait on the great seal the first day of a term, to form the procession, contrary to all precedent, on horse-back, equipped with black foot clothes. They were joined by many of the nobility and their retinues, in honour of the new Chancellor, and the cavalcade passed steadily enough till they came to some interruptions, when, says their historian, "for want of gravity in the beasts, and too much in the riders, there happened some curvetting, which made no little disorder. Judge Twisden, to his great affright, and the consternation of his grave brethren, was laid along in the dirt. But all, at length, arrived safe, without the loss of life or limb in the service." Shaftesbury's judicial merits, however, strange to tell, have been well spoken of by some, though disparagingly by North. Hume says he was an excellent Chancellor, and that all his decrees were equally remarkable for justness and for integrity.

Notice is taken of many other Chancellors, but the anecdotes are too well-known to the profession to be here transcribed. The character of Lord Thurlow is touched in one or two places, and a picture of him, in fine Latin, given from Dr. Parr's preface to *Bellendenus*, which we are almost tempted to copy, but our limits do not warrant it. It is time we should draw to a close.

Judging from this work, lawyers have been rarely wits or poets. What is there collected, as specimens of their wit, is too vapid to raise a smile; and, in this respect, we think great injustice has been done them. It had been better to have been silent than have inserted such an instance as Lord Mansfield's interrupting a learned, though deaf sergeant in the midst of a perplexing argument, by calling to him, "Mr. Sergeant, Mr. Sergeant," and when he had completely broken the chain of his reasoning, addressing him with "the court hopes your cold is better." This, doubtless, created a laugh at the expense of the embarrassed sergeant, but could not have impressed the audience favorably with the Judge's wit or politeness. A number of Curran's poor puns find a place in the book under the head of *Bon Mots*, but nothing worth reading is preserved among them. On Lord Norbury, the prince of judicial jesters, silence is preserved, whilst of Lord Eldon, among other rare instances, the following is told: In a case in the Common Pleas, in 1800, Sergeant Cockle said to the jury, that "if the defendant, (a sheriff's officer, sued for an escape) had fairly come forward and alleged that the mob obliged him to let the debtor go, he, the counsel, would have had his mouth shut." Lord Eldon immediately in-

interrupted him, exclaiming, "my brother Cockle will excuse me if I interrupt him; he will, I am certain, always do his professional duty in as good natured a way as any I know; but I cannot give full credit to his present assertion. Had the officer adopted the exact line pointed at, I am very well satisfied that my brother Cockle, provided he had, on his brief the same number of guineas which now are indorsed on it, would not have had his mouth so easily shut." The anecdote which approaches nearest to humour, is the following:—

"A young gentleman called to the bar, and not thoroughly acquainted with legal contractions, had a brief put into his hands, with the following indorsement on it:

NOKES,	}	<i>Instructions.</i>
vs.		
STYLES.		

Mr. LEATHERHEAD, $\frac{1}{2}$ gua. [$\frac{1}{2}$ guinea.]

"To move for a common [commission] to examine witnesses."

The young gentleman accordingly moved the court,—“My Lords, I humbly move your Lordships for a common to examine witnesses.” “What, Sir?” said the Chief Justice, “I humbly move for a common to examine witnesses.” “Pray, Sir,” said the Chief Justice, “are your witnesses numerous?” “Yes, my Lord.” “Then take Salisbury Plain!”

As poets, the lawyers of Great-Britain seem, as was naturally to be expected, in a land where popular opinion forbade their cultivation of letters, to have made quite as sorry a figure; for, though many are named as versifiers, their effusions are now beyond the memory of man. It is said Lord Clarendon coquetted with the muses, and even Sir Matthew Hale, occasionally dabbled in Castalian streams. Roger North's criticism of him is, “he published much in speculative devotion; part prose, and part verse, and the latter hobbled so near the style of the other as to be distinguished chiefly by being worse.” It is whispered that Lord Bacon was a poet, but concealed his talent; and poor Lord Coke, who never pretended to the power of rhyming, satisfied himself with citing the poets, and boasted of his having referred to Virgil three hundred times!* “It standeth well, he observes, with the gravity of our lawyers to cite verses.” Lord Harcourt, Queen Anne's Chancellor, is said

* It must be owned Lord Bacon was the “brightest,” no less than the “wisest” of mankind; as every reader of his incomparable *Essays* has felt; and even amid the black-letter lore and scholastic subtleties of Sir Edward Coke, one is continually surprised and delighted with the play of a sportive, and even highly poetical fancy. Versification is not of the substance of poetry, and Murray was, probably, not the only Ovid disguised or smothered in a wig and a gown.—Ed.

to have been no mean poet, and the same was said of Lord Somers. Pope compliments Lord Mansfield on his poetical abilities, and Lord Hardwicke's addition to Lord Lyttleton's Poem on Virtue and Fame, we are told, had much merit. All these, however, and others that might be mentioned, were, we apprehend, but mere verifiers, and Sir William Blackstone among the rest, though in his "Lawyer's Farewell to his Muse," there are some pleasing lines.

ART. IX.—*Resolutions submitted in the House of Representatives of the Congress of the United States, declaratory of the unconstitutionality of the Act, passed on the 14th of July, 1798, commonly called the Sedition Law, and providing for a restoration of the fines which may have been paid to the respective Marshals of the District Courts, by the parties who were convicted under that Act. Reports of the House of Representatives, 20th Congress, 2d Session.*

WE purpose selecting both the title and matter of the Resolutions which we have prefixed to this article, to say something on a topic vitally connected with the successful progress and permanent security of civil liberty, philosophy and letters. A free press is the fountain of all light, and so vastly has its power been increased in modern times, that it is no paradox to say, it stands in many respects, very effectively in the place of government itself, by organizing, concentrating, and diffusing that public opinion, by which rulers, even in arbitrary governments, are themselves ruled, and subjected to restraints, altogether unprovided by the political constitution of their country, or what is technically called, the law of the land.

The object which we propose to ourselves, is not to discuss the doctrine of private libels, because we are not aware that the law in this particular requires amendment; for under the decisions of our courts, the security of character and freedom of discussion seem sufficiently guarded. But we have always considered that adequate atonement was not made for the violation of the Constitution of the United States, perpetrated by the passing of the memorable act of 1798, commonly called the Sedition Law, in the mere fact of its being permitted to expire by

its own limitation ; and that effective securities ought to be obtained against any effort, in future, to make what are generally called political libels, punishable by the authority of the United States, and consequently, cognizable in the Federal Courts. With these views, we have looked with no little interest to the ultimate adoption of the Resolutions which we now intend very briefly to discuss—an interest which, we confess, has been greatly enhanced by the augmented necessity which the experience of each day unfolds, of limiting the implied powers of this vast confederate government, and the objects which they are intended to accomplish.

The power delegated to the government of the United States, to define and punish certain crimes and misdemeanors, is conveyed in words of the utmost precision in the Constitution itself, and it is certainly one of the most remarkable facts disclosed in the early history of our government, that upon mere loose implication, and seemingly against an express prohibition, Congress should have declared certain acts criminal and punishable by severe penalties. But remarkable as it is, we are not disposed to deal too rigorously with the authors of those odious enactments. The Government had but just gone into operation, and the lessons of experience—at all times important—were absolutely indispensable to ascertain the principles on which it should be conducted in practice. The statesmen who exercised the powers of the Constitution, had not been bred and disciplined, so to speak, in its nurture and admonition. They had no sure means of estimating the precise momentum of the machine which they had constructed, the pressure it could sustain, or the exact extent of its powers—in a word, the *degree* of government which the people themselves would bear. Besides, we are not so ignorant of the history of our own country, or of the still more melancholy history of human nature, as not to know, that in periods of great moral excitement, very honest, but very pernicious mistakes may be committed in legislation. The Sedition Law was passed at a moment when the volcano of the French revolution seemed, in the estimation of many good men, to threaten with its burning lava the uttermost verge of the civilized world. They believed, that much of this convulsion was to be attributed, even in France, to the extreme licentiousness of popular discussion, and they further believed, that a similar cause was then nourishing into existence, on this side of the ocean, a spirit, in portentous sympathy with some of the worst characteristics of this signal and sanguinary drama. That these individuals greatly overrated the evils of the times, and essentially mistake their remedy, we believe is universally ad-

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mitted now, without impeaching the purity or sincerity of the motives under which they acted.

Without farther introduction, we shall now, in the smallest compass into which we may be able to condense what we have to say in proof of this position, proceed to present our views; and, as the most appropriate division of this discussion, we shall take, in the order in which they occur, the two propositions embraced in the Resolutions themselves.

First, that the law of the 14th of July, 1798, commonly called the Sedition Law, was a violation of the Constitution of the United States, by abridging the freedom of the press.

In taking up this position, we feel all the embarrassment which one must encounter, who undertakes to prove what is self-evident or universally admitted. Although the act of 1798, never came under the cognizance of the Supreme Court of the United States, and, consequently, that Court never had an opportunity of pronouncing an opinion on its constitutionality; yet, nevertheless, at a period not at all remote from its passage, public opinion pronounced a judgment on this subject, which may well be taken as the ascertained sense of nearly a whole community, which spoke a language so clear and emphatical, as would have prevented the re-enactment of this law, if ever any disposition had been felt to revive it. The language was, that those who had passed this law, had done what the Constitution had not authorized.

And on what grounds did public opinion declare the Sedition Law unconstitutional? It was because it affirmed a power not delegated by the Constitution; on the contrary, one, the exercise of which, was expressly denied to Congress, by an amendment to that instrument. It is only necessary to weigh the import of the tenth amendment, by which, as the power of regulating the press had not been delegated, "it was reserved to the states or the people," and then to read the amendment that stands at the very head of the twelve supplemental articles, that were added, out of an abundant caution on the part of the people, to the Constitution, (which declares that "Congress shall make no law abridging the freedom of speech, or the liberty of the press"); and then to turn to the enactment of the sedition law, to be satisfied of this truth.

In the very face, then, of a non-delegation, and a positive prohibition of the power, Congress passed the following clause in this memorable law, which, *inter alia*, enacted:—

"That if any person shall write, print, utter or publish, or shall cause or procure to be written, printed, uttered or published, or shall know-

ingly or willingly assist or aid in writing, printing, uttering, or publishing any false, scandalous and malicious writing or writings against the Government of the United States, or the President of the United States, with an intent to defame the said Government, or either House of the said Congress, or the said President, or to bring them or either of them into contempt or disrepute, or to excite against them or either of them, the hatred of the good people of these United States, or to stir up sedition within the United States, or to excite any unlawful combinations therein for opposing or resisting any law of the United States, or any act of the President of the United States, done in pursuance of any such law, or of the powers in him vested by the Constitution of the United States, or to resist, oppose or defeat any such law or act, or to aid, encourage or abet any hostile designs of any foreign nation, against the United States, their people or Government; then, such person thereof convicted before any Court of the United States having jurisdiction thereof, shall be punished by a fine not exceeding two thousand dollars, and by imprisonment not exceeding two years."

The next and last clause in the act provided, "that the persons prosecuted under it, shall be permitted to give the truth in evidence, that the jury trying such prosecutions shall, by their finding, determine the law and fact, and, that the duration of the act, itself, shall be limited to the 3d day of March, 1801."

If no law of libel was sanctioned by the Constitution of the United States, and none could exist in reference to its federal relations to the people of the United States, (which we contend is the correct doctrine on this point) then this clause, which attempts to regulate a power, left free and undisturbed, to the people, is *ipso facto*, an abridgment of that power, whatever may be the plausible provisos by which the general law of libel, as existing in another country, may be mitigated.

So apparent was this on the face of the law, that in the celebrated report of 1799, made in the House of Representatives by the supporters of the Sedition Act, they were compelled to put into requisition all the resources which the most latitudinarian construction of the implied or incidental powers could furnish.

In the first place, it was contended, (and it will scarcely be credited at this day) that the second section of the third article, which provides, "that the judicial power of the United States shall extend to all cases in *law* or *equity*, arising under this constitution," made of force, in our federal system, the Common Law of England, and as the Law of Libel was a part of that law, the Sedition Act, which permitted the truth to be given in evidence, so far from abridging the freedom of the press, was an emphatic enlargement of its liberty.

In the second place, it was contended that under the eighteenth article of the eighth section of the first article of the Constitution, the act was constitutional, as that section gives to Congress the power "to make all laws, which shall be necessary and proper, for carrying into execution the foregoing powers," that one of the foregoing powers was, "to provide for the common defence and general welfare," that the Sedition Law was a means of providing for the common defence, and that punishing seditious writers was "suppressing insurrections within the meaning of the Constitution."

All the other parts of the instrument were probably written on adamant. This clause seems to have been inscribed on Indian rubber, which contracts and stretches just as the hand of a political magician may touch it; and flexible as it is, it is the only part of the sacred charter, in the construction of which, Congress "cannot be palsied by the will of their constituents." We cannot treat this once attempted justification of the Sedition Law with any sort of gravity. There is something too facetious for argument in the discovery, that the Sedition Law belonged to the military power of the Government; that one of the means of national defence was indictment, and that a district attorney, whether casemated, or mounted on the folds of his indictment, was no contemptible cannoneer.

This branch of the inquiry involves the question of what the framers of the Constitution intended by the "freedom of the press," which Congress was prohibited from abridging. Did they mean the English freedom of the press, the French freedom of the press, the Austrian freedom of the press, or the Russian freedom of the press? Could they have meant the English freedom of the press? Let us show what it is at Common Law, not by a reference to the odious star-chamber doctrine, but to authorities recent, authentic, and of the highest intelligence. In Holt's Reports, p. 424, Lord Holt said,—“To say that corrupt officers are appointed to administer affairs, is certainly a reflection on the government. If men should not be called to account for possessing the people with an ill opinion of the government, no government could subsist.” Lord Raymond said, in State Trials, vol. x. “a magistrate, minister of state, or other public person's character, is not to be stained directly or indirectly. The law reckons it a great offence when the libel is pointed at persons in a public capacity, as it is a reproach to the government to have corrupt magistrates,” &c. Even the enlightened Sir Philip Yorke, afterwards Lord Hardwicke, said, in the same volume, “he, (the printer) is not to publish any thing reflecting on the character and reputation and *administration* of his Ma-

jeasty or his ministers." And Lord Ellenborough laid down the position in the case of the *King vs. Cobbett*. "It is no new doctrine, that if a publication be calculated to alienate the affections of the people, by bringing the government into disesteem," (almost the words of the Sedition Law) "whether the expedient be by ridicule or obloquy, the person so conducting himself is exposed to the inflictions of the law. It is a crime—it has ever been considered a crime, whether wrapt in one form or another." It was not from doctrines like these that the founders of the Constitution intended to establish the security of the freedom of the press.

It is obvious that they designed to leave the great privilege of free discussion entirely unshackled, and, that by the first amendment to the Constitution, they intended to exclude the whole doctrine of political libels, being a crime punishable under the jurisdiction of the United States, leaving all her citizens, whether public functionaries or otherwise, to their remedy under the statutory or Common Law provisions of the State courts.

They who proposed, and they who adopted the amendment, which prohibits Congress from abridging the freedom of the press, perfectly understood what this freedom meant, even beyond the obvious signification of the forms themselves. They did not look abroad for its definition, as it practically existed in the codes of civilized Europe, for they knew they would not find it there. They were sensible that a peculiar frame of civil and national polity had been established in this country, which enabled them to engraft on it, that which had been an almost hopeless desideratum in philosophy and morals, the right of free and unrestricted discussion on the conduct of public agents.—They could not, therefore, but have regarded it as vitally important that this right should not only be free from the old censorial restraints of the licenser, but from any subsequent punishment under the laws whatsoever. And let us add, that the opinion was in harmony with the very elementary principles of our government which was formed by the people, was to be administered for the people, and by responsible agents of their appointment. A libel, therefore, against the government, as an artificial person, could never have entered into their conception. On the contrary, they must have known that the "liberty of the press" was the great conservative principle by which the fabric which they had reared, was to be upheld—that it was only through the exercise of this liberty that they could make a good selection of their servants—that this selection must result from knowledge, and that the *utmost* knowledge could only be the consequence of the *utmost* freedom of discussion. And that

the excellence of the choice, which the people might make, would be in proportion to the extent, fulness and variety of the information which they had of the merit and demerit of those who aspired to serve them.

With the truth of one cardinal principle they must have been deeply impressed, that there can be no other security for the "freedom of the press," or public liberty, but by abrogating the whole doctrine of political or public libels, which it was the object of the Sedition Law to make of force in this country. For the very instant you place a man in a situation to serve himself at the expense of those who give him power, and at the same time skreen him from exposure, by fettering the action of the press, you at once give unlimited impunity to corruption and misrule. The miseries of a bad government are the inevitable consequences of the people not having, in the fullest sense of the forms, all the means of knowing how that government is administered. They cannot have *all* the means, with the press hoodwinked and crippled by any restriction whatsoever; for if it be in the power of those who govern, to permit certain opinions to be expressed, and to proscribe certain other opinions, it may be taken as a matter beyond dispute, that the only opinions they will tolerate, will be those best calculated to sustain and perpetuate their own authority. Now, as the public have the deepest interest in determining the truth or falsity of all opinions that may be expressed of their agents, this can only be secured by allowing the utmost freedom in expressing these opinions. And for this freedom, bordering even on licentiousness, the community at large have the highest compensation in the fact, that, in the end, it is only the sound opinions that will obtain the general assent of a majority of those who are to be influenced, or who are to profit by them.

The framers of the Constitution, and those who adopted the amendment, knew moreover, that the only mode of securing the right of free discussion was not to limit the power of the fullest investigation and censure, in regard to the conduct of public functionaries—that, practically, more harm had been done to the world by a vicious and corrupted press speaking too favourably of a bad government, than by the most licentious calumnies uttered against a good one. And, that where the right to censure and praise public agents stood on the same ground, and was equally free, that just as the truth might preponderate, conveyed through and vindicated by no other organ than the press, would be the just judgment of those for whose benefit government itself is instituted.

With these obvious and familiar principles, the great men, whose work we have been considering, must have been deeply imbued. They did not go to the star-chamber of the Tudors and the Stuarts, or even to the decisions of Holt and Raymond, of Mansfield or Ellenborough, for a proper knowledge of what the freedom of the press was, or ought to be. They found that in spite of the occasional censorship and penal laws of the provincial governments, to this freedom much of our success in our mighty struggle was to be attributed, nor were they ignorant of the lights which the philosophy of England had thrown on this subject during the previous century—lights which sometimes even penetrated the darkness of her courts—they were no strangers to the vigorous essays of Locke, and the sublime tractate of Milton—they knew and believed with these immortal spirits, that it is only from a free press, as free as the atmosphere of heaven, that a healthful tone can be given to the circulation of human opinion, and, that it is not from this engine, manacled by those in power, with a view to maintain their power, that it can ever give creation to that which one of them has sublimely called “the precious life-blood of a master-spirit embalmed and treasured up, on a purpose to a life beyond life.” And hence, in the scheme of national government they perfected, they withheld, and wisely withheld all power over the press, and out of an abundant caution, instituted an amendment to the very instrument in which the power had been withheld, emphatically protesting against its assumption.

If we have succeeded in giving a just and accurate definition of what the freedom of the press consists, as guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States, there can be no difficulty in coming to the conclusion, that the Sedition Law did “abridge” this freedom, and for many reasons. And here we must remark, that a mere statement of the fact, that it was more dangerous to animadvert on the measures of government after the passing of the law than before, would seem to furnish a conclusive answer to this question, and to settle this branch of the argument; but it may not be unimportant to add a few illustrations.

In the first place, the Sedition Law legislated into existence a new class of libels not previously known to the laws—libels against the officers of the Federal Government as officers—for before this law there could be no libel against the President as President of the United States.

In the second place, the indictments under this law were to be tried not in the State Courts, but the District Courts, by a Judge appointed by the President, and a jury summoned by a Marshal of his appointment, and the cases were conducted by

District Attornies, holding their offices during the pleasure of the Executive.

In the third place, the unavoidable practice under the act, which is incident to all penal statutes, operated a serious abridgment to the freedom of the press; which was, that where a party was charged with the offences specified under the act, whether innocent or not, he was compelled, with his own bond, to give security to the amount of two thousand dollars, to appear and answer, and moreover, to keep the peace and be of good behaviour. Which, "keep the peace and be of good behaviour," meant that he was, during the pendency of the trial, to abstain from writing *any more* strictures on the conduct of the government.

Fourthly, that during the continuance of this act, two entire elections of the House of Representatives, an election of a part of the Senate, and an election of a President was and did occur, during which, the actual incumbents were protected from a scrutiny into their public conduct, whilst their opponents had no similar immunity—operating in effect a restriction on the press little short of its utter annihilation.

Fifthly, the *intent* to defame and to bring into contempt and disrepute, the President or the members of either House of Congress, is made a part of the offence. Now the intent to do a certain thing, may, under many circumstances, be more a matter of inference or deduction, than a fact susceptible of proof. Nothing, therefore, was so well calculated to abridge the freedom of the press, as to make the intentions of the party offending, either an inference of law from the mere fact of publication, or a deduction within the discretion of the Court. To say nothing of what is undeniably just, that if the party so offending, believed that the government was corrupt and tyrannical, and hence unworthy of the confidence of the people, the *intent* to bring those who administered it, into contempt, hatred and disrepute, was highly praiseworthy and patriotic.

But it is said the provision in the act, which allowed the party arraigned the power to give the truth in evidence, is a sufficient answer to most of the objections which may be drawn from its supposed abridgment of the freedom of the press, as this right was an essential mitigation of the common law in regard to libels, which were punishable whether true or false.

If the argument which we have attempted to urge is worth anything, that Congress had no right to pass any restrictive law on the subject of the press, this privilege is a very valueless boon, more especially as no instance has occurred since the Federal Government went into operation, of any attempt to

indict at common law, any one of those who had by their writings endeavoured to bring the government "into contempt, hatred and disrepute." This seeming feature of amelioration in the law was, in fact, its most grievous provision, and more seriously abridged the freedom of the press than any other part of the act. For, practically, to allow a man, on such indictments, to give the truth in evidence, was, in fact, to compel him to do so, or plead guilty.

It would, indeed, be to prevent facts of eminent probability, general circulation, and pervading interest to the community, from being published, except the party had legal testimony of their truth, which, nine times out of ten, would be impossible. To estimate the extent to which such a compulsory *amelioration* must have abridged the freedom of the press, let us consider what would be its effect on colloquial discussion, if, for instance, we were to state no facts, or rumours of facts, make no reflections on them of censure, without being absolutely certain that they are not only true, but that, in the event of our relating them, we should be able to afford, according to the subtle rules of evidence, absolute legal proof of their truth.

It availed a party in this law nothing, although he might have stated circumstances of undeniable notoriety and of almost universal belief, with the most praiseworthy motives; if he failed in his testimony to prove them true, he was to be considered as a malefactor; and, perhaps, to be punished, when the facts which he had averred were true, and those whom he had censured by the use of these facts, were the very individuals who alone could prove their truth, and were most interested in withholding this proof. The trials that took place under the Sedition Act, very fully illustrated the mischievous absurdity of most of these consequences, and operating as they did an essential abridgment of the freedom of the press, we believe we hazard nothing when we say, that public opinion has settled down on the irrevocable conviction, that the Sedition Law was palpably unconstitutional—and although this law has gone "to the tomb of all the Capulets," its history should, nevertheless, be preserved as an instructive warning, which, to make emphatically authoritative, a full pecuniary indemnity, we think, ought to be made to those who suffered in pecuniary penalties under its enactment. We are aware that this part of the subject presents the only difficulty in the whole case. But on a mature examination of the principles involved, we cannot but think this difficulty more ideal than actual.

Upon the naked and abstract proposition, whether the government ought to retain money obtained coercively from its citi-

zens by virtue of an unconstitutional law, in a case where a court of Justice cannot relieve, there can be scarcely two opinions, except on the ground, that it is better a private person should suffer injustice than that the public should be put to the inconvenience of a hazardous precedent. We will, however, now proceed to state all the objections which we have heard urged against the restoration of the fines levied under the Sedition Law.

1. That their restoration would be an encroachment on the independence of the judiciary.

2dly. That it would be assuming for Congress a power, conflicting with that of the judiciary, of determining what the Constitution is, and what it is not.

3dly. That it would be encouraging appeals to Congress which would be highly inconvenient in practice.

1st. It is important to determine in what the independence of the judiciary may be said to consist. We have always supposed that the independence of judges was effected by maintaining an inviolability in regard to tenure of their offices, by adequate security for the payment of their salaries; by giving to their decisions the force of law, until the laws upon which such decisions are grounded, were repealed. That the judiciary should be declared infallible, to be made independent, is a necessity which we cannot perceive in the reason or philosophy of the whole matter. Their independence, in regard to their decisions, is sufficiently guaranteed by allowing the legal processes flowing from them, to terminate in their acknowledged legal results.—But in what part of the Constitution is Congress prohibited from remedying the mistakes and curing the evils of their own legislation, and the decisions of the courts on their laws? To say that the Legislature is never to touch a decision of the judiciary, even by way of repairing an injury, which they may have done through an unconstitutional or ill-advised law, or through mistake or tyranny, is, to give a sanctity to the decrees of the functionaries by which the liberties of the country are surrendered without an appeal, into their hands. But surely the fines can be restored without impeaching their decision. The government stands in the situation of a plaintiff, recovering damages in a personal suit—he can give them up without impeaching the court that tried the cause.

Congress does not decide by refunding the fines, that the decision of the courts, on the Sedition Law, were wrong, but merely decides that its own act was in the unconstitutional or inexpedient, and that it will retain no part of the booty, resulting from its own error or oppression. And this is founded not on an im-

peachment of the judgment of the court, but because, on reconsideration, they doubt their own power to pass the law, and think it not sanctioned by public opinion, which calls upon them to rectify their own mistakes. But the fact is undeniable that the Supreme Court never did pronounce a decision on the constitutionality of the Sedition Law. The question was never taken up, because those who suffered under the law, knew, that from the state of parties in the country, the appeal would be both useless and expensive, and that before a decision could be had, their sentences would have been long ago executed, and the law have expired by its own limitation.

The decisions, therefore, of the District Courts on the Sedition Law, can only be regarded as a mere *nisi prius* opinion, which is neither considered here, or in England, as settling the law on any question. To say, therefore, that a law which was never even argued before that judicial body, which is alone competent among the judicial functionaries to determine the constitutionality of the question, is surely no impeachment of their independence. If this be not sound doctrine, where, on the other hand, shall we stop? Is the *obiter dictum* of a judge at *nisi prius* binding against the Legislature, so as to prevent its expressing any opinion adverse to that of the court?

This excessive comity towards the judiciary, must have some limits, or it would end in fixing upon this country a form of government which would be nothing more or less than a judicial despotism. If Congress has not the power to express an opinion on any measure of the judiciary, or to pass a law remedying any abuses which their decisions may occasion, then the great power of legislation, which belongs to this branch of the government, is controlled by certain undefined powers, which are practically exercised by another branch of the government. Let us suppose a judge of a district court to be guilty of some outrage against the personal rights of a citizen, which, nevertheless, is sanctioned upon appeal, by the Supreme Court as constitutional; and that Congress should consider the outrage as unconstitutional. Where is the remedy? In the Legislature, or no where. For even an impeachment of the judges and their dismissal from office is no remedy for the party aggrieved. He must obtain a reparation of his pecuniary wrongs from the supreme power in the state, or he will find it no where. But how much stronger does the case become, when Congress itself becomes the wrong doer by passing an unconstitutional law, and the judiciary is the mere instrument of personal oppression.

In this event, it is not so much the wisdom and justice of the judiciary that are impeached as that of the Legislature. Besides, the restoration of the fines levied under the Sedition Law, will not interfere with a judicial decision within the jurisdiction of the court that made it. The act of Congress was unconstitutional; it conferred no authority on the court. Congress is now called upon to remedy their own act of injustice in passing a law which the Constitution did not authorize. They surely have a right to review their own mistakes. But we think we may venture on higher ground, and assert not only that there is nothing in the Constitution which prohibits Congress in its legislative capacity from remedying the abuses which the judicial administration of ill-advised laws may occasion; but, that a power has been exercised, both here and in England, of superintending the doctrines of Courts of Justice, of correcting their mistakes, and relieving the personal hardships which they may inflict; and this, without impeaching the independence of the judiciary. We will begin with England, and with the authority of a distinguished name—no less a one than that of Edmund Burke, a man who was certainly not inclined to violate, by a spirit of daring innovation, the sanctity of established institutions. This great man, who saw far into the philosophy of human things remarked, upon the high power of the House of Commons, to keep a watchful eye on the judiciary: when considering Mr. Dowderwell's celebrated bill for explaining the powers of juries in prosecutions for libels:—

“ I have always understood that a superintendence over the doctrines as well as the proceedings of the Courts of Justice, was the principal object of the constitution of this House. That you were, at once, over the lawyers and the law: that there should be an orthodox faith as well as proper works; and I have always looked, with a degree of reverence and admiration, at this mode of superintendence. For being totally disengaged from the detail of judicial practice, we come, something perhaps, the better qualified, and certainly much the better disposed to assert the genuine principles of the laws; in which we can, as a body, have no other than an enlarged and public interest. We have no common cause of a professional attachment, or professional emulations to bias our minds; we have no foregone opinions, which, from obstinacy and a false point of honour, we think ourselves, at all events, obliged to support. So, that with our minds perfectly disengaged from the exercise, we may superintend the execution of the national justice, which, from this circumstance, is better secured to the people here than in any other country it can be. As our situation puts us in a proper condition, our power enables us to execute this trust. We may, when we see cause of complaint, administer a remedy; it is in our choice, by address, to

remove an improper Judge, or by bill, to assert, explain, reform, or enforce the law, just as the occasion and necessity of the case shall guide us. We stand in a situation very honourable to ourselves, and very useful to our country, if we do not abuse or abandon the trust that is placed in us."

This power of superintendence, which the Parliament of Great Britain has exercised over the judiciary, has not stopped at expressing merely opinions in the abstract, for, in cases where the Constitution has been violated by the oppressive laws of one Parliament, which laws have been carried into effect by a subservient bench, a subsequent Parliament has remedied the abuse, and indemnified the parties suffering. In Hargrave's edition of the State Trials, vol. v. p. 482, will be found the proceedings against Bastwick, Burton and Prynne, for a libel on the Hierarchy. They were condemned by the Star Chamber to lose their ears, to be fined five thousand pounds, and to suffer perpetual imprisonment. Parliament declared this sentence unjust, and remitted the fine and imprisonment—as they did also in the case of John Lilburne in 1637. In vol. vii. of State Trials, p. 645, it will be seen that Samuel Johnson was, in 1686, indicted and found guilty of a libel, and fined five hundred marks—a bill was brought in to reverse all proceedings against him. So in vol. xi. p. 120, Dr. Alexander Leighton, found guilty by the Star Chamber, for his plea against prelacy, pronounced by the House of Commons illegal, and that he ought to be recompensed for his sufferings. Many more cases are to be found in the books, which we deem it unnecessary to cite, and shall content ourselves with referring to one of very recent authority. In June 1825, Mr. Brougham brought up the petition of Robert Carlisle, who had been convicted on libels for blasphemy, and who had been confined six years in Dorchester jail, and fined fifteen hundred pounds sterling. There was no opposition to this petition, on the ground that Parliament had not the power to entertain jurisdiction of it, for the fines were remitted by the King's warrant on the 12th of November, 1825.

It is thus apparent that this power has been constantly exercised by the Parliament of Great Britain—and among the precedents we have cited, there is not a single case of a reversal of an attainder, however strong the reasoning furnished by analogy. We have rested, exclusively, on cases in which Parliament has remedied the judicial proceedings, consequent on the hardship, injustice and unconstitutionality of its own laws. Fortunately for our country, we have had no occasion, with the exception of the cases furnished by the Sedition Law, to

remedy the proceedings of our Courts consequent on unconstitutional laws, yet Congress is in the habit of interfering with their decisions, so far as to pass laws modifying such decisions, and, indeed, in some cases to meet even the hardships resulting from the verdicts of juries. One half the laws giving to the Executive the power of settling the accounts of disbursing officers on the principles of equity and justice, are passed after a verdict of a jury and the judgment of a court. Nor is it necessary to specify the instances, they are of such common occurrence, in which Congress grants relief, after fines and penalties have accrued by decisions of the District and Admiralty Courts, under the revenue laws. Yet in all these cases where relief may have been granted, the parties have not suffered in their own persons by a violation of the Constitution, which would appear to furnish the strongest possible reason for such an interference.

From the view we have presented of this branch of the argument, we think we may conclude that there is nothing in the Constitution which guarantees any such independence to the Judiciary as would prevent Congress from rectifying the unconstitutionality of their own legislation. But even admitting the great delicacy of the Legislature reviewing a decision of the Supreme Court, relief might, we think, be granted to those who suffered under the Sedition Law, without trenching on the separate jurisdiction of this Court, as, in point of fact, it never had, in any form, presented for its consideration, any question relative to the Sedition Law.

The second objection to the restoration of the fines is, that it would be assuming for Congress a conflicting power with that of the Judiciary, of determining what the Constitution is, and what it is not. If the last conclusion which we have deduced from the other branch of the argument is of any value, no such conflict can arise, as a District Court has no power to determine in the last resort, a point arising under the Constitution. The objection, therefore, is of no weight, as we have seen that the Supreme Court never had cognizance of the constitutional question growing out of the Sedition Law. But so far from considering the power as conflicting, we regard the right to decide in all cases what the Constitution is, as a concurrent one, on the part of Congress. The eminent function of legislation necessarily presupposes this right. In every law that is passed or repealed, this power is exercised. And if this authority is not possessed by the Legislature, the Constitution itself is not worth the paper upon which it is written. But

we go farther—it is the bounden duty of Congress not only to declare what the Constitution is, but when its provisions have been violated, to apply a remedy. Without this power, the right of petition, secured to the people, would be the merest mockery that ever disgraced the name of liberty. If the representatives of the people must, by their silence, ratify whatever the Judiciary may do, then the Legislature is not supreme: but those who interpret the laws, are put above those who make them, and the argument worked out to all its consequences of servility, would even prohibit Congress from repealing a law which the Judiciary might declare constitutional. And surely our title to the exercise of this is not less strong than the privilege which one of the greatest constitutional lawyers England ever saw—a man whose character, as it has been beautifully said, was fertile in every great and good qualification—claimed for the House of Commons. We refer to Lord Camden, who, in his celebrated reply to the opinion of Lord Mansfield, on the case of the general warrants, says, “that some things are so plain of themselves that no case can make them plainer. This power of interposition [he means with the decisions of the Judiciary] in the Commons, flows of necessity from the nature of government. They could not be the grand inquest of the nation, the great council of the realm, sponsors for the republic, or guardians of the rights of the people, without possessing it.” Nor could Congress be the guardians of the rights of the people, if they did not possess the power, not only to impeach an arbitrary judge who might wilfully violate the Constitution, but likewise be endued with the still more beneficent authority of healing wounds inflicted by their own unconstitutional legislation. No consideration for what is called the independence of the Judiciary, could ever justify such unreasonable forbearance?

To the third and last objection, that a restoration of the fines levied under the Sedition Law, would be inexpedient, as it would encourage appeals to the Legislature from the decisions of the Judiciary, it may be necessary to say a few words.

Our reply in the first place, is a denial of the probability, in point of fact—and next, admitting that on any future occasion, an application should be made for relief, from the oppression of a clearly admitted unconstitutional law, so far from its being deprecated as an evil, it ought to be desired as a most beneficial consequence, that the breach which the Constitution has received, may be healed by the legislative functions of the only body competent to grant relief. But the objection is founded

itself on a radical misconception of the legislative functions of government. Within the sphere of the Constitution, or in other words, within the limits of its own powers, Congress has no other rule of action than its discretion on the merits of each case that comes before it. It can only legislate effectually and beneficially by so doing. The Judiciary must be under the government of a different rule of action, and the *stare decisis* is of the very essence of judicial wisdom. With the Legislature this principle would operate very often as a denial of justice—with the Court, the neglect of this axiom would render justice itself uncertain. But we, however, contend that these appeals would not in fact be from the decisions of the Courts of Justice, but from the proceedings of the Legislature to the Legislature itself, to remedy its own acts, to grant relief where injury has been done by a violation of the common charter, which claims not only a common obedience from, but a common protection for all. Finally, we regard this proposition as a conclusive answer to the objection—that where Congress is convinced that the Constitution has been violated, and injury inflicted on a citizen through such violation, they are bound by an obligation higher than any considerations of expediency, to afford indemnity. The oath to preserve and defend the Constitution, involves the duty of redressing its infractions; a contrary conclusion would put, not only an absurd and mistaken comity towards the Judiciary, but the laws above the Constitution itself.

But if Congress has the constitutional power, what it is just to do, it is expedient to do. A Legislature can claim no exemption from those moral obligations which, in private life, belong to an individual. With what face could it say to those who have suffered under the Sedition Law—"It is true our agents have condemned you under a law we had no right to pass, and which, consequently, gave them no jurisdiction to condemn you to a dungeon and to severe pecuniary fines; but we cannot remedy this act of injustice without being guilty of the monstrous assumption of admitting that both ourselves and our agents may have been wrong: therefore, it is our duty to keep the money, and prohibit all investigation into the circumstances. Be quiet, and recollect that the public agents who unconstitutionally amerced you, are of too much importance, and you are of too little, to authorize our interference." We are not aware of our being able to state this case in any other than the terms of this reply, and hence we are irresistibly led to the conclusion, that if relief be denied under the Resolutions we have thus briefly discussed, it will be because a higher value is set on

the forms of justice, than upon justice itself. We cannot, therefore, but express the hope, that Congress, by adopting the Resolutions which stand at the head of this article, will offer a propitiatory sacrifice to the Constitution, for the violation which it once received in an essential particular—a sacrifice not the less necessary and desirable for the lapse of time which has since intervened.

ART. X.—1. *The Disowned.* By the Author of “Pelham.” 2 vols. 12mo. New-York. 1829.

2. *Tales of the Great St. Bernard.* By the Author of “Sala-thiel.” 2 vols. 12mo. Philadelphia. 1829.

“PELHAM” might, perhaps, be said to belong in some sort, to a class of novels, which, for want of a better appellation, we shall designate as the Beau-Brummel School. Their professed object is to hold the mirror up—not to nature—but to what, according to their representation of it, is the very reverse of nature, viz. English fashionable life. They purport to be a revelation of its esoteric rites and of its most sacred mysteries—to paint it in all the extravagance and exaggeration of its follies and impertinences—in its grotesque mixture of aristocratic hauteur and voluntary self-abasement, of an ambitious meanness and cringing insolence—in its absurd affectations, its slavish etiquette, its studied trifling, its pompous inanity, its disgusting pretension, its heartlessness, recklessness, apathy and *ennui*. We have not the means of judging how far these pictures, which have so much the appearance of travesty and caricature, are to be relied on. We verily believe, however, that—whatever may be the state of the fact as to this—at no other period in the history of polished society, could such stupid extravagances—such rapid and coxcombical imbecility, (mainly, it would seem too, on the strength of the impudence with which they are accompanied) be palmed upon the world, not only as good manners, but as the very perfection of the *suprême bon ton*. Yet, what must the worshippers be where the God is a monkey? The success of the celebrated personage whose name we have

just mentioned, is a social phenomenon, quite *sui generis*. It has not failed to attract the attention of those philosophers who have found nothing better to do than to speculate upon the rise and fall of fops and fashions. The author of Vivian Grey, for instance, treats the subject with a gravity and profoundness, befitting its singular importance, and highly edifying to connoisseurs in this department of liberal knowledge—so too, the author of Pelham has found the attraction of Brummell's star irresistible. He delights to dwell upon the fortunes of the illustrious exile—to catch "the farewell sweet" of his philosophical counsels and reflections—to kindle with him over the visions of his departed glory—and to hear him utter such lofty strains of unconquerable pride and revengeful self-complacency, as would scarcely be tolerated in the mouth of Napoleon at St. Helena, or Prometheus Vincit in a Greek tragedy. Although reduced to very short commons in an obscure corner of Boulogne-sur-Mer, our ill-fated hero *has* tasted the pleasures, and still feels all the conscious superiority of a well-bred *gourmand*. Although a fugitive from his country, and an outcast from society, he *has* seen the day when the former rang with his unrivalled fame, and the latter trembled at his Olympian nod. Although now "none so poor to do him reverence," he did whilom revel in the intoxication of an autocratic sway over the "foremost men of all the age"—cracked a joke and a bottle with princes, set his foot upon the necks of dukes and peers, and without rank, or title or family himself, like another Sampson, "made *arms* ridiculous," and became the fountain of honours and distinctions, more envied than the stars and coronets of men descended from Norman barons!

Now, call it rusticity or what you will, we cannot for the very life of us, contemplate the character and career of such a creature as this with any sort of patience—much less with that strange degree of toleration, or complacency rather, with which some of the writers alluded to, evidently dwell upon them. We beg his pardon—there is one, and only one of his feelings which we know how to appreciate, and in which we perfectly sympathize. It is the profound contempt which he manifestly entertained for the society, that is, the *clique*—if we are to judge from appearances, at once the most supercilious and the meanest in the world—upon whose dignity and intelligence, his whole conduct was one continued and insufferable outrage. Such extravagant impertinences had never before been tolerated except in those professed fools or zanies, one or more of whom used to be kept, a few centuries ago, in the train of every great man,

for the express purpose of beguiling his leisure hours, with licensed absurdity. Indeed, this visible contempt for those about him, we suspect it was, that mainly contributed to our hero's success. It came up to La Rochefoucault's notion of the elevation which does not depend upon fortune—*le prix que nous nous donnons insensiblement à nous-mêmes*. Brummel seems to have studied profoundly the character of fashionable society in England. He saw that it was not founded, as it had formerly been in France, on the mere love of elegant conversation and refined pleasures, which a truly polite noblesse did as much as they could to promote, by admitting without reserve into their circles, all whose talents and accomplishments were fitted to delight and adorn them. He perceived that the disease—the all-devouring, epidemic disease—of the *bonne compagnie* in England, was *vanity*—that all the forms and habitudes, and arts and embellishments of life, were contrived not for pleasure, but for ostentation merely—that the only earthly object of a man of *ton* was to be considered as a man of ton, and so he could but be ranked among the *distingués* and the *recherchés*, as they are called in the fashionable jargon, it was a very minor consideration to him, whether his society were good or bad, agreeable or disagreeable, intelligent and accomplished, or rude and stupid. The badges—the insignia of the order were all he wanted. To be admitted at Almack's—to be in demand at every *select* party, (the *name* is enough)—to be a sort of *lion*, in short, was the whole drift and study of his vacant, listless, yawning existence—an *αἰῶνος βίος*, if there ever was one. Hence every thing in such a state of society, is capricious and eccentric—*outré* exaggeration and abrupt change. The leaders endeavour to distance all pursuit, or to turn so suddenly as to throw their followers off the trail. Every thing becomes vulgar that is at all common—whatever is touched by one of the uninitiated, is desecrated and defiled for ever. All the ties, duties and charities of life must be sacrificed without mercy, if they interfere with your interests in the saloon—you are to shun your best friend like a pestilence, if he be *cut* by the Brummel of the day—and the murder of an unfashionable father were almost excusable homicide in a man of ton!

Something of the same kind, doubtless, takes place in all countries among people ambitious of this sort of distinction. It is especially to be remarked in that class which is at once the most despicable and the most insolent every where—the class of pretenders—of *nouveaux riches*—the sag end of fashionable life, if, indeed, they belong to it at all. Their footing there is

too precarious to admit of anything like ease or freedom in their motions. It is quite as much as they can do to get along themselves, and they will not, for anything in the world, add to their difficulties by attempting to help others. They are climbing up a steep hill, and the operation is tedious enough in all conscience, without loading themselves with unnecessary burthens. Your *parvenu* is horribly fastidious about his associates—he has the quickest and the surest instinct in regard to the rank and consideration of his neighbours—he is the very last to countenance the rising merit of one of his own *farina*, and the very first to run away at the alarm of bankruptcy and a fall among his friends.

Sed quid

*Turba Remi? Sequitur fortunam, ut semper, et odit
Damnatos.*

This characteristic of the sort of people alluded to, is very well hit off by our author in the work before us, and his remarks upon the subject are quite just, considered as mere *general* remarks, though, for reasons which we shall proceed to state, we doubt their being applicable in their whole extent to the fashionable society of England—at least, *if that society is well described in Pelham, and other novels of the same kind.* “My sister (says the gipsey king) was miserably ashamed of me. She had not even the manners to disguise it. In a higher rank of life than that which she held, she would have suffered far less mortification; for I fancy great people pay but little *real* attention to externals. Even if a man of rank is vulgar, it makes no difference in the orbit in which he moves; but your “genteel gentlewomen” are so terribly dependent upon what Mrs. Tomkyns will say—so uneasy about their relations and the opinion they are held in—and, above all, so made up of appearances and clothes—so undone, if they do not eat, drink and talk *à-la-mode*, that I can fancy no shame like that of my poor sister’s, at having found and *being found with* a vulgar brother.” pp. 36-38.

Now we think that if there is any truth at all in such works as Almack’s, and the rest of that sort, great people *do* in England—far more, at any rate, than great people do in some countries, or should in any—attach some and even the highest importance to externals. According to these works, even a patent of nobility is no passport into “select society”—nay, a Bohun or a Mowbray, if any such there were—a hereditary Lord High Constable or Earl-Marshall of England—might be black-balled by a Brummell. Their professed object is to distinguish between the weight and consideration of a nobleman upon his estates, or in the House of Lords, and his rank in the artificial hierarchy

of fashionable life. From the moment that he comes within the magic circle of Bond-street and St. James', the peer of the realm, it seems, is merged in the courtier and the man of fashion, and is measured by a new and most arbitrary standard, set up, it may be, by some presumptuous and vulgar coxcomb who happens to play the "Master of the Revels" for the time being. Even the nobility are thus deprived of their inseparable privilege—an ascertained rank. 'They too, must be upon their good behaviour—upon the *qui vive* for their places. They must do as they are bidden by their betters. Their whole system of life must be chalked out for them by the constituted authorities. "They must eat, drink and talk *à-la-mode*;" or quietly submit to the contempt and exclusion—the "*odi et arceo*," which await the rest of the profane vulgar.

Although it is very possible we may have pushed the matter too far in the preceding remarks, there can be no doubt, we conceive, that they are just to a certain extent. The classes condemned to what is technically called "climbing," are far more extensive in England, than on the continent of Europe. The whole exterior of society exhibits traces of this peculiarity in its character. Nobody seems to have any confidence in himself. "Mrs. Tomkyns" is the terror of the whole vicinage—of the high as well as the low. These, in like manner, are a terror to one another. A rich *parvenu* is afraid that a poor man of fashion may turn up his nose at his awkward stateliness and his bran-new finery. The poor man of fashion is horrified at the sight of this sudden greatness, which "overcomes him like a summer cloud," and but too surely threatens, before the end of a generation, to intercept the rays of public favour and eclipse him altogether. Like true bullies, however, they put the best face upon it. Their interchange of civilities is such as takes place between Abdiel and the rebel angels—it is "hostile scorn" on the one side, and "retorted scorn" on the other. Still, at the bottom of his heart, each knows how to estimate and to respect the peculiar excellences (for so we must call the advantages) of the other. *Satis clarus est apud timentem, quisquis timetur*. Sir Mordecai Molasses would be very glad to exchange his daughter and her portion for the ready-made respectability of the honourable Mr. Decay—who is still more ready to demean himself, on such terms, by contaminating the blood of his children. They are driven into this compulsory alliance, by the dread of common enemies, who are ever on the watch to take advantage of circumstances, and who wage a war of extermination against all pretenders to "gentility," who have been up and are going down, or who, being down, are

struggling to get up. How vicious and perverted is such a state of things! How inconsistent with that "assured and liberal state of mind," as Burke expresses it, which is essential to all true dignity of character and conduct! How inexpressibly despicable in comparison of the unbought nobility of nature—"the old and elegant humanity of Greece"—or even of that exquisite, though more artificial and effeminate refinement of France under the ancient *régime*, so winning, so gentle, so accessible, so unpretending!

Perhaps, this system of manners, in which no man trusts his neighbour or relies upon himself—in which the heart is quailing and grovelling, even while insult and defiance lower upon the brow—this war of all against all in the petty hostilities of social intercourse, may have contributed somewhat to the success of Brummell. His usurpation in this small way was submitted to, for the same reason that greater usurpations have been borne. There could be no concert among his subjects. Each looked upon his neighbour with distrust, and was afraid to move by himself. This whimsical tyranny thus stood upon the same foundation as Robespierre's. The terrorists built up their system on the simple principle that what is every man's business, is no man's business, especially where there is any danger in the way. Make it extremely probable that the first malcontent who attempts to get up an opposition, will be betrayed and cut off, (or cut), and you are secure against the rebellion of the most formidable multitudes.

English fashionable life, thus deformed by all manner of *charlatanerie*, pretension, eccentricity and flippancy, seems to us to be as unfit for exhibition in a novel, (except by way of satire) as the habits and manners of the Athenians were unfavourable to comedies of character. "Pelham," we think, is decidedly the best thing in this kind that we have seen, but the *kind* is miserably bad. "Almack's," for instance, is the stupidest trash that ever took the shape of a work of fiction. "Vivian Grey" has merits of a much higher order, and is, indeed, a very clever book, but its popularity and reputation were out of all proportion beyond its deserts. It owed these, undoubtedly, in a good degree, to the belief that it was not only an accurate representation of "the living manners" of the day, but what is still more piquant, of living characters of some celebrity. This latter circumstance would have given currency to any work, though its only recommendation had been malignity and mischief, which, when directed against individuals of note and consideration, amply supply the place both of vivacity and wit. "Pelham" dived much deeper below the mere surface of life,

and mixed up with the portraiture of its follies and frivolities, more of profound pathos and more of permanent and universal interest. The character of Reginald Glanville is powerfully drawn. His disclosure of the facts that led to his unrelenting and mysterious pursuit of the murdered Tyrrel, rises to a strain of far "higher mood" than any thing in "Vivian Grey." As for the morality of the part he acts, that is of course out of the question. We are speaking only of the dramatic interest excited by the personage, and the situations in which he appears, and we need not say, that to excite that sort of interest, a character is all the better of having a few human frailties.

In the "Disowned," the author has gone, we think, beyond the pitch of his first performance. Not that taken as a *whole*, this Novel is better executed, or even more interesting than Pelham. Its plot is not so well ordered, and much of the dialogue, especially in those parts where his fashionables take the parol, is less spirited. But there is more pathos and more power—a loftier eloquence in many passages—and every where something bolder and more adventurous, both in conception and in style. He dwells very little upon the vapid impertinences of which we have been speaking—and which are, indeed, the only dull part of the book, except the character of Morris Brown—a vulgar and intolerable bore. But it is when he transcends the boundaries of that narrow and sterile field, and expatiates at large amidst all the variety and magnificence of the moral and material world, that he puts forth his powers to the greatest advantage. He then every where discovers a mind at once enriched with poetic imagery, overflowing with a tender sensibility and the love of beauty and virtue, and disciplined in the profounder and severer speculations of philosophy. There is a vein of deep Platonic musing, running through many of his meditations, which imparts to them a solemn grandeur and elevation. It is true that his style is not always perfect: he is, sometimes, hyperbolical; he sometimes falls into a mawkish sentimentalism—he is often, in comparison of our classic writers, diffuse and feeble—but his diction is, generally, copious and elegant, and eminently well adapted to give full effect to his peculiar turn of thought and feeling.

But the superiority of this work, as the author himself very justly observes in his introduction, mainly consists in "a far deeper and more novel delineation of character—scenes of more exciting interest and vivid colouring—thoughts less superficially expressed—passions more energetically called forth—and, (as he adds, with much more diffidence) if not a greater, yet a more

pervading and sensible moral tendency than would have been compatible with the scheme and design of Pelham." He has, indeed, in these respects, if any thing, overcharged the picture. It is a deep tragedy—almost drowning the stage in tears and blood. The *dramatis persone* are killed off one after another, without mercy. Two of them are assassinated and four hanged, besides many that die in their beds. But there are events in it more touching—more thrilling—more terrible than death.—Every feeling that can agitate and wring the bosom—the grief that leaves the heart desolate, and the burning fever of disappointment which maddens the brain—the wild energies of a misdirected and fanatical zeal—the fond aspirations, the glowing dreams, the life-consuming toil and assiduity of youthful ambition, excited only to delude and to destroy utterly—the diabolical and remorseless malignity of a fiend in the shape of a hardened criminal, attempting to corrupt the virtue which he ought to have relieved, and at length to ruin because he failed to corrupt it—the struggles of that virtue against all the instincts of nature stimulated and goaded to frenzy by unutterable suffering, and those struggles issuing too late, in a worthless victory and more embittered anguish—such feelings as these, exhibited in striking situations, and managed with unquestionable talent, to say no more, could not fail to impart a far graver, deeper and intenser interest to the "Disowned" than has ever before been attempted, or indeed could, by any possibility, be achieved in a mere fashionable novel.

As for the moral tendency of the work, the too obvious disclosure of it, in the Novel before us, is, perhaps, even to be reckoned amongst its faults. The "heroic virtues," as a great man expresses it, "go at too high a market for humanity," and it is easy or rather common, in works of fiction, to slide into exaggeration in this particular. For instance, we have always felt dissatisfied with the heroes of Metastasio and Alfieri on this account. Their conduct is rather *too* godlike—their language, although they say only what they are going to do or have done in fact, swells into rhodomontade and extravagance—they are so very Roman, that they cease to have human feelings, or to excite human sympathy. There is nothing, to be sure, so objectionable as this in Mordaunt's character; but we felt, while reading the book, that the thing was somewhat overdone. We will remark, however, that it is no objection to the instructive and salutary moral tendency of the Novel, that it does not distribute what is called "poetical justice" among its chief personages. We have always thought that nothing was, at once more fallacious in a philosophical point of

view, and more at variance with the analogy of nature and of human life, than such a principle. We have not space to add any further remarks of our own upon this subject—but we cannot refrain from subjoining those of the author before us, which he puts into the mouth of Mordaunt:—

“I looked round the world and saw often virtue in rags and vice in purple; the former conduces to happiness it is true, but the happiness lies *within*, and not in externals. I contemned the deceitful folly with which writers have termed it poetical justice to make the good ultimately prosperous in wealth, honour, fortunate love, or successful desires.—Nothing false, even in poetry, can be just. Virtue is not more exempt than vice from the ills of fate, but contains within itself, always, an energy to resist them, and sometimes an anodyne to soothe. To repay your quotation from Tibullus—

Crua sonant ferro—sed canit inter opus.

“When in the depths of my soul, I set up that divinity of this nether earth, which Brutus never really understood, if, because unsuccessful in its efforts, he doubted its existence, I said in the proud prayer with which I worshipped it—‘poverty may humble my lot, but it shall not debase thee; temptation may shake my nature, but not the rock on which thy temple is *based*; misfortune may wither all the hopes that have blossomed around thy altar, but I will sacrifice dead leaves when the flowers are no more. Though all that I have loved, perish—all that I have coveted, fade away, I may murmur at fate, but I will have no voice but that of homage for thee. Nor while thou smilest upon my way, could I exchange with the loftiest and happiest of my foes. * * * Vol. ii. p. 100.

These sentiments might be expressed with more simplicity and force (for the style is objectionable), but nothing can be more just and philosophical.

We shall now proceed to take a cursory notice of some of the prominent characters of the Novel.

We will premise that we were strongly reminded in the course of it, of what our author himself calls the “Magnificent Fable of Melmoth.”* The hero of the “Disowned,” is very much in the same situation with the young Spaniard of the family of Moncada, whose adventures constitute so prominent a part in Mr. Maturin’s Novel. The dreadful temptations of poverty to which Mordaunt is exposed, also, have their archetype in the same work, and the part which Crawford—only a Melmoth of a less unearthly kind—acts, is altogether worthy of an incarnate Dæmon. Although, however, it is probable that the first conception of the characters and situations was suggested to our

* Vol. ii. p. 88.

author by Mr. Maturin's book, there is quite enough in the turn which is given to them here—in the manner in which they are wrought up and appropriated, to support his claim to a good degree of originality in them.

There is nothing very peculiar about the character of the hero. His situation surrounds him with difficulties which he successively overcomes, by marvellously lucky coincidences and unexpected turns of fortune brought about as such things have been used to be from time immemorial—for the heroes of Romance. He is cast off by his father, he knows not why, and sent away with a thousand pounds in his pocket to seek his fortunes. His adventures are very various—but the most important of them is his making the acquaintance of a rich batchelor in a very out-of-the-way sort of society at a Mr. Copperas', and after getting into the good graces of the old gentleman, happening very providentially, to save his life when in imminent danger, from two desperate burglars. He is immediately taken into favour by his grateful patron; a place is procured for him in a diplomatic mission to the Continent, where he spends some years and gets into good company; he returns at length, falls in love with a beautiful young lady of noble family, and is, for a little while, rather a "lion" in "high life." Meanwhile a certain Lord Borodaile pays his addresses to Flora, the mistress of Clarence Linden, (the Disowned); seeks an opportunity to insult the latter on the score of his unknown origin—shoots him in a duel, and brings him into such disrepute with the family of the young lady, that he is forbidden to enter their doors, and has the additional mortification soon to hear that his arrogant rival is to be married to his adored in a very short time. That time, of course, never comes. Borodaile gets into a fray with a fanatical politician of the name of Wolf, which terminates in the death of the former, who is precipitated by the enraged democrat, from the brow of a steep descent. While Borodaile is on his death-bed, Clarence procures conclusive evidence that he is the brother of that unfortunate nobleman, and the heir-at-law of his title and estates—that his real name is Clinton L'Estrange—and that he was cast off by his father on a suspicion, not conceived it must be confessed without very good colour, that the sire *de facto* of young Master Clinton was not, as he ought to have been, the sire *de jure*. In short, Clarence or Clinton becomes Earl of Ulswater, and makes Flora Ardenne his countess, with the consent and the blessings of all parties.

This is a very succinct outline of the plot—but there is (not to speak of episode upon episode) an important *underplot*, far more interesting in every point of view than the story of the he-

re's fortunes. It is a picture of Madame de Staël's ideal love—*Pamour dans le mariage*—in its holiest purity, its most rapturous enthusiasm, its most heartfelt fidelity and devotedness—a love, which every effort to extinguish it, only inflamed the more, and which the very sufferings it led to, seemed to consecrate and sanctify—such a passion as the most exalted natures only are capable of—such an adoration as is offered up to loveliness and virtue, by honourable and true hearts kindling with the fervor and chastened by the refinement of a poetical and romantic imagination.

The persons between whom this ill-fated attachment sprung up were Algernon Mordaunt and Isabel St. Leger. Their characters are portrayed as follows :—

“Algernon Mordaunt was the last son of an old and honourable race, which had centuries back numbered princes in its line. His parents had had many children, but all (save Algernon the youngest) died in their infancy. His mother perished in giving him birth. Constitutional infirmity, and the care of mercenary nurses, contributed to render Algernon a weak and delicate child ; hence came a taste for loneliness and a passion for study, and from these sprung on the one hand the fastidiousness and reserve, which render us unamiable, and on the other the loftiness of spirit and the kindness of heart, which are the best and earliest gifts of literature, and more than counterbalance our deficiencies in the ‘minor morals’ due to society by their tendency to increase our attention to the greater ones belonging to mankind. Mr. Mordaunt was a man of luxurious habits and gambling propensities : wedded to London, he left the house of his ancestors to moulder in desertion and decay : but to this home, Algernon was constantly consigned during his vacations from school ; and its solitude and cheerlessness, joined to a disposition naturally melancholy and thoughtful, gave those colours to his temper which subsequent events were calculated to deepen, not efface.

“Truth obliges us to state, despite our partiality to Mordaunt, that when he left his school, after a residence of six years, it was with the bitter distinction of having been the most unpopular boy in it. Why, nobody could exactly explain, for his severest enemies could not accuse him of ill-nature, cowardice, or avarice, and these make the three capital offences of a school-boy ; but Algernon Mordaunt had already acquired the knowledge of himself, and could explain the cause, though with a bitter and swelling heart. His ill health, his long residence at home, his unfriended and almost orphan situation, his early habits of solitude and reserve, all these so calculated to make the spirit shrink within itself, made him, on his entrance at school, if not unsocial, *appear* so :—this was the primary reason of his unpopularity ; the second was, that he perceived, for he was sensitive (and consequently acute) to the extreme, the misfortune of his manner, and in his wish to rectify it, it became doubly unprepossessing ; to reserve, it now added embarrassment ;

to coldness, gloom ; and the pain he felt in addressing or being addressed by another, was naturally and necessarily reciprocal, for the effects of sympathy are no where so wonderful, yet so invisible, as in the manners.

"By degrees he shunned the intercourse which had for him nothing but distress, and his volatile acquaintance were perhaps the first to set him the example. Often in his solitary walks he stopped afar off to gaze upon the sports, which none ever solicited him to share ; and as the shout of laughter and of happy hearts came, peal after peal, upon his ear, he turned enviously, yet not malignantly away, with tears, which not all his pride could curb, and muttered to himself, 'And these, these hate me !'

"There are two feelings common to all high or affectionate natures, that of extreme susceptibility to opinion, and that of extreme bitterness at its injustice. These feelings were Mordaunt's ; but the keen edge which one blow injures, the repetition blunts ; and, by little and little, Algernon became not only accustomed, but, as he persuaded himself, indifferent to his want of popularity ; his step grew more lofty, and his address more collected, and that which was once diffidence, gradually hardened into pride." Vol. i pp. 49-50.

"Figure to yourself a small chamber, in a remote wing of a large and noble mansion—the walls were covered with sketches, whose extreme delicacy of outline and colouring told that it was from a female hand that they derived their existence : a few shelves filled with books supported vases of flowers, whose bright hues and fragrant odours gratefully repaid, while they testified, the attention daily lavished upon them. A harp stood neglected at the farther end of the room, and just above hung the slender prison of one of those golden wanderers from the Canary Isles, which bear to our colder land some of the gentlest music of their skies and zephyrs. The window, reaching to the ground, was open, and looked through the clusters of jessamine and honeysuckle which surrounded the low veranda beyond, upon thick and frequent copes of blossoming shrubs, redolent of spring, and sparkling in the sunny tears of a May shower, which had only just wept itself away.—Embosomed in these little groves lay plots of "prodigal flowers," contrasted and girdled with the freshest and greenest turf which ever wooed the nightly dances of the fairies ; and afar off, through one artful opening, the eye caught the glittering wanderings of water, on whose light and smiles the universal happiness of the young year seemed reflected.

"But in that chamber, heedless of all around, and cold to the joy with which every thing else, equally youthful, beautiful and innocent, seemed breathing and inspired, sat a very young and lovely female. Her cheek leaned upon her hand, and large tears flowed fast and burningly over the small and delicate fingers. The comb that had confined her tresses lay at her feet, and the high dress which concealed her swelling breast had been loosened, to give vent to the suffocating and indignant throbings which had rebelled against its cincture—all appeared to announce that bitterness of grief when the mind, as it were, wreaks its scorn upon the body in its contempt for external seemings, and to proclaim that the present more subdued and softened sorrow had only succeeded to a burst

far less quiet and controlled. Wo to those who eat the bread of dependence—their tears are wrung from the inmost sources of the heart!

“Isabel St. Leger was the only child of a captain in the army, who died in her infancy; her mother had survived him only a few months: and to the reluctant care and cold affections of a distant and wealthy relation of the same name, the warm hearted and pennyless orphan was consigned. Major-General Cornelius St. Leger, whose riches had been purchased in India at the price of his constitution, was of a temper as hot as his curries, and he wreaked it the more unsparingly on his ward, because the superior ill-temper of his maiden sister had prevented his giving vent to it upon her. That sister, Miss Diana St. Leger, was a meagre gentlewoman of about six feet high; and her voice was as high and as sharp as herself. Long in awe of her brother, she rejoiced at heart to find some one whom she had such right and reason to make in awe of herself; and, from the age of four to that of seventeen, Isabel suffered every insult and every degradation which could be inflicted upon her by the tyranny of her two protectors. Her spirit, however, was far from being broken by the rude shocks it received; on the contrary, her mind, gentleness itself to the kind, rose indignantly against the unjust. It was true that the sense of wrong broke not forth audibly; for, though susceptible, Isabel was meek, and her pride was concealed by the outward softness and feminacy of her temper; but she stole away from those who had wounded her heart, or trampled upon its feelings, and nourished with secret but passionate tears the memory of the harshness or injustice she had endured.” Vol. i. pp. 72-73.

As soon as these amiable and tenderhearted personages had an inkling of the feelings which Mordaunt entertained for Isabel, they of course lost no time in interposing their *veto*. The result is after the usual preliminary negotiations, an elopement and a marriage. In a short time, however, Mordaunt is reduced to utter beggary by a law suit, and his next appearance is under the assumed name of *Glendower*, in the capacity of a famishing author, dependent upon the caprice of book-sellers for his daily bread, and for that of his wife and infant daughter. We present here to the reader the following touching picture:—

“The writer was alone, and had just paused from his employment: he was leaning his face upon one hand, in a thoughtful and earnest mood, and the air which came chill, but gentle, from the window, slightly stirred the locks from the broad and marked brow, over which they fell in thin but graceful waves. Partly owing, perhaps, to the waning light of the single lamp, and the lateness of the hour, his cheek seemed very pale, and the complete, though contemplative rest of the features, partook greatly of the quiet of habitual sadness, and a little of the languor of shaken health; yet the expression, despite of the proud cast of the brow and profile, was rather benevolent than stern or dark in its pensiveness, and the lines spoke more of the wear and harrow of deep thought, than the uproads of ill-regulated passion.

"There was a slight tap at the door—the latch was raised, and the original of the picture we have described entered the apartment.

"Time had not been idle with her since that portrait had been taken : the round elastic figure had lost much of its youth and freshness ; the step, though light, was languid, and in the centre of the fair, smooth cheek, which was a little sunken, burned one deep bright spot—fatal sign to those who have watched the progress of the most deadly and deceitful of our national maladies ; yet still the form and countenance were eminently interesting and lovely ; and though the bloom was gone for ever, the beauty which not even death could wholly have despoiled, remained to triumph over debility, misfortune and disease.

"She approached the student, and laid her hand upon his shoulder—

"'Dearest !' said he, tenderly yet reproachfully, 'yet up, and the hour so late, and yourself so weak ? Fie, I must learn to scold you.'

"'And how,' answered the intruder, 'how could I sleep or rest while you are consuming your very life in those thankless labours ?'

"'By which,' interrupted the writer, with a faint smile, 'we glean our scanty subsistence.'

"'Yes,' said the wife (for she held that relation to the student), and the tears stood in her eyes, 'I know well that every morsel of bread, every drop of water is wrung from your very heart's blood, and I—I am the cause of all ; but surely you exert yourself too much, more than can be requisite. These night damps, this sickly and chilling air, heavy with the rank vapours of the coming morning, are not suited to thoughts and toils which are alone sufficient to sear your mind and exhaust your strength. Come, my own love, to bed : and yet, first, come and look upon our child, how sound she sleeps ! I have leant over her for the last hour, and tried to fancy it was you whom I watched, for she has learnt already your smile, and has it even when she sleeps.'

"'She has cause to smile,' said the husband, bitterly.

"'She has, *for she is yours !* and even in poverty and humble hopes, that is an inheritance which may well teach her pride and joy. Come, love, the air is keen, and the damp rises to your forehead—yet stay, till I have kissed it away.'

"'Mine own love,' said the student, as he rose and wound his arm round the slender waist of his wife : 'wrap your shawl closer over your bosom, and let us look for one instant upon the night. I cannot sleep till I have slaked the fever of my blood ; the air hath nothing of coldness in its breath to me.'

"And they walked to the window and looked forth. All was hushed and still in the narrow street ; the cold gray clouds were hurrying fast along the sky, and the stars, weak and waning in their light, gleamed forth at rare intervals upon the mute city like the expiring watch-lamps of the dead.

"They leaned out, and spoke not ; but when they looked above upon the melancholy heavens, they drew nearer to each other, as if it were their natural instinct to do so, whenever the world without seemed discouraging and sad.

"At length the student broke the silence ; but his thoughts, which were wandering and disjointed, were breathed less to her than vaguely

and unconsciously to himself. ‘Morn breaks—another and another!—day upon day!—while we drag on our load like the blind beast which knows not when the burthen shall be cast off, and the hour of rest be come.’

“The woman pressed his hand to her bosom, but made no rejoinder: she knew his mood—and the student continued.” Vol. i. pp. 231-233.

By the interference of a banker of the name of Crauford—the Rowland Stevenson of his day—whom Mordaunt had met with in his travels on the continent, and mortally offended by some aristocratic slight, and who is, besides, bent upon making the unfortunate man the instrument of his own villainy in a grand scheme of embezzlement and fraud—even this scanty and precarious resource is soon cut off. Then opens one of those scenes so common in “*Melmoth*.” Crauford tries every art—exhausts every topic to persuade the unhappy Mordaunt to accept of relief at his hands. He tantalizes him while his body is agonizing with famine and his mind distracted and desperate, with prospects of sudden enjoyment and unbounded opulence. But all his efforts are vain. Mordaunt endeavours to escape from temptation by changing his place of residence. He is again discovered—again, tortured by the same sufferings, he is subjected to the same trials—and again triumphs over the arts of his tempter and his own despair. At length the measure of his calamities seems to be filled up. A crisis in his fate is at hand:—

“Struggling with want, which hourly grew more imperious and urgent; wasting his heart on studies which brought fever to his pulse, and disappointment to his ambition; gnawed to the very soul by the mortifications which his poverty gave to his pride; and watching with tearless eyes, but a maddening brain, the slender form of his wife, now waxing weaker and fainter, as the canker of disease fastened upon the core of her young but blighted life, there was yet a high, though, alas! not constant consolation within him, whenever, from the troubles of this dim spot, his thoughts could escape, like birds released from their cage, and lose themselves in the might, and lustre, and freedom of their native heaven.

“‘If the wind scatter, or the rock receive,’ thought he, as he looked upon his secret and treasured work, ‘these seeds, they were at least dispersed by a hand which asked no selfish return, and a heart which would have lavished the harvest of its labours upon those who know not the husbandman, and trample his hopes into the dust.’

“But by degrees, this comfort of a noble and generous nature, these whispers of a vanity, rather to be termed holy than excusable, began to grow unfrequent and low. The cravings of a more engrossing and heavy want than those of the mind, came eagerly and rapidly upon him; the fair cheek of his infant became pinched and hollow; his wife—(O woman! in ordinary cases, so mere a mortal, how, in the great and rare

events of life, dost thou swell into the angel!) his wife conquered nature itself by love, and starved herself in silence, and set bread before him with a smile, and bade him eat.

" 'But you—you?' he would ask inquiringly, and then pause.

" 'I *have* dined, dearest: I want nothing; eat, love, eat.'

" But he eat not. The food robbed from her seemed to him more deadly than poison; and he would rise, and dash his hand to his brow, and go forth alone, with nature unsatisfied, to look upon this luxurious world, and learn *content*.

" It was after such a scene that, one day, he wandered forth into the streets, desperate and confused in mind, and fainting with hunger, and half insane with fiery and wrong thoughts, which dashed over his barren and gloomy soul, and desolated, *but conquered not*. It was evening: he stood (for he had strode on so rapidly, at first, that his strength was now exhausted, and he was forced to pause) leaning against the railed area of a house, in a lone and unfrequented street. No passenger shared the dull and obscure thoroughfare. He stood, literally, in scene as in heart, solitary amidst the great city, and wherever he looked—lo! there were none!

" 'Two days,' said he, slowly and faintly, 'two days, and bread has only once passed my lips; and that was snatched from her—from those lips which I have fed with sweet and holy kisses, and from whence my sole comfort in this weary life has been drawn. And she—ay, she starves—and my child, too. They complain not—they murmur not—but they lift up their eyes to me and ask for ——. Merciful God! thou *didst* make man in benevolence; thou *dost* survey this world with a pitying and paternal eye—save, comfort, cherish them, and crush *me* if thou wilt.'

" At that moment a man darted suddenly from an obscure alley, and passed Glendower at full speed; presently came a cry and a shout, and the rapid trampling of feet, and, in another moment, the solitude of the street grew instinct and massed with life." Vol. ii. pp. 3-7.

The crowd at length disperses, and silence and solitude are restored.

" He looked quietly on the still night, and its first watcher among the hosts of heaven, and felt something of balm sink into his soul; not, indeed, that vague and delicious calm which, in his boyhood of poesy and romance, he had drank in, by green solitudes from the mellow twilight, but a quiet, sad and sober, circling gradually over his mind, and bringing it back from its confused and disordered visions and darkness, to the recollection and reality of his bitter life.

" By degrees the scene he had so imperfectly witnessed, the flight of the robber, and the eager pursuit of the mob, grew over him; a dark and guilty thought burst upon his mind.

" 'I am a man, like that criminal,' said he, fiercely. 'I have nerves, sinews, muscles, flesh; I feel hunger, thirst, pain, as acutely; why should I endure more than he can? Perhaps, he has a wife—a child—and he saw them starving inch by inch, and he felt that he *ought* to be their protector—and so he sinned. And I—I—can I not sin too for

mine? can I not dare what the wild beast, and the vulture, and the fierce hearts of my brethren dare for their mates and young? One gripe of this hand—one cry from this voice—and my board might be heaped with plenty, and my child feed, and *she* smile as she was wont to smile—for one night at least.

“And as these thoughts broke upon him, Glendower rose, and with a step firm, even in weakness, he strode unconsciously onward.

“A figure appeared; Glendower's heart beat thick. He slouched his hat over his brows, and for one moment wrestled with his pride and his stern virtue; the virtue conquered, but not the pride; and even the office of the suppliant seemed to him less degrading than that of the robber. He sprang forward, extended his hands towards the stranger, and cried in a sharp voice, the agony of which rung through the long dull street with a sudden and echoless sound, ‘Charity—food!’

“The stranger paused—one of the boldest of men in his own line, he was as timid as a woman in any other; mistaking the meaning of the petitioner, and terrified by the vehemence of his gesture, he said, in a trembling tone, as he hastily pulled out his purse—

“‘There, there! do not hurt me—take it—take all!’

“Glendower knew the voice, as a sound not unfamiliar to him; his pride, that grand principle of human action, which in him, though for a moment suppressed, was unextinguishable, returned in full force. ‘None,’ thought he, ‘who know me, shall know my full degradation also.’ And he turned away; but the stranger, mistaking this motion, extended his hand to him, saying, ‘Take this, my friend—you will have no need of force!’ and as he advanced nearer to his supposed assailant, he beheld, by the pale lamplight, and instantly recognised his features.

“‘Ah!’ cried he, in astonishment, but internal rejoicing—‘ah! is it you who are thus reduced!’

“‘You say right, Crauford,’ said Glendower suddenly, and drawing himself up to his full height, ‘it is *I*! but you are mistaken;—I am a beggar, not a ruffian!’

“‘Good Heavens!’ answered Crauford; ‘how fortunate that we should meet! Providence watches over us unceasingly! I have long sought you in vain. But’—(and here the wayward malignity, sometimes, though not always, the characteristic of Crauford's nature, irresistibly broke out)—‘but that you, of all men, should suffer so—you, proud, susceptible, virtuous beyond human virtue—you, whose fibres are as acute as the naked eye—that *you* should bear this, and wince not!’” Vol. ii. pp. 5-7.

The indefatigable Crauford now returns to the charge more vigorously than ever, but is at length, after having approached fearfully near to the accomplishment of his purpose, compelled to desist in despair. Meanwhile the death of the only son of that relative who had deprived Mordaunt of his estate by the law-suit, opens to the latter the way to the inheritance of his fathers, and he receives a letter from his kinsman, inviting him to enter immediately into possession. The bearer of this letter,

laughed in the sun'—now washing the gnarled and spreading roots of some lonely ash, which, hanging over it still and droopingly, seemed, the hermit of the scene, to moralize on its noisy and various wanderings—now winding round the hill, and losing itself at last amidst thick copses, where day did never more than wink and glimmer—and where, at night, its waters, brawling on their stony channel, seemed like a spirit's wail, and harmonized well with the scream of the gray owl, wheeling from her dim retreat, or the moaning and rare sound of some solitary deer.

“As Clarence's eye roved admiringly over the scene before him, it dwelt at last upon a small building, situated on the widest part of the opposite bank: it was entirely overgrown with ivy, and the outline only remained to show the gothic antiquity of the architecture. It was a single square tower, built none knew when or wherefore, and, consequently, the spot of many vagrant guesses and wild legends among the surrounding gossips. On approaching yet nearer, he perceived, alone and seated on a little mound beside the tower, the object of his search.

“Mordaunt was gazing with vacant yet earnest eye upon the waters beneath; and so intent was either his mood or look, that he was unaware of Clarence's approach. Tears fast and large were rolling from those haughty eyes, which, men who sunk from their indifferent glance, little deemed were capable of such weak and feminine emotion. Far, far through the aching void of time were the thoughts of the reft and solitary mourner; they were dwelling, in all the vivid and keen intensity of grief which dies not, upon the day when, about that hour and on that spot, he sate, with Isabel's young cheek upon his bosom, and listened to a voice which was now only for his dreams. He recalled the moment when the fatal letter, charged with change and poverty, was given to him, and the pang which had rent his heart as he looked around upon a scene which spring had just then breathed, and which he was about to leave to a fresh summer and a new lord; and then, that deep, fond, half-fearful gaze with which Isabel had met his eye, and the feeling, proud even in its melancholy, with which he had drawn towards his breast all that earth had now for him, and thanked God in his heart of hearts that *she* was spared.

“‘And I am once more master,’ thought he, ‘not only of all I then held, but all which my wealthier forefathers possessed. But she who was the sharer of my sorrows and want—oh, where is she? rather, ah! rather a hundred fold that her hand was still clasped in mine, and her spirit supporting me through poverty and trial, and her soft voice murmuring the comfort that steals away care, than to be thus heaped with wealth and honour, and *alone*—alone, where never more can come love, or hope, or the yearnings of affection, or the sweet fullness of a heart that seems fathomless in its tenderness, yet overflows! Had my lot, when she left me, been still the steepings of bitterness, the stings of penury, the moody silence of hope, the damp and chill of sunless and aidless years, which rust the very iron of the soul away; had my lot been thus, as it had been, I could have borne her death, I could have looked upon her grave, and wept not—nay, I could have comforted my own struggles with the memory of her escape; but thus, at

the very moment of prosperity, to leave the altered and promising earth, 'to house with darkness and with death;' no little gleam of sunshine, no brief recompense for the agonizing past, no momentary respite between tears and the tomb. Oh, Heaven! what—what avail is a wealth which comes too late, when she who could alone have made wealth, bliss, is dust; and the light that should have gilded many and happy days, flings only a wearying and ghastly glare upon the tomb?" Vol. ii. pp. 78–80.

He devotes himself in this solitude more than ever to the study of philosophy, not only as the charm of a contemplative life, but as the best discipline for active pursuits—becomes a member of Parliament of great weight and consideration, and is at length murdered by the republican Wolfe, who mistakes him for one of his Majesty's ministers.

From this summary of the part of the fable relating to the fortunes of Mordaunt, we think our readers will agree with us, that it abounds in striking situation and pathetic incident, and from the specimens of the author's style that have been submitted to them, that his execution upon the whole, is not unworthy of so interesting a design. The best portions of it decidedly, are those in which the ineffable affection of those devoted beings for one another, and especially the deep romantic and adoring love of the philosophic and imaginative Mordaunt, are portrayed—in these, we have no hesitation in saying, that the author has been perfectly successful. In parts wherein the subject itself was less inviting—in those especially, in which it was revolting and disgusting, as in some of the interviews with Crauford, he does not appear to us to have done by any means so well. The character of this man himself is at once *outré* and commonplace—it is a disagreeable jumble of contrary qualities. He has the mischievous malignity of Mephistopheles or Melmoth, without their supernatural attributes, and talks of his vast projects and his towering ambition in the *bourgeois* tone of Lombard street and the 'Change. Nothing makes a character, which is out of nature, go down at all, but extraordinary power displayed in the delineation of it. This is the case of the Meg Merrilies of Walter Scott, of Caliban and the Weird Sisters; it is even true of that singular, but powerful production, so often mentioned in this article, Melmoth the Wanderer. But we are not satisfied with "The Disowned," in this particular. For the expression of dark and malignant energies merely, there is nothing in this novel to be compared with the portraiture of Glanville in 'Pelham,' and especially to his 'confession,' except it be the character of Wolfe, to which we shall presently advert. Another exception that we take to the part of the work is, that

Mordaunt is too metaphysical—too often, “deep contemplative.” Our objection is not to the thing itself, which is very pretty, but only to the excess of it, which makes many pages of the work prosy and heavy, in spite of the deep interest we learn to feel in every thing relating to that very interesting personage. The following may be taken as a favourable specimen of these effusions, in which, from our own “love of holy musing,” we confess that, whatever may be its faults, we think there is, after all, a certain sweet and soothing melancholy :—

“Fondly and full of thought Mordaunt surveyed the scene before him. ‘Beautiful Night!’ said he. ‘What are the day and gaudy sun to thee! Stars, shade, stillness, it is in you that the heart boards its dearest and holiest treasures of memory and thought! With you they are dormant through the common and garish day—with you they awaken to consecrate the hour when nothing is around us but our dreams! Oh, that in the madness of those dreams there was more a method. We are told that the mind has worked out, from its strong and breathing fancies, shapes which do picture the dead, so that it has been deceived by its own phantasma, and clasped the visions of the overheated brain for the very substance of a fearful truth; and hence have been traced to a natural origin, the forms and spectral things which the living have deemed shadows from the grave!’

“‘But if it be thus, wherefore come not even those mockeries of our senses unto me? Have not my thoughts for ever and for ever sate brooding upon the teeming and fertile past, and dreamt, to delirium, over all that time and the harsh tomb have snatched from my grasp! Have I not called unto the wandering air, and the mystic night! Have I not for days made myself exempt from nature’s food, and fasted upon fiery hopes and unearthly desires? Have I not held vigil upon vigil till the eye seemed parched and shrivelling from the unnatural want of the dews of sleep? And then, when the soul was literally wearing itself away from this shroud of flesh, and so growing fit for a kindred commune, have I not invoked, and prayed, and knelt, and sent a voice of agony and woe unto the land of spirits, and heard no echo in return?—none! All—even thy love, my lost, my unforgotten—thy love, which once seemed to me eternal—all was silence, darkness, death! My heart looked from this world unto the world of dreams, and in vain: there, as here, a pilgrim in a peopleless desert, girt with a heavy and burning air, and sinking beneath the palpable weight, and dread, and horror of an eternal loneliness!’

“‘But this is more than idle—Beautiful Night! with thy balm and softness, and thy maternal love, spreading over this troubled earth with a deep and still sanctity—and you, fresh-breathing winds, and fragrant herbs and grass, and matted trees, which the sun never pierces, and where a vague spirit moving calls, as a tribute, tenderness from meditation, and poetry from thought—forgive me, for I have wronged you. It is from you that the dead speak, and their whispered and sweet voices have tidings of consolation and joy—it is you, and the murmur of the waters, and the humming stillness of noon, and the melodious stars,

which have tones for the heart, not ear, and whatever in the living lyres of the universe have harmony and intelligence—it is you, all of you, that are the organs of a love which has only escaped from clay to blend itself with the great elements, and become with them, creating and universal! O beautiful and soothing mystery of nature, that while the spirit quits the earth, the robes which on earth it wore, remain to hallow this world to the survivors! remain not only to moulder and decay, but to revive, to remingle with the life around, and to give, even in the imperishability of matter, a type of the immortal essence of the soul!"

Vol. ii. pp. 161–163.

Among the subordinate characters of the novel, there are three particularly entitled to the reader's attention. These are, Talbot, as described by himself in the "History of the Vain Man," (vol. i. p. 128)—Warner, or the "Ambitious Artist"—and Wolfe, the stern, fanatical republican, and radical reformer of that time.

Talbot's account of himself is extremely spirited and characteristic—and bating a little extravagance in what relates to his boyish days, is unquestionably a picture not less just than lively of the contradictions and absurdities of a morbid vanity. Let it not be said that his barbarous treatment of a woman, whose grace he had been at so much pains to win, is unnatural or exaggerated. No man, we are persuaded, who has any knowledge of the world or of the human heart, will think so. The maxim of La Rochefoucault is indubitably true—*Il n'y a point de passion où l'amour de soi-même regne si puissamment que dans l'amour*. Let any one who doubts this, only be at the pains of analyzing the nature and origin of jealousy, and especially its effect (so well understood by coquettes,) when mingled even in the smallest quantities with the tender passion, to keep it seething and effervescing in an almost preternatural degree. In a word, it is the hardest thing in the world, even for the most experienced *connoisseurs*, to discriminate between the effects of self-love and of love in a *liaison* of the sort.

The character of poor Warner is a striking, and to us, a novel conception. He is a young artist, devoured and consumed with the love of fame. Man delights him not, nor woman neither. The honours, the riches of the world, are dross to him. He lives only in the future—he "paints for posterity"—he thirsts and pants after immortality, as the hart panteth after the water-brooks. He would make any worldly sacrifice, and count it nothing, so it enabled him to produce a master-piece. At length, he conceived the plan of an historical picture—the subject was to be the trial of Charles I. in Westminster Hall. The glowing images crowd into his mind, like airy spirits about the

wand of an enchanter—they disturb his sleep, they haunt his dreams, they visit him as in a vision by day, and people his solitude with an ideal train. Perpetually engaged in his all-engrossing and too pleasing task, the work grows apace. It becomes that one absorbing passion—that single, predominant idea so long dwelt upon until the mind confounds it with reality, which causes or constitutes madness. At length it is finished, and, in the fondness and confidence of youthful ambition, the poor artist contrives to get the opinion of a connoisseur, (Sir Joshua Reynolds) upon its merits. That opinion was unfavourable—the veteran thought the young aspirant not without talent, but altogether without the discipline and judgment necessary to its success—the picture he condemned to the flames. The unexpected shock is too much for the sensitive and melancholy mind of Warner, wrought up into a fever of delirious emotion, by the hopes which he had so long and so vainly cherished—by the confident persuasion which he had felt but a moment before, that his success was infallible, and “those immortal garlands,”—the reward and the crown of genius—already blooming for his brow. His despair is madness—“madness laughing in its ireful mood” at what were once its dearest illusions. His interest in all things ceases—his enthusiasm is succeeded by languor and dejection—his health rapidly decays—a hectic flush upon the cheek reveals the slow fever which is consuming his vitals. He is enabled by the assistance of friends to make a pilgrimage to Italy—but neither the balmy climate, nor the master-pieces of the art, which now engross his attention, and even awaken his fatal talent once more, nor the tranquillity of his feelings, which resignation to his disappointments, and the healing influences of time seemed at length to have restored—availed him anything. He dies at Rome. Such is the outline of the picture—which is filled up in a highly interesting and even forcible manner, though we feel that there is occasionally something frigid and exaggerated in the style.

Perhaps, however, the most vigorously executed, if not the most original in the conception, is the character of Wolfe—a madman of a different, and at the supposed period of these events, a far more common kind. He is a man of powerful but undisciplined understanding and strong passions, who is become an enthusiast of liberty. But we will let him speak for himself:—

“ ‘You consider then, Sir, that these are times in which liberty is attacked,’ said Clarence.

“ ‘Attacked!’ repeated Wolfe—‘attacked!’ and then suddenly sinking his voice into a sort of sneer—‘why, since the event which this painting is designed to commemorate—I know not if we have ever had one soli-

tary gleam of liberty break along the great chaos of jarring prejudice and barbarous law which we term, forsooth, a glorious constitution. Liberty attacked! no, boy—but it is a time when liberty may be gained.’

“Perfectly unacquainted with the excited politics of the day, or the growing and mighty spirit which then stirred through the minds of men, Clarence remained silent; but his evident attention flattered the fierce republican, and he proceeded.

“‘Ay,’ he said slowly, and as if drinking in a deep and stern joy from his conviction in the truth of the words he uttered—‘Ay—I have wandered over the face of the earth, and I have warmed my soul at the fires which lay hidden under its quiet surface; I have been in the city and the desert—the herded and banded crimes of the old world, and the scattered, but bold hearts which are found among the mountains and morasses of the new; and in either I have beheld that seed sown, which, from a mustard grain, too scanty for a bird’s beak, shall grow up to be a shelter and a home for the whole family of man. I have looked upon the thrones of kings, and lo, the anointed ones were in purple and festive pomp; and I looked *beneath* the thrones, and I saw Want and Hunger, and despairing wrath gnawing the foundations away. I have stood in the streets of that great city, where Mirth seems to hold an eternal jubilee, and beheld the noble riot, while the peasant starved; and the priest build altars to Mammon, piled from the earnings of groaning Labour, and cemented with blood and tears. But I looked farther, and saw in the rear, chains sharpened into swords, misery ripening into justice, and famine darkening into revenge; and I laughed as I beheld, for I knew that the day of the oppressed was at hand.’

“Somewhat awed by the prophetic tone, though revolted by what seemed to him the novelty and the fierceness of the sentiments of the republican, Clarence, after a brief pause, said—

“‘And what of our own country?’

“Wolfe’s brow darkened. ‘The oppression here,’ said he, ‘has not been so weighty, therefore the re-action will be less strong; the parties are more blended, therefore their separation will be more arduous; the extortion is less strained, therefore the endurance will be more meek; but soon or late the struggle must come: bloody will it be, if the strife be even; gentle and lasting, if the people predominate.’” Vol. i. pp. 101, 102.

A scene which afterwards occurs between him and the haughty Lord Borodaile, displays, still more strikingly, the terrible energies of this *tête volcanique*.

“With a motion, a little rude and very contemptuous, the passenger attempted to put Wolfe aside and win his path. Little did he know of the unyielding nature he had to do with; the next instant, the republican with a strong hand, forced him from the pavement into the very kennel, and silently and coldly continued his way.

“The wrath of the discomfited passenger was vehemently kindled.

“‘Insolent dog!’ cried he in a loud and arrogant tone, ‘your baseness is your protection.’ Wolfe turned rapidly, and made but two strides before he was once more by the side of his defeated opponent.

“‘What were you pleased to observe?’ said he, in his low, deep, hoarse voice.

“Clarence stopped. There will be mischief done here, thought he, as he called to mind the stern temper of the republican.

“‘Merely,’ said the other, struggling with his rage, ‘that it is not for men of my rank to avenge the insults offered us by those of yours?’

“‘Your rank,’ said Wolfe, bitterly retorting the contempt of the stranger, in a tone of the loftiest disdain; ‘your rank, poor changeling! And what are you, that you should lord it over me? Are your limbs stronger? your muscles firmer? your proportions juster? or, if you disclaim physical comparisons, are your mental faculties of a higher order than his who now mocks at your pretensions, and challenges you to prove them? Are the treasures of science expanded to your view? Are you lord of the elysium of poetry, or the thunderbolts of eloquence?—Have you wit to illumine, or judgment to combine, or energy to control? or are you, what in reality you appear, dwindled and stunted in the fair size and sinews of manhood—overbearing, yet impotent—tyrannical, yet ridiculous? Fool! fool!—(and here Wolfe’s voice rose, and his dark countenance changed its expression of mockery into fierceness)—go home, and revenge yourself on your slaves, for the reproof you have drawn down upon yourself! Go!—goad! gall! trample—the more you grind your minions now, the more terrible will be their retribution hereafter; excite them beyond endurance, with your weak and frivolous despotisms, the debauched and hideous abortions of a sickly and unnatural state of civilization! Go! every insult, every oppression, you heap on those whom God has subjected to your hand, but accelerates the day of their emancipation—but files away, link by link, the iron of their bondage—but sharpens the sword of justice, which, in the first wrath of an incensed and awakened people, becomes also for their conquered oppressors the weapon of revenge!’

“The republican ceased, and pushing the stranger aside, turned slowly away. But this last insult enraged the passenger (who, during the whole of the reformer’s harangue, had been almost foaming with passion) beyond all prudence. Before Wolfe had proceeded two paces, he muttered a desperate, but brief oath, and struck the reformer with a strength so much beyond what his slight and small figure appeared to possess, that the powerful and gaunt frame of Wolfe recoiled backward several steps, and had it not been for the iron railing of the neighbouring area, would have fallen to the ground.

“Clarence pressed forward; the face of the rash aggressor was turned towards him; the features were Lord Borodaile’s. He had scarcely time to make this discovery, before Wolfe had recovered himself. With a wild and savage cry, rather than exclamation, he threw himself upon his antagonist, twined his sinewy arms round the frame of the struggling but powerless nobleman, raised him in the air, with the easy strength of a man lifting a child, held him aloof for one moment, with a bitter and scornful laugh of wrathful derision, and then dashed him to the ground, and, planting his foot upon Borodaile’s breast, said—

“‘So shall it be with all of you: there shall be but one instant between your last offence and your first but final debasement. Lie there;

it is your proper place ! By the only law which you yourself acknowledge, the law which gives the right divine to the strongest, if you stir limb or muscle, I will crush the breath from your body.

"But Clarence was now by the side of Wolfe, a new and more powerful opponent.

" 'Look you,' said he : 'you have received an insult, and you have done yourself justice. I condemn the offence, and quarrel not with you for the punishment ; but that punishment is now past, remove your foot, or—'

" 'What ?' shouted Wolfe, fiercely, every vein in his countenance swelling, and his lurid and vindictive eye, from its black and shaggy brow, flashing with the released fire of long-pent and cherished passions.

" 'Or,' answered Clarence, calmly, 'I will hinder you from committing murder.'

"At that instant, the watchman's voice was heard, and the night's guardian himself was seen hastening from the far end of the street, towards the place of contest. Whether this circumstance, or Clarence's answer, somewhat changed the current of the republican's thoughts, or whether his anger, suddenly raised, was now as suddenly subsiding, we know not : but he slowly and deliberately moved his foot from the breast of his baffled foe, and, bending down, seemed endeavouring to ascertain the mischief he had done. Lord Borodaile was perfectly insensible." Vol. i. pp. 206-208.

After "giving the word" and "testifying" much for "the good old cause," both in public and in private, to very little purpose, among a sinful and perverse generation—for it was only in France that the age of reason was come, and all the blessings of the political millenium were, of course, reserved for that favored land—Wolfe determined to make short work of his reforms, by assassinating, at once, two of the obnoxious ministers. He accordingly lies in wait for them—but mistaking our heroes, Clarence and Mordaunt, for them, unfortunately kills the latter, and is hanged for the misplaced homicide on the same gallows with Crauford and his clerk Bradly, convicted at last of their fraudulent practices.

The scenes in the encampment of the Gipseys, and the character of King Cole, are very well done—as is also the description of the high life below stairs at "Copperas' Bower."

The fashionable tittle tattle is rather stupid—at least it is not so good as the same thing in Pelham. We found the St. Georges and the Aspedens and the Quintowns, all great bores—as also the Trollolops, the Calythorps and the Findlaters. We had almost forgot to mention that we are introduced into one of those famous circles in which Burke and Beuclere, and Johnson and Goldsmith, and Garrick figured in the last century—but the au-

thor has not made much of it ; as, indeed, what author could? or what fiction come up to the naked truth as it is revealed in the invaluable *Omnium Gatherum* of that first of biographers and of boobies, the incomparable Bozzy?

We have hitherto made our quotations exclusively with a view to our reader's edification. We shall be indulged, therefore, in adding but a single one for the gratification of our own peculiar taste. It is a panegyric upon supper, executed with great spirit, and altogether *con amore*. It may be accepted, though a little out of place, as a sort of doxology to our article on M. Ude's book. It came over our own souls with a most refreshing and balmy unction—"like a steam of rich distilled perfumes." We think nothing comparable to suppers—*petits soupers* arrayed in all their appropriate charms of delicate wit, delicate wines, and delicate viands. We are so enthusiastic on the subject, that we have often wondered why, in the never-ending controversy about the comparative merits of the ancients and the moderns, no champion of the former has thought of urging it as an unanswerable proof of their superiority that their principal meal was supper *eo nomine*. It may be thought, perhaps, that our dinners by candle-light are much the same thing—but we humbly conceive not—no more than a "fashionable" man's residence in what he is pleased to nickname a "cottage," makes him taste the pleasures of a true "Cotter's Saturday night."—But we must let our author say the rest, for to do any thing like justice to our own feelings, upon this subject, would require a separate article.

"That was the age of suppers! Happy age! Meal of ease and mirth; when Wine and Night lit the lamp of Wit! O, what precious things were said and looked at those banquets of the soul! There, epicurism was in the lip as well as the palate, and one had humour for a *hors d'œuvre* and repartee for an *entremet*. In dinner, there is something too pompous, too formal, too exigent of attention, for the delicacies and levities of *persiflage*. One's intellectual appetite, like the physical, is coarse, but dull. At dinner, one is fit only for eating, after dinner only for politics. But supper was a glorious relic of the ancients.

"The bustle of the day had thoroughly wound up the spirit, and every stroke upon the dial plate of wit, was true to the genius of the hour.—The wallet of diurnal anecdote was full, and craved unloading. The great meal—that vulgar first love of the appetite—was over, and one now only flattered it into coquetting with another. The mind, disengaged and free, was no longer absorbed in a salmi, or burthened with a joint. The *gourmand* carried the nicety of his physical perception to his moral, and applauded a *bon mot* instead of a *bonne bouche*.

"Then too one had no necessity to keep a reserve of thought for the after evening; supper was the final consummation, the glorious funeral

pyre of day. One could be merry till bedtime without an interregnum. Nay, if in the ardour of convivialism, one did—we merely hint at the possibility of such an event—if one *did* exceed the narrow limits of strict ebriety, and open the heart with a ruby key, one had nothing to dread from the cold, or what is worse, the warm looks of ladies in the drawing-room; no fear that an imprudent word, in the amatory fondness of the fermented blood, might expose one to matrimony and settlements.—There was no tame trite medium of propriety and suppressed confidence, no bridge from board to bed, over which a false step (and your wine cup is a marvellous corruptor of ambulatory rectitude) might precipitate into an irrecoverable abyss of perilous communication or unwholesome truth. One's pillow became at once the legitimate and natural bourne to "the overheated brain; and the generous rashness of the cœnatorial reveller was not damped by untimely caution or ignoble calculation.

"But 'we have changed all that now:' Sobriety has become the successor of suppers; the great ocean of moral encroachment has not left us one little island of refuge. Miserable supper lovers that we are, like the native Indians of America, a scattered and daily disappearing race, we wander among strange customs, and behold the innovating and invading Dinner, spread gradually over the very space of time, in which the majesty of Supper once reigned undisputed and supreme!" Vol. i. pp. 111, 112.

For the "Tales of the Great St. Bernard," we find that we have left ourselves quite too little space. They are said to be by the author of 'Salathiel,' and will certainly increase his reputation. In point of *style*, for example, they are very superior to the more elaborate work which we have just been reviewing—there is far more spirit, simplicity and force in Mr. Croly's composition—in short, it is a nearer approach to the perfect propriety and chastened elegance of our classical authors.

The two volumes contain eight tales of various character and extent—though the second, entitled "Hebe," is almost as long as all the rest put together.

These tales come up somewhat after the manner of those in Bo cacio's Decamerone. A number of travellers casually meet at the Hospice of the Great St. Bernard, where they are detained, although it was the *belle saison*, by one of those sudden changes in the atmosphere, so common in the fitful climate of the Alps. Our traveller had entered it on "a day made in the prodigality of the finest season of the year. The snowy scalps of the hills were interspersed with stripes of verdure that had seen the light for the first time within memory." The bee (the surest harbinger of summer, says the book) was roaming and humming away among the thistle-down and mosses, which even an Alpine frost could not kill—and the soft gales from the mountains

seemed to breathe the voluptuous fragrance of Italy. But he had not been two hours under the roof of the Hospice, before the whole face of nature was changed. A violent storm of wind hurled down upon the convent a tremendous avalanche from the sides of Mount Velan. "The sun was blotted out of the heavens; snow in every shape that it could be flung into by the most furious wind, whirlpool, drift and hill, flashed and swept along. Before evening it was fourteen feet high before the Hospice."

The following description of the interior and inmates of that venerable asylum during the tempest, can scarcely fail to be interesting to our readers:—

"As the night fell, the storm lulled at intervals, and I listened with anxiety to the cries and noises that announced the danger of travellers surprised in the storm. The fineness of the season had tempted many to cross the mountain without much precaution against the change, and the sounds of horns, bells, and the barking of the dogs as the strangers arrived, kept me long awake. By morning the convent was full; the world was turned to universal snow; the monks came down girded for their winter excursions; the domestics were busy equipping the dogs; fires blazed, cauldrons smoked; every stranger was pelisséd and furred up to the chin, and the whole scene might have passed for a Lapland carnival. But the Hospice is provided for such casualties; and after a little unavoidable tumult, all its new inhabitants were attended to with much more than the civility of a continental inn, and with infinitely less than its discomfort. The gentlemen adjourned to the reading-room, where they found books and papers, which probably seldom passed the Italian frontier. The ladies turned over the port-folios of prints, many of which are the donations of strangers who had been indebted to the hospitality of the place; or amused themselves at the piano in the drawing-room, for music is there above the flight of the lark; or pored over the shelves to plunge their souls in some "flattering tale" of hope and love, orange groves, and chevaliers plumed, capped, and guitarred into irresistible captivity. The scientific manipulated the ingenious collection of the mountain minerals made by the brotherhood. Half a dozen herbals from the adjoining regions lay open for the botanist; a finely bound and decorated album, that owed obligations to every art but the art of poetry, lay open for the pleasantries, the memorials, and the wonderings of every body; and for those who loved sleep best there were eighty beds." Vol. i. pp. 8-9.

Every thing went on very well for a few days—but the storm obstinately continued to rage, an antedated winter seemed to have set in, and the sojourners of the Hospice of the Great St. Bernard began to suffer from a plague, against which its hospitable walls afforded as little protection, as if they had been those of a palace. To relieve himself from the *ennui* which all felt, our traveller sought the acquaintance of an English gentle-

man of his own school, who, in the course of their conversation, told him the "Squire's Tale," to illustrate the "Woes of Wealth."

This is the first, and in our opinion, the best of the series. It bears a strong resemblance to the Vicar of Wakefield, and is not altogether unworthy to be mentioned in connexion with that charming novel, not only for the general drift and structure of the fable, but for the simplicity of its style, the candour and *bonhomie* with which the hero tells his story, and a certain sly and quiet humour that pervades it throughout.

The gentleman begins by informing our traveller that "he had run away from England, not through taste, but through absolute compulsion. He was too lucky, too important, and too rich to be able to live at home—so that he was come abroad to be nobody, to be good for nothing, and to be happy." He had been bred to the bar, and practised in Westminster Hall for some years, "with what was considered a remarkable success in the profession." That is to say, when he was of no more than five years standing at the bar, he was "neither in debt nor in despair," and was actually able by the sheer profits of his practice, to indulge himself in the luxury of a new wig and gown. Such rare good fortune naturally excited a great deal of sensation of one sort or other, and the future honours of the lucky novice were predicted with confidence by the experienced, and fully anticipated by himself. There is too much reason to suspect, however, that he never had at bottom any very sincere love for that captivating profession; else he had not been induced to abandon it on such slight grounds, and betake himself to obscurity and five hundred a year in the country. The reasons he gives for foregoing all his high hopes at the very moment when "the tide which taken at the flood leads on to fortune," was setting so strongly in his favour, are briefly summed up as follows:—

"In the same midsummer circuit when I saw six king's counsel and two judges give way to the respective demands of gout, dropsy and asthma, the natural fruit of success in their trade, I was seized at Lincoln by the fen-fever, which, after chaining me to my bed for six months, left me in such a state of debility that, on taking the advice of my pillow against the advice of all 'my friends,' I abandoned the hope of ever dying lord chancellor.

"The law had, however, taught me one thing, that every man who will take the trouble of judging for himself, is the best judge of his own affairs. It taught me another too, that there is no crime more easily forgiven than the retirement of a rival. Armed thus against the regrets of my cotemporaries, and the advice of my most pertinacious friends, I made up my mind at once; sold off my law-books rendered invaluable

as they were by many a fragment of random poetry, the product of briefless hours, and occasionally illuminated with pen and ink caricatures of some of the most formidable blockheads of the profession ; and finally shook off the dust of my feet against the gates of Westminster." Vol. i. p. 12.

So he hies him to his few paternal acres about fifty miles from London, and in three days from his bidding farewell "to all his greatness," we find him "sitting at a casement overlooking a quiet valley, covered with cows and clover, and discussing a cool bottle of wine to the song of gold-finches and linnets, without a tear for operas, silk-gowns, or debates in Lords or Commons." We are not surprised to find this romantic apostate from black-letter and special demurrers, in spite of these pretty rural sights and sounds, soon languishing for want of some engrossing interest. He found one—we should think, (judging from our own feelings) absolutely the only one that can keep any rational being (the choir of poets always excepted,) alive in the country. But he shall tell his own story.

"Arthur Young advises a settler in the country to make his first application to the parson ; but a writer on husbandry can think of nothing but tithes. I made my first application to the parson ; but it was to marry me. In one of my annual visits, I had found a pretty creature straying among my carnations and roses, as blooming as themselves, and as innocent as the butterfly that shook its yellow wings over them. She fled like a fawn, and though I was not sportsman enough to pursue, I did what was just as absurd ; I took her image with me, and saw it for the next six months impasted on the brown pages of my folios. The sylph-like shape started upon me from the statutes-at-large ; and many a time I saw the coral lip and blue eye gleaming from parchment as wrinkled as her grandmother.

"The heart of man has been long said to be a craving thing, a void that must be filled. The virtuoso fills it with Roman potsherds, buttons of King Brute, and farthings of Queen Elizabeth. The connoisseur fills it with undoubted portraits of Shakspeare manufactured within the week, noseless statues, and canvass covered with deformity. The old bachelor is proud of being the last possessor of a queue, of adhering to powder with a fidelity strong even to the grave, and of exhibiting the most ridiculous figure that walks the round world. The old lady, destitute of other delights, satiates her vacuity with cats, china, and the affections of canary birds.

"But my tastes did not lie in those directions, and yet I had my vacuity too. Neither the love of law, nor the ambition of the woolsack, had stopped up the gulf, though they prevented its spreading, like the gulf of Curtius, to the absorption of the whole man. The hubbub of the courts, where glorious uncertainty sits of old, and like Milton's fiend, by "decision more embroils the fray," might deafen for the hour my acute perception of those whisperings which told me of the folly of

wasting life on the fooleries and fallacies of mankind, of turning my brain into a box of black-letter and dusty bitterness, and of struggling through forty or fifty years of obsolete study, obscure quarrel, and exhausted lungs, only to die of the gout at last; but the moment of my quitting the clamour of the noonday Themis for my lonely chambers in the Temple, always brought back my rustic fantasies; and nothing but a fortitude worthy of a dancing bear, or of a monarch standing out the bows and congratulations of a levee day, had often prevented my inlaying my briefs with bucolics, and turning poet during term. Now, however, the self-denial was at an end. I had registered a vow against "making the worse appear the better reason" for the rest of my days; and on a day propitious to the affairs of the heart, I discovered that my sylph had no objection to be married, and that she would as soon be married to me as to any one else. She was the thirteenth daughter of our curate, a sound divine, who served three churches on seventy pounds a year. He was honest enough to feign no hesitation where he felt none; and I was made, as the world phrases it, a happy man.

"I may be forgiven for talking of this period of my life, for it was my pleasantest. My sylph had laid aside her wings without giving up her playfulness. She was pretty and fond; she thought me by much the wisest and most learned personage the sun shone on; and grieved as she was by the superior finery of a sugar-baker's establishment, whose labours sweetened half the coffee of Europe, and whose wealth unluckily overflowed in a new mansion and preposterous demesne within a stone's throw of our cottage, she preserved, at least, the average temper of the matrimonial state. While she was busy with domestic cares, I was plying my pen; and statesmen yet unborn may thank me for the gratuitous wisdom of the hints that I threw out in the shape of pamphlet and paragraph. But the world is an ungrateful one after all; and I was not summoned to the privy council.

"In this primitive way I glided on for twenty years; famous for the earliest roses, the largest cucumbers, and the two prettiest daughters in the county. I played the castanets, spoke French, and interpreted a turn-pike-act, all better than any man for fifty miles round. I was applied to for cheap law by the ploughmen, wisdom by the puzzled magistrates; and was even occasionally consulted in his Greek by the excellent curate, whose Oxford recollections were considerably rubbed out by the wear and tear of half a century: even the sugar-baker, in his less exalted moments, admitted that I was rather an intelligent kind of person for a man of five hundred a year. Yet if this mighty refiner's praise were flattering to my vanity, his opulence was fatal to my peace. The liveries, equipage and banquets of Mr. Molasses disturbed my wife's pillow; and every new dinner of three courses turned our bread into bitterness.

"But the county election drew on: and the sugar-baker, rich enough to purchase the souls and bodies of a province, began his canvass by a double expansion of his hospitality. Laced liveries twice as deep, dinners twice as sumptuous, balls twice as frequent, and guests flocking in crowds, stimulated my wife's vexation to the utmost pitch. Many a keen glance was levelled at the humiliating contrast of our woodbine-

faced cottage with the mighty mansion of yellow brick that towered like a mountain of flame above our trees ; many a murmur I heard at the folly of abandoning a profession in which a man 'might be a lord,' instead of being extinguished by a trader ; and from time to time a curtain lecture exploded so directly on my head, that if I were younger, I might have been frightened into flying the country, burying myself in parchments again, and dying a chancellor after all." Vol. i. pp. 12, 15.

This long extract has, as Falstaff says, "a two-fold virtue in it." It is, in the first place, a fair specimen of the vivacity and sprightliness which distinguish the style of this Tale ; and, in the next, it carries the reader at once into the very midst of things. 'This Mr. Molasses and his household are quite as important in the Squire's story, as they could possibly be ambitious of becoming in society. Every thing turns upon them in the sequel. The thirteenth daughter of the poor curate is never at ease while Mordecai sitteth at the king's gate. She is become the wife of a retired gentleman, and so, clearly entitled, in her own opinion at least, to look down upon the up-start fortunes of her vulgar neighbours. But in this perverse world unhappily, *le pouvoir n'est jamais ridicule* ; and when she laughed at their awkward display of finery and fashion, it was on what is expressively called in a homely phrase, the wrong side of her mouth. In short, the poor woman who was as ambitious and fidgetty as her husband was tranquil and philosophic, was dying of envy. Her day of triumph, however, was at hand. The death of a rich nahob, a distant relative of our hero, whom the latter had never seen but once, brings him a windfal of ten thousand a year.—The tidings are communicated to him by a solicitor who came post-haste for the purpose :—

"Never was solicitor received as was this man of mire on his introduction to my family. The whole household were in ecstasy. My wife, no longer the sylph culling lilies and roses, but a handsome, solid matron, deep in the secrets of the cuisine—my daughters, two tall and glowing creatures, on the verge of womanhood—the very housemaid under my roof saw, with the quickness of the sex, the whole glittering future. I, too, philosopher as I thought myself, was not without my splendid follies ; and when at length we sat down to our supper, not even the din of Mr. Molasses' closing festival, the rattling of carriages, and the squabbles of footmen, were heard in the strife of delighted tongues, the scorn of my wife for the mushroom money of trade, and the rapture of my fair daughters at the prospect of a season in London.

"The solicitor too, happy that his neck was not broken, relaxed from his professional grimness, and told bar stories, valuable for at least their age. My best bottle of claret was broached ; and before I bade the world good night, there was not a more exhilarated sensorium under the canopy of the stars.

"The hour ought to have been happy, for it was the last that I ever experienced." Vol. i. p. 17.

Here begin the "Woes of Wealth," which are all, however, we are happy to inform our readers, very much of the same stamp with the "Miseries" of our renowned friend, and we may say fellow-townsmen, Sensitive and Testy.* The traveller and his sylph begin themselves now to be objects of envy to their neighbours, who imagine they plainly perceive a difference in their deportment since they got up in the world. Censure, ridicule and misrepresentation behind their backs—rudeness, peevishness, captious irritability, and other instances of incivility to their faces, begin to be their portion. Our hero, in spite of his philosophy, finds it impossible to live in peace with the world—his friends take offence, and drop off one after another, and the whole neighbourhood is presently in arms against him.

Meanwhile, his situation at home is scarcely less disagreeable. The whole arrangement of his house and household is altered. His wife is determined to live up to their rank in the world, and to feed her old grudges for the unprovoked outrages of the Molasses' who had presumed to display their wealth so near her when she had none to show in return. Milliners, upholsterers, *et id genus omne* were straightway put in requisition.

"But had I no home? I had, and one so suddenly sumptuous, that I dreaded to touch any thing for fear of dismantling fifty invaluable things of or-molu, japan, and china; *chefs d'œuvre* every trinket of them. My chairs were figured satin, too costly to be looked at; for they were enveloped in eternal bibs and tuckers of canvass, and too delicate to bear any of the rustic usage, the leanings, loungings, and book burdens, that to me constituted the whole excellence of a chair. Wherever I trod, there reposed some specimen of the arts too exquisite for human feet;—and after having once in my hasty entrance from the garden trodden, black as gunpowder, the Brussels countenance of the great Blucher on a carpet unmatched on this side of the Channel, I interdicted myself the pleasure of treading on carpets for the time to come.

"I liked quiet. The hand of the workman was in full activity from morning till night. I hated to be driven from my customary room. A new ukase had ordered it to be fitted up in the style of a library comporting the lord of ten thousand a year. It was fitted up accordingly, and I never knew comfort in it again. My rough-backed old books were driven into banishment for strangers in morocco, which I never desired to touch; and my rambling pencil-sketches, my treasured letters, my rather dusty memoranda, all the clinging recollections, the pleasant records of old days, old dreams, and old friends, were put under sentence of eternal exile.

* Mr. Berresford, author of "The Miseries of Human Life," is or was a native of Charleston

"Twenty years were extinguished in a week of papering, painting, and general renovation; and to make the change more unpalatable still, the whole was under the superintendence of a Decorator, a 'professor' of puttings up and pullings down, a coxcomb from London, of supreme authority in matters of taste, and who made himself commander-in-chief of every soul in the house from the moment of his alighting from his 'britchka.' This Raphael of paper-stainers I was, by regular contract, obliged to entertain at my table, where he exhibited himself so perfect a connoisseur in claret and champagne, that I had only to swallow my wine in silence; and talked so familiarly of princes and dukes, whom he had whitewashed into elegance, that he half turned the heads of my wife and daughters. He rode my horses, taught my maid-servants how to rouge, established a billiard table in my house, to which he gave a general invitation to his professional acquaintances; and by his dinner converse inflamed my four footmen into a demand for an increase of wages, and an allowance for eau de Cologne.

"I bore all this for a while. Strong inclinations to kicking the puppy out sometimes nearly mastered me. But I kept my foot in peace; until one evening, straying to find a quiet moment in a lonely part of my garden, I heard the fellow ranting a tragedy speech in the most Parisian style. The speech was followed by a scream, and the sight of my younger daughter Emily rushing towards me in the highest possible indignation. The Decorator followed half tipsy. I interrupted his speech by an application to his feelings from the foot that had so long been kept in reluctant peace. He was astonished, but he had mingled with too many potentates to feel much abashed. His natural ease speedily returned, and he actually made his proposals for my daughter on the spot. It was answered by a repetition of the discipline. The puppy grew impudent, and talked of country bumpkins. He had fully earned a third application to his sensibilities, and he got what he earned. My last kick sent him down the steps of my hall-door.

"I had now satiated my wrath, done my duty, and cleared my table of a nuisance. But what is to be had for nothing in this world of debt and credit? On the other side of the account, I had laid grounds for an action; I had sent a puppy to scatter scandal like wildfire wherever he showed his impudent face; and I had left my house half furnished within a week of a masquerade, which, in all my scorn of mankind, my wife had insisted on giving, for the acknowledged purpose of returning the fêtes that my luckless legacy had already brought upon us, but, as I verily believe, with the pious intention of breaking the hearts of the whole Molasses dynasty finally and for ever.

"The fiée was inevitable; for in the very hour in which I expelled the Decorator, the cards had been despatched; and I had the indulgence of receiving at once the compliments of the dynasty that they would be 'proud of the honour,' &c. a horse-load of billets to the same effect from our whole population, and a notice of action for 'an assault on the person of Augustus Frederic Byron Ultramarine, Esq.' damages laid at five thousand pounds!"

"Here was a consequence of being just twenty times as rich as I ever expected to be. I could muster up a show of resolution now and then;

and, like a falling Cæsar, in this extremity of my dictatorship, I determined to show the original vigour of my character. I became a reformer of the house, ordered my four footmen into my presence, and gave them a lecture on general conduct, which, if they had the sense to understand, would have been worth all the lace on their livery. They bowed, withdrew, and in the next five minutes sent a paper signed by the four 'requesting their *congé*.' I never signed any thing in my life with half the pleasure. The female authorities below stairs were beyond my province and my hope; but the dignified resignation of their flirts rendered it a matter of delicacy that the ladies of the scullery should send in their resignation too. It was most graciously accepted. I turned them out root and branch, and on that night sat down in a house containing not a female but my wife, daughters, and an old housekeeper, too purblind to flirt, and too lame to run away. A neighbouring cow-boy was summoned to tend my horses, and I had the honour of locking my own hall-door." Vol. i. pp. 31-34.

Having thus made *maison nette* of his whole establishment, the difficulty was to provide for the reception of their guests at the contemplated fête, or if that were impossible, to dispense with their company upon some decent pretext:—

"In a grand council held over the breakfast-table, we revolved the several expedients to escape the calamity. Flight, sudden illness of the principals, a violent contagious fever broken out among the domestics, all were suggested, and all found wanting. It was shown that, where the ladies of the vicinage were determined on a party, they would not be repelled by a bulletin of the plague, signed by three king's physicians. The only plausible expedients seemed to be my own, and those were, in the first instance to declare that my London banker had failed, and carried off my thousands, as usual on those occasions to America—an intimation, which in London, I had seen strip a man of every acquaintance on earth in the course of a single revolution of the sun. But this was overruled, as, in the country, if friendships were not more firm, routs were rarer; and we should have the whole dancing population on us as merry as ever, if we were not worth sixpence in the world. My favourite expedient was to set the house on fire; the true mode after all. But the council broke up without coming to a combustion. The fact was, that the women had ordered dresses from the supreme *artiste* of Paris, while the sugar-baker's wife had only ransacked London. Triumph was certain, and the female votes carried it that the evil must be endured, and could be at worst only one night's suffering. With a heavy heart I prepared to be the gayest of the gay.

"Time hurries on in spite of all the reluctance of mankind, and the dreaded night came. It was all that I had expected it to be, with the exception that, from one of the serenest days of summer, the weather changed at a moment's warning into a tempest worthy of the north-west passage. Our fête champêtre was blown into a thousand fragments. Our lamps, festooned among our elms, were sent flying like chain-shot through our windows; our 'grand emblematic' transparen-

vails upon her husband, very much against his better judgment, to squander an immense sum of money in a county election for a seat in Parliament. The motive which overcame his reluctance, was an affront put upon his wife and daughters at a ball, by the family of a haughty patrician, who had hitherto been in the habit of disposing, at his own good will and pleasure, of the representation of the shire. To add, if possible, to the effect of this weighty reason, the Duke took it into his head to patronize the Molasses dynasty, and even to procure for the head of it, the title of Sir Mungo. Lady Molasses—"the better part" of her husband in every sense of the word—was determined he should write himself M. P. as well as Baronet. A tremendous contest ensues, in which our hero is successful. The election protested—new difficulties and troubles ensue. The member elect is overwhelmed with applications for his interest, and with the concerns of every body in the shire, His revenue, great as it was, fell alarmingly short of his expenditure, and his whole financial system threatened to be soon irretrievably deranged. Harrassed and perplexed beyond all sufferance by matters with which he had nothing to do, domestic "woes" of a more formidable character than he had ever yet known, await him. His son elopes with his governess—a *soi-disant emigrée* of figure and fashion, but in fact a *soubrette* player of the lowest class and the loosest morals, with a husband already on her hands; while two foreigners of distinction—with visages buried in whiskers and mustachios, afterwards discovered to be the assumed disguises of two villainous actors—hatch a plot to run away with his daughters, without their consent, which only intelligence most providentially communicated to him, enabled him, with the assistance of the police, to frustrate. And, finally, upon his arrival in London to take his seat in the House of Commons, he finds that his Majesty has been graciously pleased, for important reasons of state, to dissolve the Parliament! New writs of course issue. Sir Mungo takes the field again—and our hero, taught by his sore experience, determines to escape from temptations too strong for flesh and blood to resist, by running away to the continent, where we have had the happiness to hear his strange eventful history.

It will be perceived at the first glance, that "The Squire's Tale" is the very antitheton and antidote of a "fashionable novel." In this respect too it resembles the Vicar of Wakefield. Our readers will recollect the precious farce enacted at the Flamboroughs' by those distinguished personages, Lady Blarney and Miss Carolina Wilhelmina Amelia Skeggs—which, burlesque as it is, is not more extravagant than the dull imper-

tinences and flippant balderdash of Almack's & Co. Indeed, we suspect these latter owe all their success to the very reason which the author just mentioned gives, for favouring us with that delectable specimen of "high life," viz. "that every reader, however beggarly himself, is fond of high-lived conversation, with anecdotes of lords, ladies, and knights of the garter."

We have not space to say anything more of these interesting tales. We will just add, that the second—entitled "Hebe, or the Wallachian's Tale"—is the most elaborate, (as it is by far the longest of any)—with a strong dash of orientalism in it. It presents some very pleasing pictures of Turkish life and manners, with a great variety of striking incidents, in a uniformly elegant and agreeable style. Of the minor tales, that entitled "The Married Actress," is, in our opinion, decidedly the best. It is *perfectly* well told, presents a just view of human character, and conveys an instructive moral lesson.

NOTE OF THE EDITOR.

IN consequence of an unlooked for difficulty in obtaining all the type necessary for printing with perfect accuracy, the continuation of the very learned and elaborate article on "*The Celtic Druids*," we are constrained to defer the publication of it until our next number.

ERRATA.

- Page 261, line 1—for "quæ" read *quid*.
" " " after "mortalia," insert *pectora*.
" 309, line 30, for "lectures," read *lectureships*.
" 416, line 17—for "recondité" read *recondite*.
" 418, line 41—for "marquer" read *masquer*.



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